THE ART BULLETIN

March 1979

(2)

CUK-H04136-2-P06434

THE ART BULLETIN

75-

A Quarterly Published by
The College Art Association
of America

March 1979
Volume LXI
Number 1

Editor-in-Chief
KATHLEEN WEIL-GARRIS
New York University

Managing Editor
ANNE H. HOY
54 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10024

Book Review Editor
JUERGEN SCHULZ
Brown University

Editor, Monograph Series
ISABELLE HYMAN
Washington Square and University College, New York University

Editorial Board
The Editorial Board includes the members of *The Art Bulletin* Committee, which is composed of the former editors-in-chief of the journal, the past and present editors of the Monograph Series, and the following advisory members:

RICHARD BRILLIANT (through 1980)
Columbia University

JAMES CAHILL (through 1983)
University of California, Berkeley

WALTER CAHN (through 1983)
Yale University

CAECILIA DAVIS-WEYER (through 1983)
Tulane University

COLIN EISLER (through 1983)
New York University

ILENE FORSYTH (through 1980)
University of Michigan

CREIGHTON GILBERT (through 1983)
Cornell University

OLEG GRABAR (through 1980)
Harvard University

EVELYN B. HARRISON (through 1983)
New York University

JULIUS HELD (through 1980)
Barnard College, Columbia University, Emeritus

HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK (through 1980)
New York University

GEORGE LEVITINE (through 1983)
University of Maryland

THOMAS MATHEWS (through 1980)
New York University

EDITH PORADA (through 1980)
Columbia University

RICHARD H. RANDALL, JR. (through 1980)
Walters Art Gallery

W. R. REARICK (through 1983)
University of Maryland

THEODORE REFF (through 1980)
Columbia University

ROBERT ROSENBLUM (through 1983)
New York University

JOHN ROSENFIELD (through 1980)
Harvard University

ANGELICA RUDENSTINE (through 1983)
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum

DAMIE STILLMAN (through 1983)
University of Delaware

ROBERT THOMPSON (through 1983)
Yale University

SIR FRANCIS WATSON (through 1983)
The Queen's Advisor on Works of Art

JOHN WILMERDING (through 1980)
National Gallery of Art

The Art Bulletin Committee
JAMES S. ACKERMAN
DAVID R. COFFIN
ANNE COFFIN HANSON
HOWARD HIBBARD
ISABELLE HYMAN
H. W. JANSON
GEORGE KUBLER
CHARLES L. KUHN
RENSSELAER W. LEE
BATES LOWRY
JOHN R. MARTIN
DONALD POSNER
LUCY FREEMAN SANDLER
J. CARSON WEBSTER

P, 6434

Manuscripts
submitted for editorial consideration should conform to the practices set forth in "Notes for Contributors" available from the offices of the College Art Association of America. Articles improperly prepared, even though accepted for publication, may be returned for retyping. All manuscripts should be sent by certified or insured post, with self-addressed envelope and prepaid return postage, to Kathleen Weil-Garris, Institute of Fine Arts, 1 E. 78th Street, New York, N.Y. 10021. Please enclose sufficient amount in check or money order if insured return of parcel is desired. *The Art Bulletin* cannot consider manuscripts lacking return postage or unsolicited manuscripts for book reviews.

Books for Review
should be addressed to the Book Review Editor, *The Art Bulletin*, College Art Association of America, 16 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022.

The Art Bulletin
is available only through membership, open to all interested persons and institutions, in the College Art Association of America. For information about membership or individual back issues, write the College Art Association of America, 16 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022.
Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices.

©1979, College Art Association of America, Inc.

Contributing Institutions

University of Alberta
Arizona State University
Barnard College
Boston University
Brown University
Bryn Mawr College
University of California, Berkeley
University of California, Davis
University of California, Los Angeles
University of California, Riverside
University of California, Santa Barbara
Case Western Reserve University
University of Chicago
Columbia University
Cornell University
Duke University
Emory University
University of Illinois
Indiana University
The Institute for Advanced Study
University of Iowa
Johns Hopkins University
University of Louisville
The Maryland Institute
Michigan State University
University of Michigan
University of Minnesota
University of Missouri
Mount Holyoke College
University of New Mexico
New York University
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Northwestern University
Oberlin College
Ohio State University
University of Oregon
Pennsylvania State University
University of Pennsylvania
University of Pittsburgh
Princeton University
University of Rochester
Rutgers, The State University
Smith College
Stanford University
State University of New York, Binghamton
Vanderbilt University
Vassar College
University of Washington
Wellesley College
Williams College
Yale University

The Baltimore Museum of Art
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
The Brooklyn Museum
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute
Cleveland Museum of Art
Fogg Art Museum
The Frick Collection
The J. Paul Getty Museum
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum
The Hispanic Society of America
The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston
Indianapolis Museum of Art
Kimbell Art Museum
Los Angeles County Museum of Art
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Minneapolis Institute of Arts
Montreal Museum of Fine Arts
The Pierpont Morgan Library
The Museum of Modern Art
National Gallery of Art
The National Gallery of Canada
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art
Art Gallery of Ontario
Philadelphia Museum of Art
The Phillips Collection
Portland Art Museum
Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design
St. Louis Art Museum
The Toledo Museum of Art
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts
Walters Art Gallery
Whitney Museum of American Art

Benefactors

The Art Dealers Association of America, Inc.
Sotheby Parke Bernet, Inc.
Carnegie Corporation Fund
Samuel H. Kress Foundation
Robert Lehman Foundation, Inc.
Millard Meiss

Patrons

Henfield Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. William K. Simpson
Eugene Victor Thaw
Wildenstein & Co., Inc.

Supporters

Harry N. Abrams, Inc.
Mr. & Mrs. Gilbert S. Edelson
Richard L. Feigen & Co. Inc.
The International Art Registry, Ltd.
Mrs. Alice M. Kaplan
Rensselaer W. Lee
Richard Harrison Martin
Perls Galleries
Alexandre P. Rosenberg
Charles Scribner III
Wittenborn & Company

* Supporters contribute $100 to $499 per year to the College Art Association; Patrons give $500 to $999 per year; Benefactors subscribe annually for $1,000 or more. The College of Art Association is not a private foundation as defined in Section 509 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code.

The Arthur Kingsley Porter Prize for 1977 has been awarded to
David Summers of the University of Pittsburgh
for his article "Contrapposto: Style and Meaning in Renaissance Art,"
which appeared in the September issue.
The Arthur Kingsley Porter Prize was established in 1957
for the encouragement of young scholars of any nationality in art-historical studies.
It is awarded annually, or at the discretion of the officers of
the College Art Association of America, for an article published in
The Art Bulletin *judged by a committee of three*
to be of sound scholarship, original content, and distinguished presentation.

Contents

Volume LXI Number 1 March 1979

Articles

The Myth of the Taj Mahal and a New Theory of Its Symbolic Meaning — WAYNE BEGLEY — 7

Conflicts Between *Regnum* and *Sacerdotium* as Reflected in a Canterbury Psalter of ca. 1215 — MADELINE HARRISON CAVINESS — 38

The Iconography of the Columns in Titian's Pesaro Altarpiece — HELEN S. ETTLINGER — 59

The Structure of Henry Hoare's Stourhead — JAMES TURNER — 68

Washington Allston's *Dead Man Revived* — ELIZABETH JOHNS — 78

Two Letters from Girodet to Flaxman — ADA SHADMI BANKS — 100

Discussion

Reflections in a Mirror: Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Depiction of the Trinity — NORMAN E. MULLER — 101

Reviews

Wassiliki Felten, *Attische Unterweltsdarstellungen des VI. und V. Jahrhunderts vor Christus* — MICHAEL H. JAMESON — 103

John Hayes, *Roman Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum* — MARIO A. DEL CHIARO — 104

Bezalel Narkiss and Gabrielle Sed-Rajna, eds., *Index of Jewish Art: Iconographical Index of Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts* — LEILA AVRIN — 105

Irmgard Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturhandschriften*, I: *Oxford, Bodleian Library*, Pt. I — ANTHONY CUTLER — 107

Catherine Waeber-Antiglio, *Hauterive: La Construction d'une abbaye cistercienne au moyen âge* — SUMNER MCKNIGHT CROSBY — 110

Gert Kreytenberg, *Der Dom zu Florenz* — MARVIN TRACHTENBERG — 112

Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Anamorphic Art*
Fred Leeman, *et al.*, *Hidden Images: Games of Perception, Anamorphic Art, Illusion from the Renaissance to the Present*
M. L. d'Otrange Mastai, *Illusion in Art; Trompe l'Oeil; A History of Pictorial Illusion*
M. H. Pirenne, *Optics, Painting, and Photography* — SAMUEL Y. EDGERTON, JR. — 131

Ronald M. Steinberg, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola: Florentine Art and Renaissance Historiography* — DAVID CAST — 134

The Farnese Hours, The Pierpont Morgan Library — EUGENE A. CARROLL — 136

Malcolm Campbell, *Pietro da Cortona at the Pitti Palace: A Study of the Planetary Rooms and Related Projects* — CHARLES DEMPSEY — 141

Walter Vitzthum, *Drawings by Gaspar van Wittel (1652/53–1736) from Neapolitan Collections* — MARCEL ROETHLISBERGER — 144

Robert Enggass, *Early Eighteenth-Century Sculpture in Rome* — MARK S. WEIL — 145

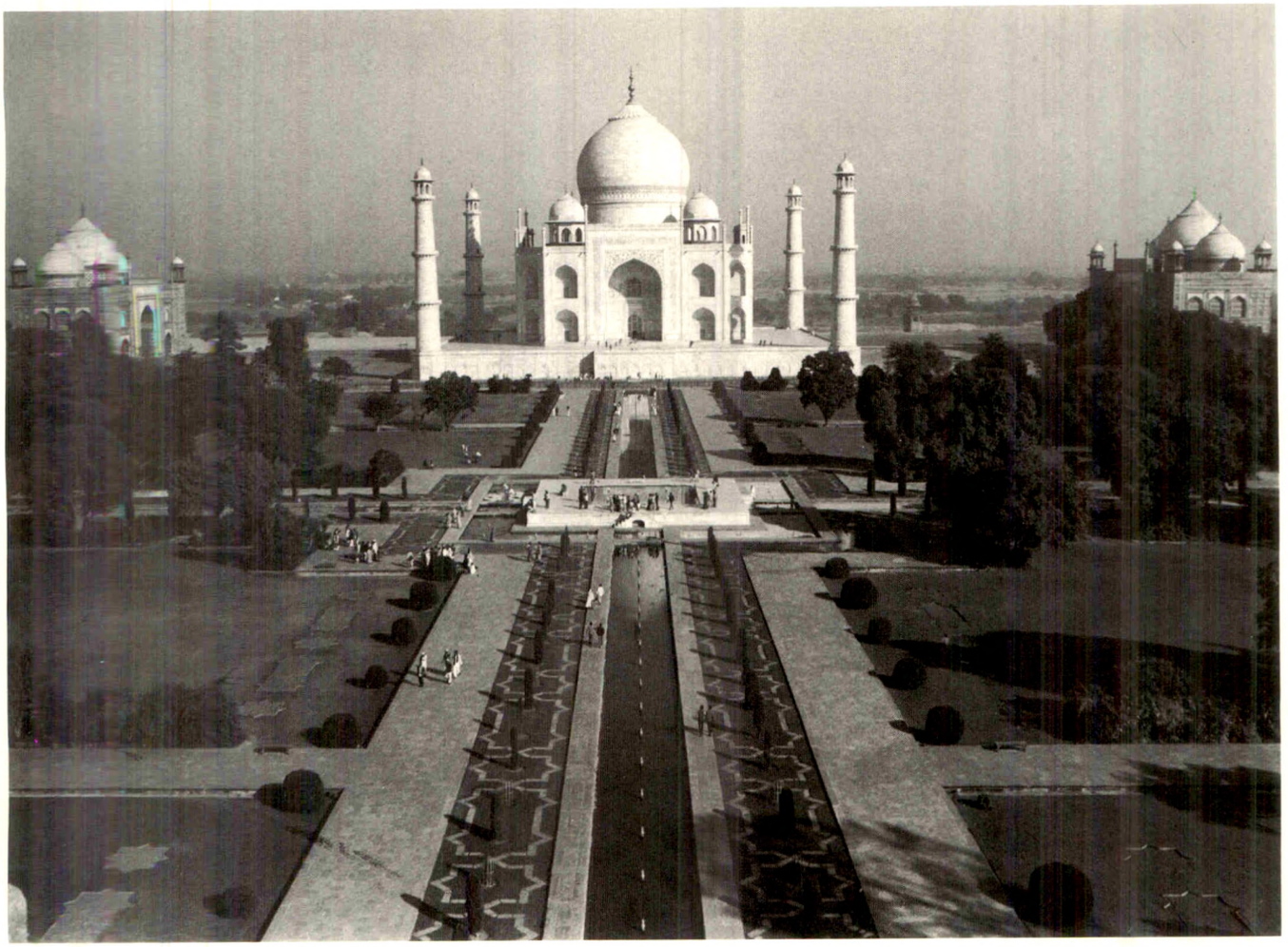
Frank R. DiFederico, *Francesco Trevisani: Eighteenth-Century Painter in Rome* — FRANCIS H. DOWLEY — 146

Andrew Wilton, *British Watercolours 1750–1850* — MALCOLM CORMACK — 152

John Wilmerding, *American Art (The Pelican History of Art)* — JAMES M. DENNIS — 154

List of Books Received — 158

Notes for Contributors — 160



1 Taj Mahal and its garden, Agra, begun 1632

The Myth of the Taj Mahal and a New Theory of Its Symbolic Meaning*

Wayne E. Begley

The Nobel Prize-winning poet Rabindranath Tagore called it a "teardrop on the cheek of time"; world-traveler Eleanor Roosevelt felt that its white marble "symbolizes the purity of real love." Both writers shared the rather widespread romantic notion that the Taj Mahal (Fig. 1), the vast mausoleum built by the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan (1592–1666) for his wife Mumtaz Mahal (1593–1631), is a noble embodiment of

* This article is essentially the documented text of a lecture, presented at various museums and universities over the past two years, that summarizes material to be dealt with at greater length in a forthcoming monograph on the symbolism of the Taj Mahal and its inscriptional program. The major portion of the research was accomplished during 1975–76, as part of a larger study of Mughal architecture during the reign of Shah Jahan, under a fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. The nucleus of the interpretation presented here was contained in a paper entitled "The Taj Mahal as a Symbolic Replica of the Throne of God," which I read at the 63rd Annual Meeting of the College Art Association of America, Washington, D.C. (January, 1975). The list of institutions and individuals who have facilitated my research is too lengthy to be included on this occasion, but I am especially grateful to Professor Richard Ettinghausen and numerous other distinguished specialists in Islamic art who have been extremely generous from the outset in their responses to my persistent queries, but who of course are not responsible for the views expressed here. Due to the unavailability of the type, the diacritical signs for certain Arabic and Persian letters have been omitted. Photographs are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

N.B. A bibliography of sources, cited by author in the notes, follows this article.

unparalleled marital devotion, a monument to undying love.[1] The aesthetic qualities of the tomb are popularly believed to furnish proof of its builder's intense feeling: what else but great Love could have inspired such great Beauty? In fact, this "explanation" of the tomb can be shown to be essentially a myth—a myth which ignores a great deal of evidence to the contrary, that Shah Jahan was less noble and romantically devoted than we thought, and that the Taj Mahal is not purely and simply a memorial to a beloved wife. A serious reassessment of this important monument is long overdue; and in the following pages I propose, first, to trace briefly the background of the myth of the Taj; and second, to present the broad outlines of a new interpretation of its various levels of symbolic meaning.

I

The origins of the notion that the Taj is a sort of love poem in stone may perhaps be traced back to the official accounts of the early years of Shah Jahan's long reign (1628–1658), written in Persian by the court-appointed historians Muhammad Amin Qazwini and ᶜAbd al-Hamid Lahawri.[2] Shah Jahan had been emperor for only about three years when Mumtaz Mahal died suddenly in 1631, a few hours after giving birth to their fourteenth child.[3] Although she was the second of Shah Jahan's three legal wives, Mumtaz Mahal—as her title implies—was obviously his favorite, being the mother of all (except one daughter) of his living children, as well as his constant companion during the nineteen years of their marriage.[4] Since portraits were never made of high-born women, we do not know what Mumtaz Mahal looked like, but she is reported to have been extremely beautiful. The official accounts of her death describe Shah Jahan's grief with the elaborate rhetoric then in fashion in Persian literature. Lahawri, for example, extravagantly claims that the emperor's grief "crumbled his mountain-like endurance," that his beard turned white virtually overnight, and that he did not make a public appearance for one full week.[5] In a similar vein, the seventeenth-century French traveler François Bernier records that Shah Jahan had been so enamored of his beautiful wife that "it is said that he was constant to her during life, and at death was so affected as nearly to follow her to her grave."[6]

Stemming from these highly exaggerated seventeenth-century accounts of Shah Jahan's grief, the notion of his undying love for his wife apparently assumed its present guidebook form sometime in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, during the heyday of Romanticism when emotion and intense feelings were exalted as ends in themselves. Over the centuries, Shah Jahan's reputation as a devoted husband has increased to the point that it is sometimes claimed that he remained sexually faithful to his deceased wife for the rest of his life. Since he lived to be seventy-four, this would make a grand total of some thirty-five years of supposed celibacy! In 1658 Shah Jahan was imprisoned in the Agra Fort by his rebellious and puritanical son Aurangzeb, and it was from the tower of the Fort that the aging ruler is popularly supposed to have spent the remaining eight years of his life gazing at the white

[1] This interpretation is either implicit or explicit in almost all publications dealing with the Taj, as, e.g., the relatively recent, popular book by David Carroll, *The Taj Mahal*, from which the quotation from Eleanor Roosevelt was taken. Although the literature on the Taj is extensive, only four books are worthy of serious mention: Moin-ud-Din, reissued in 1924 under the title *The Taj and Its Environments*, Chaghtai, which remains the best work on the Taj to date; Dietrich Brandenburg, *Der Taj Mahal in Agra*, Berlin, 1969; and Nath. A number of valuable articles on the Taj have appeared in the last few years, but will not be listed here since they do not discuss the question of the monument's meaning.

[2] See C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature, A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, I, London, 1970, 566ff. Qazwini's history of the first ten years of Shah Jahan's reign, which he was appointed to write in the eighth year, exists only in manuscript; the Persian text of Lahawri's history of the first twenty years of the reign has been published by Kabir al-Din Ahmad and Abd al-Rahim, eds., *The Badshah Namah by Abd al-Hamid Lahawri*, 2 vols., Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1867–68. For the historical information contained in this article, Lahawri's as yet untranslated history was consulted, along with Saksena.

[3] Lahawri, I-A, 384ff.; Saksena, 309ff. The exact date of death was June 17, 1631 O.S.; it occurred in Burhanpur in central India, where Shah Jahan had been engaged for about a year and a half in a protracted military campaign.

[4] Although Shah Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal (whose title means "Elect of the Palace") had become betrothed in 1607, they were not married until 1612, or two years after his first marriage, in 1610, to the daughter of Mirza Muzaffar Husain Safavi, a lineal descendant of Shah Isma ᶜil of Persia. Shah Jahan's third wife, whom he married in 1617, was the granddaughter of the powerful Mughal noble, ᶜAbd al-Rahim, Khan-i-Khanan. Of Shah Jahan's fourteen children by Mumtaz Mahal, only seven survived infancy, including four sons. Apparently his only other surviving child was a daughter by his first wife, born in 1611. All three marriages were obviously intended to effect alliances with powerful noble families, but Shah Jahan seems to have been romantically attached only to Mumtaz Mahal, who was the granddaughter of the Grand Vizir under Shah Jahan's father, the Emperor Jahangir (r. 1605–1627).

[5] Lahawri, I-A, 384ff., where it is also stated that the Emperor put on white mourning clothes, abstained from music and other entertainments "for two years," and twice was heard to say that he felt like resigning his throne out of grief. Although Shah Jahan undoubtedly suffered considerable bereavement, it should be noted that the evidence of various surviving portraits does not support the claim that his beard soon turned white. Moreover, the one week of cancelled court appearances hardly seems to betoken excessive grief, when compared to the period of more than four weeks that Jahangir isolated himself from the court on account of his grief over the death in 1616 of his four-year-old granddaughter, Shah Jahan's first-born child by Mumtaz Mahal (see Alexander Rogers, trans., *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri, or Memoirs of Jahangir*, New Delhi, 1968, I, 326ff.).

[6] Bernier, 293. It should be noted that Bernier reached India only toward the end of 1658, and that his assessment of Shah Jahan's grief was therefore either based on hearsay or else inspired, at least in part, by his reaction to the tomb itself, which he felt "deserves much more to be numbered among the wonders of the world than the pyramids of Egypt" (p. 299).

silhouette of the Taj in the distance, seeking solace in the poignant beauty of the mausoleum he had built for his one true love.[7]

Since the early nineteenth century, European visitors to the Taj—particularly the British—have been quite carried away by the sentiments that they felt the tomb expressed. In 1839, while on a tour with her husband, the wife of the government official W. H. Sleeman is reported to have said of the Taj: "I cannot tell you what I think, for I know not how to criticize such a building, but I can tell you what I feel. I would die tomorrow to have such another over me!"[8] Sleeman does not record his reaction to this emotional outburst, but he must have been deeply moved as well.

In the final analysis, of course, it is the silent and majestic beauty of the mausoleum itself that seems to furnish irrefutable proof of the nobility and intensity of Shah Jahan's affection for his wife. Never before or since has such an extravagant memorial been built by a man for a woman. Within the Islamic tradition, a tomb for a wife on such a scale was entirely without precedent: the only comparable structures anywhere are the pyramids and a few other grandiose monuments built by powerful rulers as tombs for themselves. Although the French traveler Tavernier's estimates of 20,000 workmen and twenty-two years for the Taj's construction are greatly exaggerated (the main structure was actually completed in only about four years), the dimensions of the entire tomb complex are truly impressive.[9] The domed mausoleum is almost 250 feet high and is placed within a walled enclosure (see Fig. 29) measuring about 1,000 by 1,860 feet and containing an area of some forty-two acres. It is vast enough to include all of St. Peter's, including Bernini's piazza.

The Taj was Shah Jahan's first great architectural project in a long series of monuments constructed during the thirty years of his reign. Some of his other projects, such as the magnificent Red Fort in his new capital Shahjahanabad at Delhi (1639–1648), were more extensive and costly, but none ever surpassed the Taj in spendor.[10] In the popular view, the years of effort and the incredible expense of building the Taj—like its inspired beauty—also furnish proof of Shah Jahan's noble devotion and his great and abiding love.

II

The image of Shah Jahan's supposed nobility of character, however, like his supposed religious orthodoxy, is contradicted by other contemporary accounts of Mughal India, which portray him as arrogant, petty, and ruthless, a man obsessed with power and the emblems of power. Sir Thomas Roe, the first English ambassador to the Mughal court, met Shah Jahan in 1617, and characterized the vain young prince (Fig. 2), then in his twenties, as "ravenous and tyrannical," and possessed of such a pride "as may teach Lucifer."[11] Five years after this encounter, in 1621, Shah Jahan apparently had his elder brother Khusrau murdered, and he eventually ordered the deaths of five other close male relatives in his relentless pursuit of the imperial throne.[12]

Other contemporary European accounts also cast serious doubt upon Shah Jahan's reputation as a devoted husband, especially after the death of Mumtaz Mahal. According to the gossipy chronicles of the Italian Manucci, Shah Jahan indulged his sexual appetites with the wives of his officials and others, to such an extent that it seemed "as if the only thing Shah Jahan

[7] According to a popular legend recorded in an early 19th-century Persian work by Qasim ʿAli Afridi (1771–1827), Mumtaz Mahal on her deathbed extracted two promises from her husband: first, that he not have any more children by his other wives, and second, "that he should build such a mausoleum over her, the like of which was not to be found anywhere else" (cited in Jogindra Nath Chowdhuri "Mumtaz Mahal," *Islamic Culture*, XI, 1937, 379). This account is totally unsupported by the Persian histories of Shah Jahan's reign, and seems to be nothing more than a romantic fabrication.

[8] W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, Karachi, repr. 1973, 317.

[9] See the translation by V. Ball, *Travels in India by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne*, 2 vols., London, 1925, I, 91: "I witnessed the commencement and accomplishment of this great work, on which twenty-two years have been spent, during which twenty thousand men worked incessantly." Since Tavernier (the French edition of whose memoirs was published in 1676) apparently first reached India only in 1640, he could not have seen the commencement of the Taj, which, according to the Persian histories, occurred around January, 1632. The evidence of the histories and the three dated epigraphs on the Taj suggest that the exterior of the tomb was complete by around 1636, and the rest of the complex took approximately another six to ten years; it was probably finished by 1647 at the latest (see my article, "Amanat Khan and the Calligraphy on the Taj Mahal," forthcoming in *Kunst des Orients*).

[10] For a brief account of Shah Jahan's new capital, see Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period)*, Bombay, n.d., 111ff. Since proponents of what I have called the "myth" of the Taj maintain that the tomb symbolizes the Emperor's eternal devotion to his dead wife, it is curious that Shah Jahan decided to shift his capital from Agra to Delhi before the entire complex was complete; in fact, until his imprisonment in the Agra Fort in 1658, he was away from the city most of the time.

[11] William Foster, ed., *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul, 1615–1619*, 2 vols., London, 1899, I, 424. Roe's negative reaction to Shah Jahan was at least partly due to his inability to secure the trade concessions he had been sent to negotiate.

[12] Saksena, 34ff., where the views of Muhammad Salih Kanbo (the author of another Persian history of Shah Jahan's reign) justifying Khusrau's murder are quoted: "It is entirely lawful for the great sovereigns to rid this mortal world of the existence of their brothers and other relations, whose very annihilation is conducive to the common good."

cared for was the search for women to serve his pleasure."[13] Bernier and other European travelers make an even more serious indictment against Shah Jahan when they report contemporary rumors that he had incestuous relations with his eldest daughter Jahanara for a period of several years following his wife's death.[14] Bernier even states that the Muslim doctors of the law at court sanctioned the relationship on the grounds that "it would have been unjust to deny the King the privilege of gathering fruit from the tree he himself had planted."[15] According to Manucci, Shah Jahan's illness in 1658, when Aurangzeb seized power, and his death in 1666 were both the result of the urinary disorder known as strangury, brought on by overdoses of aphrodisiacs, which the aging ruler utilized out of vanity, to bolster his waning sexual powers.[16]

It is curious that critical accounts such as these have been ignored, as the popular notion of Shah Jahan's devotion to his dead wife has assumed mythic proportions. Incidentally, the theory of a second Taj—supposed to be an exact replica, except in black marble—can be shown to be a part of this myth, based only upon a single dubious reference by Tavernier, and totally unsupported by the Persian histories.[17] Moreover, Tavernier only mentions that Shah Jahan had started some sort of tomb across the river; its supposed size and color are elaborations upon this unsupported notion, apparently first introduced in the nineteenth century.

Even in this century, when we have become increasing skeptical of romantic explanations of anything, no one has effectively challenged the myth, although a few writers have intuitively sensed its flaws. Aldous Huxley, in his book of 1926, *Jesting Pilate*, obliquely struck at the myth by attacking the popular view that the Taj is a supremely beautiful monument. He thought it wasn't.[18] A far more serious critic than Huxley was the German philosopher Hermann Keyserling, who concluded in 1914 that the Taj in the final analysis was an "absolutely purposeless" work of art.[19] While praising its beauty, Keyserling felt that the Taj lacked expressive and spiritual power, stating that "it is not even necessarily a funeral monument; it might just as well, or just as badly, be a pleasure resort."[20]

At about the same time, the Bengali novelist Sarat Chandra Chatterji was expressing similar doubts about the popular explanation of the Taj. In his novel *The Unanswered Question*, Chatterji's heroine, after pointing out some of the flaws in the myth of Shah Jahan's marital devotion, concludes that the Emperor would probably have built a monument like the Taj even if Mumtaz Mahal had *not* died, that he would have found some other excuse to build it, perhaps "in the name of religion," or perhaps as a "memorial to conquest, after killing hundreds and thousands of people."[21]

I would not go this far in castigating Shah Jahan's character, but obviously some sort of explanation is essential. The Taj possesses the charismatic power to awe almost all its viewers (a few cynics excepted), to instill a sense of greatness, a sense of transcendent majesty. If Love is not behind it all, what is?

III

Keyserling's intuition that the Taj is "not even necessarily a funeral monument" seems to be on the right trail. First of all, in light of what we know of Shah Jahan's excessive vanity, it is clear that the Taj was also intended to symbolize his own glory and not merely his devotion. As he had just achieved his royal ambition, the death of his imperial consort (and the mother of all his living male heirs) must have indeed struck Shah Jahan as a cruel blow of fate, one of his few major disappointments in a long succession of personal triumphs. Disappointment though it was, the death of Mumtaz Mahal acted as a catalyst for the inception of a monument that served as a symbol, as it were, of Shah Jahan's imperial destiny—another coronation jewel added to his already fabulous crown, and a tangible manifestation of his magnificent obsession with his own greatness (Fig. 3).

Could Shah Jahan also have intended the Taj to be his own tomb as well? Although he is presently buried inside the mausoleum, alongside the bier of his wife, this

[13] Manucci, I, 186ff.

[14] Bernier, 11. Sir Thomas Herbert, Peter Mundy, and Tavernier also report the same rumor, the validity of which is, however, denied by Manucci, *ibid.*; for a full discussion, see Vincent A. Smith, "Joannes deLaet on India and Shah Jahan," *Indian Antiquary*, XLIII, 1914, 239–244. Smith cites the second impression of de Laet's *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, Leiden, 1631, as evidence that the rumor had reached Europe within about six months after the death of Mumtaz Mahal. For discussion of a painting that apparently depicts Jahanara seated beside her father in an allegorical court scene, executed by the little-known Dutch painter Willem Schellinks around 1650, see Jeannine Auboyer, "Un Maître hollandais du XVIIe siècle s'inspirant des miniatures mogholes," *Arts asiatiques*, II, 251–273.

[15] Bernier, 11.

[16] Manucci, I, 231; II, 116.

[17] Tavernier, I, 91: "Shah Jahan began to build his own tomb on the other side of the river, but the war with his sons interrupted his plan, and Aurangzeb, who reigns at present, is not disposed to complete it."

[18] Cited in Carroll, 157ff. Huxley's frivolous views are discussed by R.A. Jairazbhoy, "The Taj and Its Critics," *East and West*, VI, 1956, 349–352.

[19] Hermann Keyserling, *The Travel Diary of a Philosopher* (cited in Carroll, 153).

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Chatterji's novel apparently has not been translated into English; the quotation is from the Hindi version, *Śesh Praśna*, Delhi, 1964, 32.

does not seem to have been his original intention.[22] Except for Tavernier's unsupported claim, there is absolutely no evidence that Shah Jahan ever contemplated building a separate tomb for himself either. In any event, Shah Jahan still had no tomb of his own when, in 1658, at the age of sixty-six, he was imprisoned by Aurangzeb in the Agra Fort. The Persian histories are not clear as to whose decision it was to bury Shah Jahan in the Taj when he died eight years later.[23]

In the face of such widespread uncertainties, we must fall back upon the evidence that the tomb itself provides, in order to explain why the Taj looks the way it does, and to determine what other meanings it may have possessed for Shah Jahan which led him to create such an extravagant and extraordinary monument. Various other scholars have already considered the form of the mausoleum proper, showing its derivation from the tomb of Shah Jahan's great-grandfather, Humayun (Fig. 4), and its ultimate debt to architectural styles imported from Persia.[24] Although the Taj certainly fits into this architectural evolution, the formalist approach by itself cannot shed much light upon the underlying meaning of the monument. There are two important categories of evidence that have been largely neglected by writers on the Taj: the plan of the entire complex, and the inscriptional program of Koranic passages inscribed on the mausoleum and the gateway. When taken together, these two categories of evidence strongly suggest that the Taj had an allegorical significance going far beyond its literal funerary function, a significance which, as we shall see, is nonetheless appropriate to that primary function.

From the plan of the Taj complex, it is obvious that the garden constitutes an extremely important feature in the overall architectural conception. Unlike all previous Mughal garden tombs, the Taj is placed at one end of its garden, rather than in the center. The quadripartite layout itself, however, is not unusual, being an example of the typical Persian *chahar-bagh*, or four-fold garden. As is well known, Persian gardens in general, and Mughal garden tombs in particular, are often described metaphorically in Persian poetry and inscriptions as being like Paradise.[25] Occasionally, the metaphor was carried to poetic excess, as in the Persian passages inscribed on the palatial tomb of Shah Jahan's grandfather Akbar (Fig. 5), which extravagantly claim that its gardens surpass in beauty and magnificence even those of the celestial Paradise.[26] The thrust of the entire inscriptional program is summed up in the concluding lines of a couplet inscribed on the entrance gateway (Figs. 6, 7), the last words that one is supposed to read before passing through to the walled garden

[22] This is the usual interpretation, based upon the fact that the cenotaph of Mumtaz Mahal occupies the exact center of the octagonal screen in the great domed hall (see Fig. 31), leaving barely enough room for Shah Jahan's cenotaph on the west side. Recently, however, R. Nath (p. 76ff.) has persuasively argued that the present arrangement was the one originally intended by the Emperor, since it is similar to the asymmetrical placement of the cenotaphs of I'timad al-Dawla (Jahangir's Grand Vizir) and his wife, in their tomb at Agra, which was completed in 1628, less than four years before the Taj was begun.

[23] The most detailed account of Shah Jahan's death is that given in the contemporary history by Muhammad Salih Kanbo; see Ghulam Yazdani, ed., *'Amal-i-Salih, or Shah Jahan Namah of Muhammad Salih Kambo*, 3 vols., Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1912–1939, III, 346ff. Muhammad Salih states that the Princess Jahanara wanted to arrange a magnificent funeral for her father, but did not have the authority to do so. As a result, the body was taken from the Fort by a back stairway from the octagonal tower where he had died, and quietly buried in the Taj without a public ceremony. At the time of his father's death, Aurangzeb was in Delhi. As soon as he heard of Shah Jahan's illness, however, Aurangzeb ordered Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam to go to Agra, but the Prince arrived only after the body was already interred, which apparently took place the morning after the Emperor's death late in the night of January 14, 1666 O.S. Essentially the same facts are reported in the various histories of Aurangzeb's reign, although nothing is said about whether Aurangzeb might previously have authorized the place of burial, if not the manner of it. Only one contemporaneous source implies that Shah Jahan had constructed the Taj as a tomb for himself, as well as his wife; see Zafar Hasan, ed. and trans., *The Waqiat-i-Alamgiri of Aqil Khan Razi*, Delhi, 1946, 56, where it is stated: "As none of the high princes or exalted *amirs* were present there at that time, a few of the eunuchs and others, contrary to the custom of illustrious kings and practice of his ancestors, placed his coffin early in the morning on a boat and carried it by way of the river to the mausoleum (the Taj Mahal), which he had erected for this purpose." See also Jadu-Nath Sarkar, trans., *Maasir-i-'Alamgiri...of Saqi Must'ad Khan*, Calcutta, 1947, 35; and Anees Jahan Syed, *Aurangzeb in Muntakhab-al Lubab*, Bombay and New Delhi, 1977, 223.

[24] See James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1910, II, 290ff.; cf. Brown, 96ff. See also the important articles by Jairazbhoy and Hoag.

[25] Jairazbhoy, 79ff.; Hoag, 240ff. See also the collection of papers on Islamic gardens presented in a colloquium at Dumbarton Oaks, Elizabeth B. MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen, eds., *The Islamic Garden*, Washington, D.C., 1976, espec. Annemarie Schimmel, "The Celestial Garden in Islam," 11–39; and William L. Hanaway, Jr., "Paradise on Earth: The Terrestrial Garden in Persian Literature," 41–67. The Paradise symbolism of the Taj complex is briefly alluded to in the recent book by Burckhardt, 174–180; cf. also Henri Stierlin, *Ispahan, image du paradis*, Lausanne, 1976.

[26] Hoag, 243ff. The full texts of the inscriptions on Akbar's tomb are given in Smith, 29–35 (cf. also my forthcoming article, "Amanat Khan and the Calligraphy on the Taj Mahal").

2 Abu 'l-Hasan, *Portrait of Shah Jahan at Age 25*, 1617. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

4 Tomb of Humayun (1507–1555), Delhi, completed ca. 1570

3 Abu 'l-Hasan, *Shah Jahan on the Peacock Throne*, ca. 1635. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (after Carroll)

beyond: "These are the gardens of Eden, enter them to live for ever!"[27]

Surprisingly, the Taj Mahal, which perhaps comes closer to evoking heavenly visions than any other work of Islamic architecture, makes no such poetic claims, at least not directly. Unlike Akbar's tomb—the gateway of which is inscribed with a lengthy Persian eulogy composed especially by the calligrapher—the Taj's numerous inscriptions are drawn almost exclusively from the Koran.[28] Incidentally, the calligrapher of Akbar's tomb and the Taj Mahal was the same man, ᶜAbd al-Haqq of Shiraz, given the title Amanat Khan by Shah Jahan.[29] As Amanat Khan seems to have been the author as well as the scribe of the Persian eulogy of Akbar's tomb, so also it appears that he was charged with the responsibility for selecting the Koranic passages to be inscribed on the Taj.[30]

[27] See Smith, 35. Altogether, there are three couplets, inscribed in six separate panels, running across the lower calligraphic border of the entrance gateway, the full translation of which is given *infra*. It should be noted that the last line of the third couplet, reproduced in Fig. 7, is in Arabic, whereas all the rest are in Persian.

[28] As listed in the Appendix at the end of this article, the Koranic inscriptions on the Taj number twenty-five, but three of these occur twice, making twenty-two different passages in all, of which fourteen are complete Suras. Aside from the two sets of epitaphs on the cenotaphs of Mumtaz Mahal and Shah Jahan, the only other non-Koranic inscriptions are the three dated historical epigraphs on the mausoleum and the gateway, and a few other short pious phrases in Arabic prefixed to some of the inscriptions. In addition to its unprecedented size, the Taj is unique among published Islamic funerary monuments with respect to the number and length of its inscribed Koranic passages.

[29] Since ᶜAbd al-Haqq, who was a scholar and courtier, as well as a calligrapher, was awarded the title Amanat Khan (meaning "Trustworthy Noble") only in 1632, shortly after work on the Taj was begun, he of course did not use it in the colophons on Akbar's tomb, which was finished in 1613. In the colophon dated 1638 inside the Taj, however, the calligrapher used *only* his honorary title. Apparently the first scholar to realize the true identity of Amanat Khan was S.A. Akbarabadi, in his Urdu monograph, *Muraqqaᶜ-i-Akbarabad yaᶜ ni Tarikh-i-Agra*, Agra, 1931 (cited in Chaghtai, 129).

[30] This is the view argued in my forthcoming article. In effect, Amanat Khan's earlier work on Akbar's tomb had elevated him to the status of imperial calligrapher, therefore making him the most appropriate choice to supervise the inscriptional program for the first great imperial monument of Shah Jahan's reign.

That the choice of these Koranic passages was deliberate, and not haphazard, seems self-evident, as self-evident as the attempt by the Taj's designers to coordinate every single feature of the building, from its overall plan to the smallest decorative detail, into a totally unified architectural conception of flawless visual symmetry. In view of this obvious concern with visual and decorative effect, the content of the inscribed Koranic passages must have been a matter of equal, if not greater, concern to the scholar in charge of the selection.[31] Furthermore, the content of the passages must have been considered on several levels, for, in addition to purely textual connotations, the overall meaning of each inscribed passage would have been affected by its placement on a specific part of the architectural complex, as well as its contextual relationship to the total ensemble of inscriptions.[32] Accordingly, it would seem that all of the Koranic passages were meant to be read and construed together; and that they constitute in effect a thematically unified inscriptional program, analogous in its cognitive significance to the iconographic programs of religious monuments decorated with images.[33]

As in the case of Akbar's tomb, the final words of the Taj's gateway inscription also epitomize the symbolic meaning of the inscriptional program as a whole. The south façade of the gateway (Fig. 8) is inscribed with the entire Sura 89, *al-Fajr*, "The Daybreak," one of the great apocalyptic Suras of the Koran, and one that clearly establishes the eschatological themes dealt with throughout the Taj's inscriptional program. In contrast to the flowery Persian panegyric on the gateway of Akbar's tomb, here the theme is essentially that of the impending doom of the Day of Judgment, when God will punish the wicked with terrible finality.[34] Only at the very end of this Sura is the apocalyptic imagery mitigated by the allusion to the Paradise that God has promised as a reward for the faithful (Fig. 9):

"O thou soul at peace,
Return thou unto thy Lord, well-pleased and well-pleasing unto Him!
Enter thou among My servants—
And enter thou My Paradise!"[35]

The closing words on the gateways of both monuments are equally clear in their implication: namely, that they were conceived as symbolic replicas of the gateway and gardens of the celestial Paradise. According to Islamic tradition, Muhammad entered Paradise through its gateway during his miraculous heavenly ascension known as the *Miᶜraj*, an event depicted in the

[31] The widespread popular notion that the role of the calligraphy is purely decorative is, of course, patently absurd. Far more important than their visual qualities, the Koranic passages inscribed on the Taj are imbued with profound religious meaning, which stems not only from the intrinsic content of the passages themselves, but also from the rich aura of cognitive connotations and associations that certain Koranic passages had gradually acquired in Islamic theology and popular beliefs. Even when Koranic inscriptions cannot easily be read, their function is always more symbolic than decorative; see Richard Ettinghausen, "Arabic Epigraphy: Communication or Symbolic Affirmation," in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles*, Beirut, 1974, 297–317.

[32] Judging from the epigraphical evidence, it seems to have been a practice of long standing in India—as well as in other Islamic lands—to select Arabic and Persian architectural inscriptions that would be appropriate to the meaning and function of the monument as a whole. Unfortunately, very few of these conventional uses of Koranic passages have ever been compiled; for Indian monuments, the only systematic study is Muhammad Ashraf Husain, *Record of All the Quranic and Non-Historical Epigraphs on the Protected Monuments in the Delhi Province* (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, XLVII), Calcutta, 1936, which tabulates more than 450 occurrences of some 250 Koranic passages (most consisting of several sequential verses) inscribed on about 100 mosques and tombs.

[33] Cf. Oleg Grabar's similar conclusion, stated in his recent article, "The Inscriptions of the Madrasah-Mausoleum of Qaytbay," in *Studies in Honor of George C. Miles* (as cited in n. 31), 465–468: "For, as our knowledge of Islamic art progresses, it becomes more and more evident that Qur'anic citations were used in the manner of biblical subjects in Christian iconography." See also Grabar's "The Umayyad Dome of the Rock," *Ars Orientalis*, III, 1959, 33–62; and the important article by Dodd, 35–79.

[34] The Sura begins with a series of solemn oaths, next cites previous instances of God's wrath, then summons up a frightening vision of the approaching Day of Judgment (verses 21–26):

Nay! When the earth is ground to power—
And thy Lord cometh, and His angels, rank upon rank—
And Hell, that Day, is brought near—on that Day will Man remember, but how shall the remembrance profit him?
He shall say: "Ah would that I had made provision for this my life!"
For upon that Day, His chastisement shall be such as none other can inflict!
And His bonds shall be such as none other can bind!

(adapted, with modifications, from the translations by ᶜAbdullah Yusuf ᶜAli, *The Holy Qur'an, Text, Translation and Commentary*, Lahore, 1937–38; and Arthur J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, New York, 1955).

[35] The expression "And enter thou My Paradise!" *(wa udkhuli jannati)* is unique among all the Koranic references to Paradise in being the only instance in which God utters such a direct invitation. Moreover, among the more than 120 occurrences of the word *janna* (literally, "Garden") in the Koran, this is the only passage in which the Arabic possessive suffix *i* ("My") is attached; see Ahmad Shah, *Miftah-ul-Quran, Concordance and Complete Glossary of the Holy Quran*, 2 vols., Lahore, n.d. (reprint of 1906 ed.).

famous fifteenth-century Persian *Miᶜraj-Nama* manuscript now in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Fig. 10).[36]

In the Taj's allegorical scheme, the four water channels of its *chahar-bagh* garden (Fig. 11) are clearly meant to symbolize the four flowing Rivers of Paradise, mentioned in the Koran and the Hadith literature; and the raised marble tank in the center of the garden was probably intended as a replica of the celestial tank of abundance called *al-Kawthar,* promised to Muhammad and seen by him at the time of his bodily ascension to Paradise.[37] Various Islamic depictions of the heavenly regions corroborate this interpretation, including an unpublished plan of Paradise (Fig. 12) in an eighteenth-century Indian manuscript, now in the Bodleian Library;[38] and the well-known scene of Muhammad seated beside the *Kawthar* tank (Fig. 13), in a Qajar-period Shᶜiah divination album.[39] In the Bodleian illustration, the square central tank bears a Persian label identifying it as the *Kawthar;* and the white channels extending from the tank in the Qajar album provide an even more striking parallel with the layout of the Taj's garden.

IV

During the past few years, a few scholars have recognized that Paradise symbolism was consciously employed in the design of the Taj and other Mughal garden tombs.[40] But so far, no one has specifically addressed the problem of interpreting the domed marble mausoleum of the Taj itself within this general

[36] See the recent facsimile edition by Séguy. In the illustration (Fig. 10), Muhammad, accompanied by the Angel Gabriel and the fabulous human-headed mount Buraq (at the left), have arrived at the gateway to Paradise (at the right), through which two angels emerge to greet the Prophet. Above the gateway is inscribed the Muslim profession of faith: "There is no god but God; Muhammad is His prophet." In the landscape behind the figures are three of the four Rivers of Paradise.

Numerous publications treat the theme of the *Miᶜraj:* for the translation of the Turkish text of the Herat manuscript of 1436, see Pavet de Courteille; for a critical edition of the important 13th-century Latin and Old French versions of a lost Arabic original, see Cerulli; an exhaustive treatment of the literary theme, with extensive bibliography, is G. Widengren, *Muhammad, the Apostle of God, and His Ascension (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift),* Uppsala, 1955; see also Qassim al-Samarrai, *The Theme of Ascension in Mystical Writings,* Baghdad, 1968; and A. Altmann, "The Ladder of Ascension," in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to G. G. Sholem,* Jerusalem, 1967, 1–32.

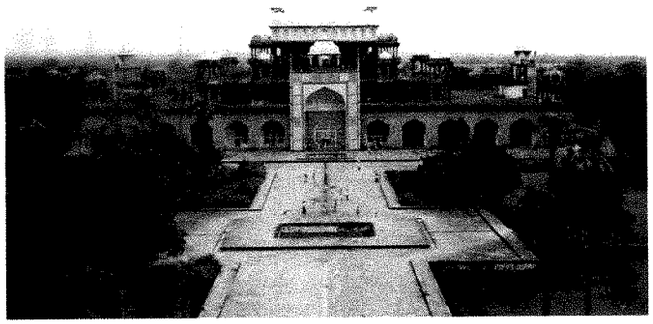
Aside from the lavishly illustrated Herat manuscript, depictions of the *Miᶜraj* in Islamic painting are extremely rare, as are religious subjects of any kind. An important though fragmentary group of earlier examples has been collected by Richard Ettinghausen, "Persian Ascension Miniatures of the Fourteenth Century," in *Accademia Nationale dei Lincei, XII convegno "Volta"* (proceedings), Rome, 1957, 360–383. For a recent assessment of the problem of religious imagery in Islamic painting, see J. M. Rogers, "The Genesis of Safavid Religious Painting," *Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies,* VIII, 1970, 125–139.

[37] There is a vast literature dealing with the topography of the Islamic Paradise, as well as its interpretation within the popular religion, orthodox theology, and esoteric mysticism. The best recent general work is Soubhi el-Saleh, *La Vie future selon le Coran (Études musulmanes,* XIII), Paris, 1971 (based upon a Sorbonne doctoral dissertation of 1954, whose conclusions were incorporated into the important article by L. Gardet, s.v. "DJANNA," in *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2nd ed.). See also: Josef Horovitz, 'Das koranische Paradies," *Scripta Universitatis atque Bibliotheca Hierosolymitanarum,* VI, 1923, 1–16; John MacDonald, "Paradise," *Islamic Studies,* V, 1966, 331–383; Lucien Gautier, trans., *La Perle précieuse (ad-Dourra al-Fâkhira) de Ghazalî, 450–505 A.H.: Traité d'eschatologie musulmane . . .,* Amsterdam, 1974 (repr. of 1878 ed.). The Jewish antecedents of Islamic views of the topography of Paradise are discussed by M. Gaster, "Hebrew Visions of Hell and Paradise," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 1893, 571–611. Although there is some ambiguity in the Islamic sources as to whether the *Kawthar* may be yet another river in Paradise, the prevailing view is that it is indeed a Tank, into which (or alternatively, from which) flow the four celestial rivers, which incidentally are considered to be the exalted counterparts of the rivers of the terrestrial Eden.

[38] See A. F. L. Beeston, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library,* Pt. III, *Additional Persian Manuscripts,* Oxford, 1954, 81–82. The manuscript (MS Pers. d. 29) consists only of some 67 illustrations of several of the holy places of Arabia, along with depictions of both Paradise and Hell. Although without title or text, the illustrations are mostly accompanied by Persian labels, with other descriptive matter having been added in French, sometime in the 19th century. The style of the illustrations is folkish, and undoubtedly represents a popular and provincial variant of Mughal court painting of the 18th century, perhaps dating to the early part of the century.

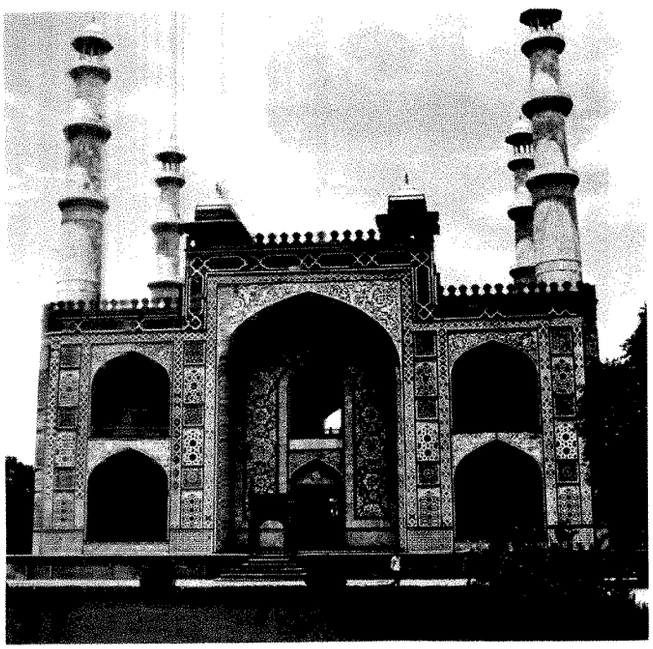
[39] See M. T. Houtsma, "Bilder aus einem persischen Falbuch," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie,* III, 1890, 149–150, and pl. XII (from which Fig. 13 was reproduced); cf. Thomas W. Arnold, 110, and pl. XXXVA (see also the depiction of the *Kawthar* Tank in the Herat *Miᶜraj-Nama,* repro. Séguy, pl. 39). The painting is one of a series in a now dispersed Persian album dating to the early 19th century, illustrating legends of ᶜAli, the fourth Caliph and the first Shiᶜah *Imam.* In the painting, ᶜAli is shown standing at the left of the *Kawthar* tank, while his sons Hasan and Husain stand behind Muhammad at the right. The names of these saintly figures are inscribed across their veils, preceded by the Arabic word *ya,* or "O"—indicating that the inscriptions are to read as pious invocations: "O Muhammad," "O ᶜAli," etc. In the center is depicted the celestial "Lote-tree of the Boundary" *(al-Sidrata al-Muntaha),* with three birds (one with a human head) perched upon its branches, apparently alluding to the well-known Hadith that the souls of the virtuous are transformed into birds in Paradise.

[40] The suggestion that the Taj and other Mughal structures were consciously intended as symbolic replicas of the architecture of Paradise was first made in my paper cited in the acknowledgement. For earlier discussions of the problem, see Jairazbhoy, Hoag, and Schimmel. Both Hoag and Schimmel discuss the Paradise associations of the plan of the typical Persian *chahar-bagh,* in which the garden is usually divided into four parts by two intersecting water channels, which led Hoag (p. 247) to state that the Taj and its garden "are truly metaphors for Paradise." Similarly, Schimmel (p. 15) suggests that the central tank of Mughal gardens corresponds "to the basin *(haud)* which was also considered part of the heavenly realms." Neither writer, however, has suggested that these correspondences amount to much more than generic metaphors for Paradise; in contrast, I would argue that they form part of a systematic program of symbolic equations, in which every part of the tomb complex is conceived as a specific replica of its celestial counterpart.

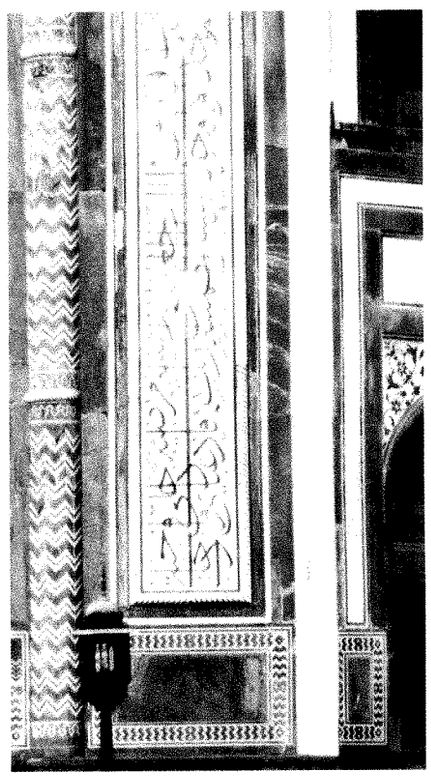


5 Tomb of Akbar (15-3-1605), Sikandra, completed 1613

8 Gateway of Taj Mahal, south façade

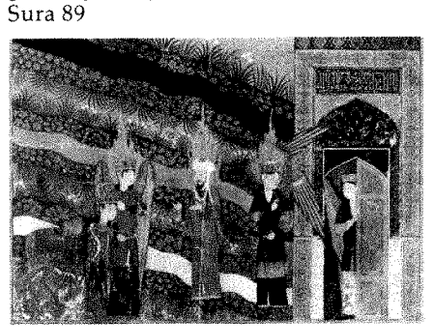


6 Gateway of Akbar's tomb, south façade



9 Detail of Koranic inscription on gateway of Taj Mahal, last few verses of Sura 89

7 Part of dedicatory inscription on gateway of Akbar's tomb, dated 1613 and signed by the calligrapher ʿAbd al-Haqq al-Shirazi, later called Amanat Khan



10 *Muhammad and Gabriel at the Gateway to Paradise*, from *Miʿraj-Nama*, executed at Herat, 1436. Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS Suppl. Turc 190, fol. 47v (photo: Bibl. Nat.)

metaphorical program. The most obvious explanation of the architectural symbolism of this main structure would be that it allegorically represents one of the sumptuous celestial "mansions" promised to the faithful in Paradise: such as the multi-storied octagonal pavilions represented in the Qajar depiction of Muhammad in Paradise, with alluring houris standing within the arched openings, offering the promise of sensual enjoyment. Although plausible (for there is a tradition of Persian gardens and garden-pavilions being called *Hasht Bihisht*, or gardens of the "Eight Paradises"[41]), this interpretation in the final analysis fails to explain fully the magnificence and charismatic grandeur that are unique to the Taj. Furthermore, within the monument's overall allegorical program, it seems more likely that the "mansions" of Paradise are symbolized by the Taj's six octagonal towers, or *burj* (Fig. 14)—since these are at any rate visually closer to the pavilions depicted in the Qajar painting, or to the well-known scene of houris in an octagonal pavilion in the previously mentioned Bibliothèque Nationale *Miᶜraj-Nama* (Fig. 15).[42]

Since the marble mausoleum of the Taj dominates the entire architectural layout, with its metaphorical allusions to Paradise, one wonders if it could be instead that the structure was intended by its designers as a symbolic replica of the heavenly Throne of God, which tradition situates directly above Paradise, and upon which God will sit in judgment on the Day of Resurrection. Although this interpretation would certainly help to explain the vast scale of the monument, and why its designers strived to make it so majestic and awe-inspiring, it is of course contrary to orthodox Muslim theology, which maintains that God and all of his attributes, including his throne, are beyond human comprehension, and therefore absolutely unrepresentable.[43]

Aside from the vast size of the tomb, we may ask if there is anything about its form that might corroborate this interpretation. After the unusual grouping of four large minarets, the mausoleum's most distinctive architectural feature is surely its large bulbous dome (Fig. 16). Although the shape can of course be explained as having evolved from the domes of Humayun's tomb and other monuments, it is also curiously similar to the shape of Mughal ceremonial crowns, such as the one held by Shah Jahan's father Jahangir in a well-known painting in the British Museum (Fig. 17).[44] Incidentally, it should be noted that the Persian words *Taj Mahal* literally mean "Crown Palace," although it is usually claimed that the name is a shortened form of the title *Mumtaz Mahal*, meaning "Elect of the Palace." Not only is the domed silhouette of the Taj generally suggestive of a crown, but it also strongly resembles the typical shape of Islamic thrones, as depicted in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Persian and Mughal paintings (Figs. 18, 19).[45] The Mughal painting shows Shah Jahan receiving the ceremonial crown from his grandfather Akbar, seated in the center, who apparently deliberately bypasses Shah Jahan's father Jahangir, seated at the left.[46] Although Islamic tombs characteristically have domes, the resemblance of the Taj's dome to actual Mughal throne-backs seems more than coincidental, and seems to have been deliberately emphasized in order to allude to the mausoleum's probable celestial prototype.

Moreover, although Islamic proscriptions against religious images almost completely prevented its depic-

[41] Hoag (pp. 241–42) suggests that the tomb of Humayun also reflects a preoccupation with Paradise symbolism, with its eight gardens and octagonal plan conforming to Persian prototypes that were sometimes metaphorically called *Hasht Bihisht;* for the palace of the Hasht Bihisht at Isfahan, see Arthur Upham Pope, ed., *A Survey of Persian Art*, II, Oxford, 1939, 1195–7. Jairazbhoy (pp. 79–80) mentions the symbolism of the Eight Paradises of Humayun's "Floating Palace" of 1532; the source is Baini Prashad, trans., *Qanun-i-Humayun . . . of Khwandamir*, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1940, 63ff.

[42] See Séguy, pl. 42, for an explanation of the houris, see E. Berthels, "Die paradiesischen Jungfrauen (Huris) in Islam," *Islamica*, I, 1925, 263–287.

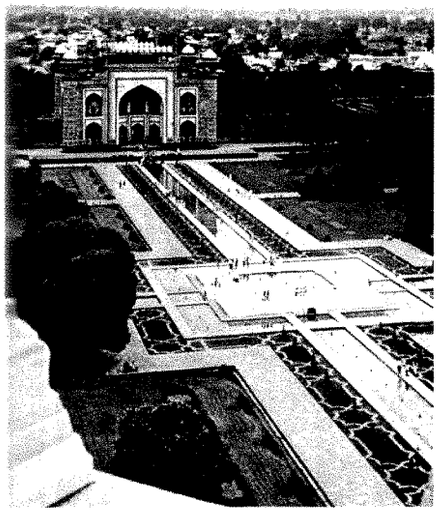
[43] For a discussion of the background of Islamic prohibitions against figurative imagery in general, and images of God or his attributes in particular, see: Arnold, 1–40; Georges Marçais, "La Question des images dans l'art musulman," *Byzantion*, VII, 1932, 161–183; Ahmad Muhammad Isa, "Muslims and Taswir," *Muslim World*, XLV, 1955, 250–268; Marshall Hodgson, "Islam and Image," *History of Religion*, III, 1964, 220–260; cf. Burckhardt, 27ff. See also the article by Erica Dodd.

The theological implications of the Divine Throne, particularly the questions raised by the Koranic references to God's sitting upon it, are discussed in Wensinck, 67ff.; cf. Thomas J. O'Shaughnessy, "God's Throne and the Biblical Symbolism of the Qur'an," *Numen*, XX, 1973, 202–221.

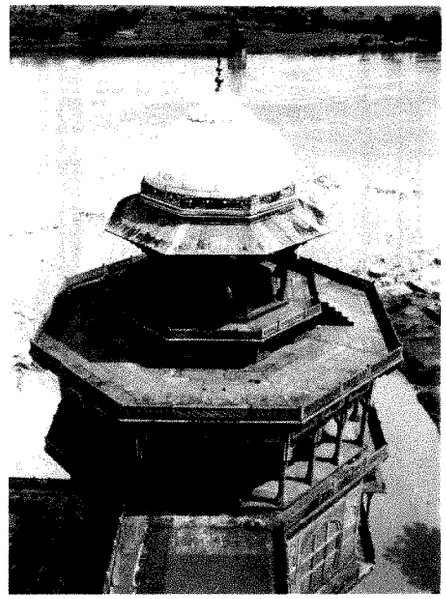
[44] The crown held by Jahangir is usually said to be that of his ancestor Timur; see Ivan Stchoukine, *La Peinture indienne à l'époque des grands Moghols*, Paris, 1929, pl. XXIb. Although crowns were not worn by the Mughal emperors, they obviously played an important symbolic role, along with other emblems of sovereignty and dynastic succession.

[45] For the Persian painting repro. in Fig. 18, see Laurence Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, and Basil Gray, *Persian Miniature Painting*, London, 1933 (repr. New York, 1971), No. 141; for the Mughal painting in Fig. 19, see Arnold and Wilkinson, I, 33, and III, pl. 65. Throne-backs in Persian paintings of the 14th and 15th centuries typically have the form of low, slightly pointed arches; by the 16th century, however, the arch comes to resemble the slightly bulbous shapes of structural Persian domes, as in Fig. 18. It should be noted that, unlike European thrones, Persian thrones frequently have high polygonal sides, making them appear much more architectonic in character.

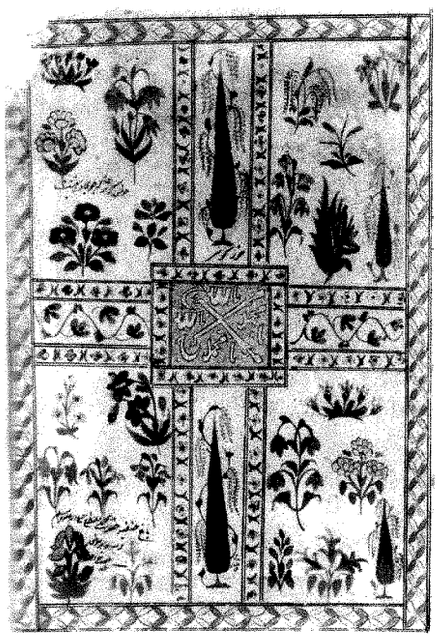
[46] Since Shah Jahan was only thirteen years old when his grandfather died, the painting is of course allegorical, with posthumous portraits of both Akbar and Jahangir. As pointed out by Arnold and Wilkinson (I, 33), the figures standing in front of each of the emperors represent their respective Grand Vizir or other trusted minister—Iᶜtimad al-Dawla in front of Jahangir; Khan Aᶜzam in front of Akbar; and Asaf Khan in front of Shah Jahan.



11 Garden of Taj Mahal, looking toward gateway



14 Octagonal pavilion *(burj)* at northeast corner of Taj Mahal complex



12 *Plan of the Garden of Paradise*, from "Illustrated Guide to Mecca and the Hereafter," India, early 18th century. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Pers. d. 29, fol. 21r (photo: Library)

15 *Muhammad and Gabriel in Paradise*, from Herat *Mi'raj-Nama*, 1436. Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS Suppl. Turc 190, fol. 51r (photo: Bibl. Nat.)

13 *Muhammad Seated Beside the* Kawthar *Tank in Paradise*, from Qajar-period Shi'ah divination album, Persia, early 19th century. Amsterdam, formerly Ethnography Museum (after Houtsma)

tion in visual form, the Throne of God has often been explicitly "described" in traditional and mystical writings.[47] In the popular or fundamentalist view, the Divine Throne literally exists, and is not just an allegorical symbol of God's inscrutable majesty. Briefly stated, medieval Islamic cosmology describes the Throne, called *ᶜArsh* in Arabic, as an infinitely vast structure situated upon a raised plinth or pedestal called the *Kursi*. Directly beneath the terrace of the Throne, God created the celestial Gardens of Paradise, which are protected by Rizwan—the gatekeeper of Paradise and guardian of the treasure under the Throne—and are filled with beautiful palaces and sensual delights. According to Islamic tradition, on the Day of Judgment, the faithful will enter Paradise and approach the terrace of the Throne, where they will witness the vision of God as radiant and indescribable beauty.[48]

This cosmological conception is fairly frequently represented in Christian art, but Islamic depictions are extremely rare, although judging from the examples that do survive, they must have once formed part of a distinct, if highly unorthodox iconographic tradition. The earliest Islamic depiction of the Throne of God that I know of is the geometric diagram (Fig. 20) in the Sufi treatise *Futuhat al-Makkiyya*, by the great thirteenth-century mystic Ibn al-ᶜArabi.[49] In the diagram the *ᶜArsh* is shown as a large square circumscribed within two concentric circles, and the *Kursi* is shown as a smaller square within the first, the place for God's feet being marked at the top. Although his diagram is largely abstract, Ibn al-ᶜArabi likens the Throne of God to an actual throne *(sarir)*, furnished with four pillars or supports *(qawaᶜim)* at the corners, which are usually connected in the popular view with the four angels who serve as the bearers of the Divine Throne.[50] Ibn al-ᶜArabi's conception is an aniconic version of various

[47] No definitive study of Islamic conceptions of the Throne of God has yet been published, largely because the Arabic sources are so voluminous, and linguistically difficult to deal with. Although a few of the Hadith collections have been translated, none of the extensive multi-volumed works of traditional Koranic exegesis, or *Tafsir*, is yet available in any European language. Both of these categories of Islamic theological literature include extensive discussions of the Throne of God; see, e.g., the excerpts contained in Gätje, 146–150, 164ff.; cf. the detailed descriptions of Paradise and what it contains in the important 14th-century Hadith collection *Mishkat al-Masabih*, trans. James Robson, II, 1196ff.

Many other, mostly non-orthodox literary sources describe Paradise and the Divine Throne with even more explicit detail, apparently reflecting widespread preferences for a more literal cosmology, expressed by Sufi mystics and fundamentalist believers alike. Some of these explicit descriptions are bizarre, as, e.g., the medieval commentator Husaini's statement that "the throne has 8,000 pillars, and the distance between each pillar is 3,000,000 miles" (cited in Thomas Patrick Hughes, s.v. "ᶜARSH"); whereas others propose a much more down-to-earth explanation, as in the cosmological and historical treatise attributed to al-Maqdisi: see Huart, trans., I, 152ff. According to the author of this work, certain scholars "disent que le trône resemble à un *sarîr*" (a type of Persian royal throne); and "beaucoup d'anthropomorphistes croient que l'*ᶜarch* est une sorte de trône sur lequel Dieu est assis." Although there is disagreement as to the material the Throne is composed of (some commentators maintaining it is made of light, others of emerald or red hyacinth), all are agreed that it is infinitely vast, encompassing all of the created universe within its perimeter.

For other detailed descriptions of the Throne, and of Muhammad's approach to it during the *Miᶜraj*, see Cerulli, 82ff.; Pavet de Courteille, 12ff.; cf. Reynold A. Nicholson, "An Early Arabic Version of the *Miᶜraj* of Abu Yazid al-Bistami," *Islamica*, II, 1927, 403–415.

[48] The Vision of God is regarded by mystics and fundamentalists alike as the ultimate reward of Paradise, although there were (and are) widely differing views as to whether the Vision is real or allegorical; the literature on this subject is too vast to be mentioned here, but see the introduction in Wensinck, 63ff.; cf. the recent article by Georges Vajda, "Le Problème de la vision de Dieu d'après Yusuf al-Basir," in *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition, Essays presented . . . to Richard Walzer*, Oxford, 1972, 473–489.

[49] See *Futuhat*, III, 422. The diagram is one of a series of nine large cosmological designs occurring in chap. 371 of this enormous summation of the author's entire monistic metaphysical system. The diagrams in the printed edition faithfully reproduce Ibn al-ᶜArabi's original designs, contained in the autograph copy of his second version of the text, which he completed in 1238, just two years before his death. Formerly in Konya, this uniquely important manuscript is now preserved in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müsezi in Istanbul (in 37 vols., Env. Nos. 1845–1881). The first Western scholar to call attention to the existence of the *Futuhat's* diagrams was the distinguished Spanish Islamicist Miguel Asín Palacios, first in his article "Mohidin," and again in his controversial book (1919) in which he shocked the world of medieval scholarship by proposing that Dante's *Divine Comedy* was largely based upon Islamic prototypes, including possibly the *Futuhat*, or at least upon the cosmological concepts reflected in its diagrams.

Asín published only a few of the diagrams, not including the present one. A detailed analysis of the series of nine large diagrams in Vol. III was first made in my paper, "The Cosmological Diagrams in Ibn al-ᶜArabi's *Futuhat al-Makkiyya* and the Iconography of the Throne of God in Islamic Art," presented at the 187th Meeting of the American Oriental Society, in Ithaca, New York (April, 1977), which is presently being prepared for publication.

[50] *Futuhat*, III, 430ff., where the Throne diagram and its symbolism are discussed in detail. Although the angels who support the Divine Throne are mentioned in most treatises on eschatology, as well as those dealing with the *Miᶜraj*, their names are given only in a few later works, where they are sometimes identified as the archangels Seraphiel, Michael, Gabriel, and Azrael. That these identifications represent a later tradition is indicated by the descriptions of the angels in earlier works as having respectively the form of a man and an eagle, a lion and a bull, an obvious borrowing from the Christian symbols of the four Evangelists (to be discussed below).

16 Taj Mahal

17 Attributed to Bichitr, *Portrait of Jahangir Holding Ceremonial Crown*, ca. 1620. London, British Museum (after Stchoukine)

18 *Kay Kavus in His Flying Throne* (detail), from MS of Firdawsi's *Shah-Nama*, Persia, 1531. Iran, formerly Ardabil Shrine (after Binyon)

19 Bichitr, *Allegorical Portraits of Jahangir, Akbar and Shah Jahan*, ca. 1640. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library (photo: Library)

medieval Christian depictions, including certain Early Christian and Byzantine ones (Fig. 21), which perhaps indirectly served as his artistic sources.[51]

Incidentally, in later Persian mystical treatises, the four supports of the Throne of God are said to have as their symbolic counterparts the four *Awtad*, or the four terrestrial "poles" in the Sufi hierarchy of saints.[52] This cosmological conception probably lies behind the Taj's unusual grouping of four minarets, since they are metaphorically referred to as the four *Awtad* in Lahawri's account of the Taj complex.[53]

Despite its abstruseness, Ibn al-ᶜArabi's treatise was widely circulated throughout the Islamic world, and its diagrams seem to have served as the basis of a more popular cosmological design (Fig. 22) in an eighteenth-century Turkish encyclopedia called the *Maᶜrifet-Name*.[54] In this diagram, the Kaᶜba occupies the exact center of the earth, while directly above are the seven heavens and the eight Paradises—here shown as a stepped pyramid, with the branches of the inverted celestial Lote-tree growing downward through its various levels. In keeping with the orthodox view that the *ᶜArsh* and *Kursı* are infinitely vast in size, including both Paradise and Hell within their perimeter, the designer of the Turkish diagram has ingeniously designated the outer frame as the locus of their all-encompassing nature.[55] Those who bear the Throne are positioned at either side, and the ends of the narrow outer band mark the position of the Throne's pillars *(qawaᶜim)*.[56] Intervening between the outer bands of the Divine Realm and the inner zones of Paradise, Earth, and Hell is a narrow shaded band labeled the Barrier *(Barzakh)*; and attached to its inner side are representations of the Guarded Tablet *(Lawḥ al-Mahfuz)* and the Divine Pen

[51] Ibn al-ᶜArabi's diagram is strikingly similar to numerous Christian depictions of the *Majestas Domini*, which he could have seen either in his native Spain, or in Damascus, where he spent his later years, after making the pilgrimage to Mecca. He undoubtedly saw some Byzantine icons somewhere during his travels, as we know from a remarkable passage in the *Futuhat*, in which he writes that "the Byzantines developed the art of painting to perfection because, for them, the singular nature [*al-fardaniyyah*] of our Lord Jesus, is the supreme support of concentration upon Divine Unity" (cited in Burckhardt, *Art of Islam*, 30). For a detailed explication of Ibn al-ᶜArabi's theology, see A. E. Affifi, *The Mystical Philosophy of Ibnul ᶜArabi*, Lahore, 1964 (repr.); cf. Henry Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn ᶜArabi*, trans. Ralph Manheim (*Bollingen Series* XCI), Princeton, 1969; and S. A. Q. Husaini, *The Pantheistic Monism of Ibn al-ᶜArabi*, Lahore, 1970.

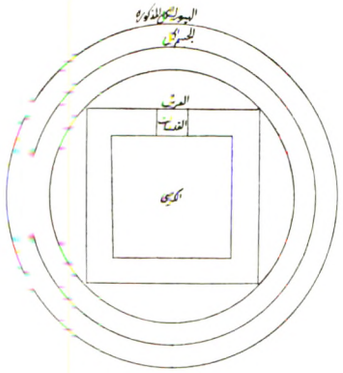
[52] Corbin, *Creative Imagination*, 45 and *passim*; see also the study by Corbin in bibliog., I, 121–123, 202ff. According to esoteric Shiᶜah theology, the spiritual order of the world is upheld by the cosmic hidden *Imam*, who is conceived metaphorically as the mystical axis of the entire created universe—called *Qutb al-Aqtab*, or "Pole of Poles." The spiritual subordinates of the *Qutb*, including the four *Awtad*, are arranged hierarchically around him according to their spiritual rank, like courtiers around an emperor. In many Shiᶜah mystical treatises, the four *Awtad* are equated symbolically with the four archangels, as well as with the four pillars of the Throne of God.

[53] Lahawri, *Badshah Namah*, II, 327: "The courtyard of the mosque provides an inspiring setting for worship for the four saintly Pillars of the faith [*Awtad*], and its blissful atmosphere invites the faithful to kneel down before God Almighty." It should be noted that the Taj's grouping of minarets is not entirely without precedent; in addition to those on the gateway of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra, several structures in Timurid Iran may have indirectly served as models: see Jairazbhoy, 69ff.

[54] Repro. in Ibrahim Haqqi, *Ma ᶜrifet Name*, Bulaq, 1835–36, 22. Haqqi's work was completed in 1756–57, and exists in numerous manuscript copies, as well as in various printed editions, of which the edition of 1835–36 appears to be the earliest. The first Western scholar to note Haqqi's diagrams was the distinguished French Islamicist Carra de Vaux in "Fragments." The influence of the *Futuhat*, on later Islamic mysticism was so great that it is entirely possible that its series of nine large geometric designs may have constituted a major iconographic source of the *Maᶜrifet Name* diagrams, either directly or through some as yet undiscovered intermediary. For an important series of cosmological diagrams in a 14th-century commentary on another of Ibn al-ᶜArabi's major treatises, see Henry Corbin and Osman Yahia, eds., *Le Texte des Textes* [*Nass al-Nosûs*], *Commentaire des "Fosûs al-hikam" d'Ibn ᶜArabi: Les Prolégomènes* (*Bibliothèque Iranienne*, XXII), Teheran and Paris, 1975, text, 3–30.

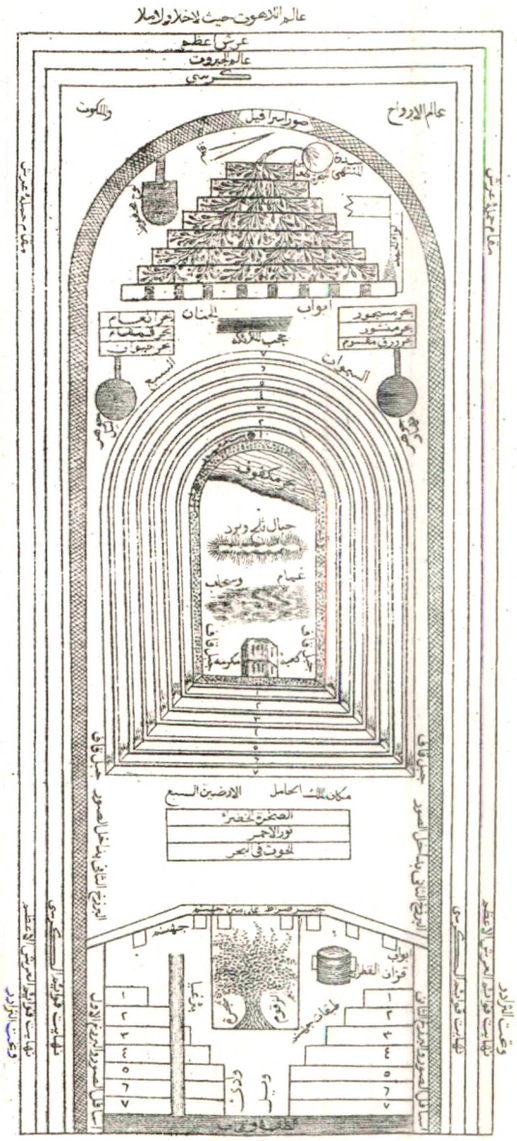
[55] Haqqi's design constitutes a remarkable solution to the delicate theological problems involved in attempting such an unorthodox representation, since the Divine Throne and Pedestal obviously could not be depicted in the same "topographical" manner as the other features of the diagram, owing to their exalted religious significance. As in Ibn al-ᶜArabi's Throne diagram, the empty band beyond the banded architectural frame is to be construed as the realm of the undifferentiated Essence of God, here specified by an Arabic label at the top reading: "Realm of Divine Essence, where there is neither Emptiness nor Fullness." Since this "empty" zone is apparently conceived as expanding limitlessly into space, the first cosmic feature to take shape, as it were, within the diagram is the *ᶜArsh* or Divine Throne, symbolized by the outermost of the three bands making up the diagram's conceptual frame. The innermost band is labeled *Kursı*, or Pedestal. Intervening between these two bands is one inscribed *ᶜAlam al-Jabrut*, or "Realm of Power" which, along with the "Realm of Divine Essence" (*ᶜAlam al-Lahut*) at the top, and the "Realm of Sovereignty" (*ᶜAlam al-Malakut*) beneath the *Kursi*, make up the three esoteric realms associated with the Divine Throne and Pedestal in traditional Islamic cosmology.

[56] Both of these sets of Arabic labels occur in the outermost Throne band. It should be noted that the word *qaᶜim* (pl. *qawaᶜim*), like other Arabic words for "pillar," also has symbolic connotations; in particular it is the epithet of the hidden *Imam*, who will in effect preside over the events of the Final Day as the *Qaᶜim al-Qiyamat*, or "Pillar of the Resurrection"; see references in Corbin.



20 Ibn al-ʿArabi, *Diagram of the Throne of God and Its Pedestal*, from autograph MS of *Futuhat al-Makkiyya*, 1238. Istanbul, Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi (after Cairo ed.)

21 *The Holy Trinity Enthroned*, from Greek New Testament codex, 12th century. Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibliothek, Suppl. gr. 52, fol. 1v (after L. von Matt, *The Councils*, London, 1961, pl. 10)



22 *Diagram of the Eight Paradises, the Seven Heavenly and Earthly Spheres, and the Seven Hells*, from Ibrahim Haqqi, *Maʿrifet-Name*, Bulaq, 1835–36

(*Qalam*), which God used to transcribe the subsequent destiny of the world.[57] It is curious that the Guarded Tablet and Pen are placed *within* the Barrier, since the prevailing view of medieval Islamic cosmology seems to have been that these were the very first "physical objects" created by God, even before he created the Throne and Pedestal. In Ibn al-ʿArabi's esoteric cosmology, the Pen stands for the First Intelligence (*ʿAql al-Awwal*) and the "Shadow" of God's own essence; and the Guarded Tablet stands for the "Light" of God's es-

[57] The Guarded Tablet is shown as a small escutcheon-shaped device; and the Pen is V-shaped, pointing toward the right. For explanations, see *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1st ed., s.v. "LAWH"; 2nd ed., s.v. "BARZAKH" and "KALAM"; cf. Carra de Vaux, 29; and Wensinck, 162, where the following Hadith is cited: "The first thing Allah created was the pen. Then He said: Write, and it wrote at that moment all that was to happen till the day of resurrection."

Both the Pen and the Guarded Tablet, which is equated with the heavenly prototype of the Koran, are said to be infinitely vast in size; one Hadith states that "Allah created the preserved table from a white pearl which is seven times longer than the distance between Heaven and Earth" (cited in Wensinck, 148; see also Huart, trans., I, 149ff.).

It should be noted that other sources present a different sequence of Creation, sometimes with the Throne and Pedestal heading the list; and elsewhere, the Throne and the entire heavenly realm are either said to have come into existence simultaneously, or else to be coeternal with God, or with the Divine Radiance that represents the tangible aspect of his otherwise intangible nature; see John MacDonald, "The Creation of Man and Angels in the Eschatological Literature," *Islamic Studies*, V, 1966, 285–308.

P, 6434

sence manifested as the Universal Soul *(Nafs al-Kulliya)*. But these esoteric notions are not contained in the diagram illustrated, which reflects much more the views of popular Islam.[58]

V

Although diagrammatic representations such as these have been known for some time, it is curious that no Islamic figurative depictions of the Throne of God have so far been published. In my view, figurative images of the Divine Throne grew out of the tradition of illustrations to the sections on angelology in manuscripts of al-Qazwini's famous work *ᶜAja'ib al-Makhluqat*, or "Wonders of Creation."[59] Perhaps the earliest surviving copy of this work is the one dated to A.D. 1280 now in Munich, which contains an illustration (Fig. 23) depicting the four angels who support the Divine Throne, in the shape of a man and an ox and an eagle and a lion, an obvious borrowing from the Christian tradition of representing the symbols of the four Evangelists.[60] From a very early date, the diagrammatic tradition and the figurative tradition seem to have existed in combinations, judging from an illustration (Fig. 24) in the unique and highly controversial sixteenth-century copy of a thirteenth-century Persian *Diatessaron* manuscript, now preserved in Florence.[61] In this illustration, the angels are displayed around a square, subdivided in the middle by lines symbolizing the four Rivers of Paradise, seemingly an attempt to show Paradise as being encompassed by the Divine Throne.[62] A much more specific figurative rendering occurs in a late sixteenth-century al-Qazwini manuscript now in Teheran, where the supporting angels uphold a flaming architectonic Throne, only the lower portion of which is depicted (Fig. 25).[63] By the early eighteenth century, however, judging from an Indian manuscript in the Bodleian Library (the source of the Paradise plan mentioned earlier), certain artists did not hesitate to show the entire Throne, depicting a sort of stylized trapezoidal base surmounted by a low bulbous dome, being supported by winged angels in human form (Fig. 26).[64]

[58] For Ibn al-ᶜArabi's esoteric theory of Divine Emanation, see Asín Palacios, "Mohidín," 229ff.; an even fuller discussion, tracing the origins of Ibn al-ᶜArabi's thought, is found in the same author's *Abenmasarra y su escuela: Origenes de la filosofía hispano-musulmana*, Madrid, 1914 (cf. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "IBN MASARRA"). See also T. Burckhardt, *Clé spirituelle de l'astrologie musulmane d'après Mohyiddîn Ibn Arabî*, Paris, 1950; cf. below, the discussion of Fig. 38.

[59] Completed in 1276, the *ᶜAja'ib* is essentially a cosmographical treatise, although it includes sections on popular Islamic cosmology as well. Frequently translated into Persian, the original Arabic version exists in a German translation by Hermann Ethé, *Kosmographie: Die Wunder der Schöpfung*, Leipzig, 1868. For a recent discussion of some Qazwini illustrations in the Freer Gallery, see Esin Atil, *The Art of the Arab World*, Washington, D.C., 1975, 115ff.

[60] For the description of these angels in the text, see Ethé, 114–155; cf. Atil, 122 and pl. 61. Since the Munich illustration shows all four angels as winged, it is curious that most surviving Qazwini manuscripts preserve the wings for only the angel in human form.

[61] See Carl Nordenfalk, "An Illustrated Diatessaron," *Art Bulletin*, L, 1968, 119–140; cf. Meyer Schapiro and seminar, "The Miniatures of the Florence Diatessaron (Laurentian MS Or. 81): Their Place in Late Medieval Art and Supposed Connection with Early Christian and Insular Art," *Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, 494–531; and in the same issue, Carl Nordenfalk, "The Diatessaron Miniatures Once More," 533–546.

[62] This is not the place to present my views on this manuscript in detail, since I plan to do so in a forthcoming article entitled "An Islamic Depiction of the Throne of God in a Christian Manuscript." Suffice it to say here that both Nordenfalk and Schapiro have failed to recognize the specifically Islamic character of the representation, and its probable debt to the diagrams in Ibn al-ᶜArabi's *Futuhat* manuscripts, which, as we know, were widely circulated throughout the Islamic world from the 13th century on. In the *Futuhat*, the next diagram in the sequence after the Throne diagram (Cairo ed., 423) depicts the Gardens of Paradise, which the author states in his captions are "framed" by the square shapes of the *ᶜArsh* and *Kursi*. Thus the artist of the Florence *Diatessaron* illustration has combined an essentially aniconic diagram of the Throne of God with figurative representations of the four angels who support it. Incidentally, an even closer visual parallel to the crossed lines of the *Diatessaron* Paradise diagram may be found in another diagram designed by Ibn al-ᶜArabi and included in one of his lesser works; see H. S. Nyberg, *Kleinere Schriften des Ibn al-ᶜArabi*, Leiden, 1919, Arabic text, 23. Although it is possible that the original 13th-century Persian translation of the *Diatessaron* may have included an illustration similar to the present one, it should be noted that the braided ornamental pattern on the frame of the *ᶜArsh* is almost exactly identical to the design on the bottom of the Throne of God illustrated in Fig. 25, done by a Persian artist in the late 16th century, or about fifty years after the manuscript in Florence was executed.

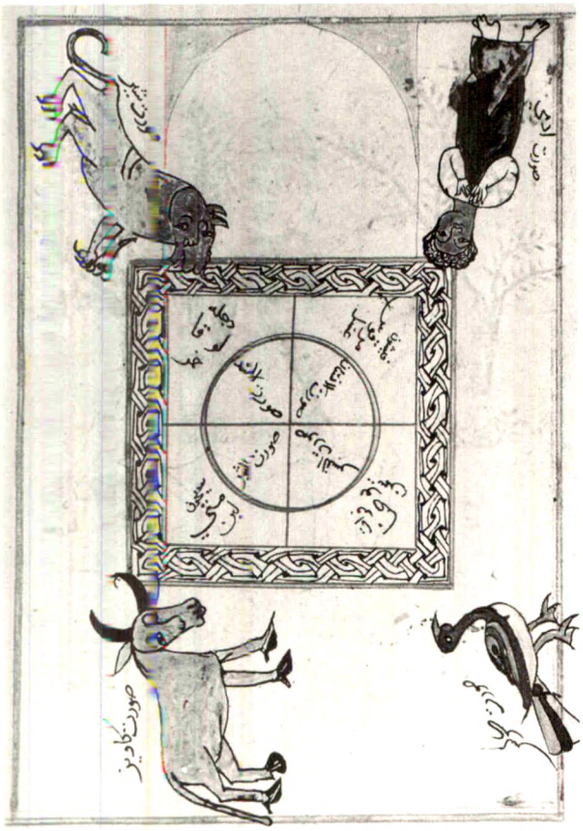
[63] This previously unpublished manuscript was exhibited in 1976 at the Hayward Gallery in London, in connection with the World of Islam Festival; see *The Arts of Islam*, London, 1976, 366 (Cat. No. 623). I am grateful to Mr. Robert Skelton of the Victoria and Albert Museum for drawing my attention to this important manuscript, whose Throne of God illustration is apparently unique. At least, no other architectonic depiction of a flaming Throne has so far come to light; neither apparently, have any other Qazwini manuscripts been published that show the supporting angels in human form with animal heads (the Herat *Miᶜraj-Nama* may be the ultimate prototype for the flames associated with the Throne; see Séguy, pls. 34, 37).

[64] For reference, see above, n. 38. Accompanying the illustration is a Persian label stating that it is an "image of the Divine Throne" *(surat-i-ᶜArsh)*, and that those who carry it are the source of the apocryphal Hadith that the souls of the virtuous will be transformed in Paradise into birds hovering around the Throne of God. For a discussion of this and similar popular Islamic beliefs, see Ragnar Eklund, *Life Between Death and Resurrection According to Islam*, Uppsala, 1941, 17ff.; see also A. J. Wensinck, *Tree and Bird as Cosmological Symbols in Western Asia*, Amsterdam, 1921; and Corbin, III, 315ff.

Despite its exalted subject matter, the Bodleian illustration is strangely bland and unpretentious. Only two of the angels lift up their arms as if to support the Throne; two others grasp what seem to be streamers falling from its two front corners, although these are probably intended to suggest the legs of the Throne. Although his rendering is highly stylized, it is obvious that the painter was familiar with other depictions of thrones in Persian and Mughal painting, and that he consciously attempted to make his representation as graphically real as possible, in keeping with the fundamentalist view that the Divine Throne literally exists. The only puzzling feature is the apparent placement of the "dome" in the center of the Throne's base, leaving no place to sit, but perhaps this arrangement was intended to suggest the invisible presence of the Deity within (for a possible literary parallel, see the fable summarized by Franz Rosenthal, "The Empty Throne," *Studia Islamica*, XXXI, 1970, 233–238).

23 *The Four Angels Who Support the Throne of God*, from al-Qazwini's *ʿAja' ib al-Makhluqat*, executed at Wasit (Iraq), 1280. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS C. arab. 464, fol. 31v (Photo: Bibliothek)

25 *Four Angels Supporting the Throne of God*, from al-Qazwini's *ʿAja'ib al-Makhluqat*, Persia, 1595. Teheran, Iran Bastan Museum, MS No. 20342, fol. 30r (photo: Museum)



24 *The Four Angels Who Support the Throne of God*, from a Persian MS of Tatian's *Diatessaron*, Armenia, copied from a 13th-century version ca. 1547. Florence, Laurentian Library, Cod. Orient. 81, fol. 128v (after Nordenfalk)

26 *Four Angels Supporting the Throne of God*, from "Illustrated Guide to Mecca and the Hereafter," MS Pers. d. 29, fol. 66r (photo: Bodleian Library)

27 Jan Sadeler, after a design by Martin de Vos, *The Heavenly Jerusalem*, engraving, 1579. The Hague, Netherlands Institute for Art History (photo: Institute)

If even these few depictions survive, there must surely have been others, a group that would point to the existence of an iconographic tradition of representing the Throne of God, of which the architects of the Taj may well have been aware. In addition to its role in Islamic mysticism and eschatology, the *ʿArsh* came to be regarded in Persian and Mughal literature as the divine model of architectural perfection. As a result, Mughal court poets often alluded metaphorically to the Divine Throne, as they extolled the magnificence of imperial architectural projects. Thus the inscriptions on the gateway of Akbar's tomb—which seem to have been both composed and inscribed by Amanat Khan, the calligrapher of the Taj Mahal—extravagantly claim that "this lofty palace eclipses the fame of the high Throne of God."[65] These words reiterate the imagery of the three couplets inscribed on the entrance façade, the last line of which was mentioned earlier:

Hail, blessed space happier than the garden of Paradise!
Hail, lofty building higher than the Divine Throne!

A Paradise, the garden of which has thousands of Rizwans as servants,
The garden of which has thousands of Paradises for its land.

The pen of the mason of the Divine Decree has written on its court:
"These are the gardens of Eden, enter then to live for ever!"[66]

In the official histories of Shah Jahan's reign, the detailed descriptions of the Taj complex also contain similar metaphorical imagery, as in Lahawri's characterization of the Taj's garden as "this replica of the garden of Paradise" (". . . *in namudar-i-jannat*"), or his description of the mausoleum as presenting "a vision of the heavenly gardens of Rizwan."[67] Although such expressions were highly conventional in the effusive rhetoric of Persian literature, the vast scale of the Mughal garden tombs effectively charged them with a new grandiloquence. In the case of the Taj Mahal, the metaphor seems to have been consciously raised to a special level of symbolic reality.

A view of the Taj, juxtaposed to the Heavenly Jerusalem of the Book of Revelation in a sixteenth-century Flemish print (Fig. 27), is suggestive of the kind of allegory I think the architects of the Taj had in mind. Incidentally, it is entirely possible that a copy of this print, by Jan Sadeler after a design by Martin de Vos, may have reached India and the Mughal court.[68] Other prints by the same artist are known to have been in the collection of the Emperor Jahangir, who prided himself on his knowledge of Christian iconography and was especially fond of allegorical subjects.[69] In the print, the Heavenly Jerusalem is shown as a symmetrical walled city, with palaces arranged on streets laid out in a regular grid pattern. In the sky, God the Father

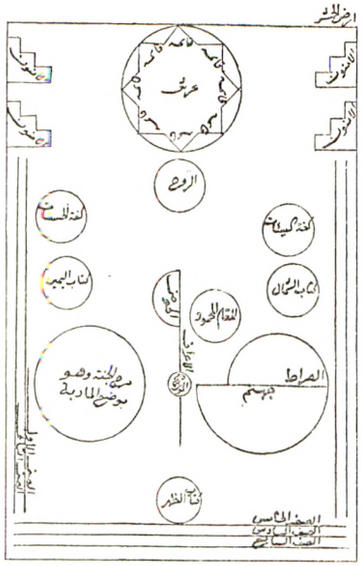
[65] Smith, 32.

[66] *Ibid.*, 34–35. Although metaphorical allusions to Paradise formed a stock-in-trade of courtly panegyrics of the period, the positioning of the couplets seems deliberate. Whether or not Amanat Khan actually composed the couplets himself, it is obvious that his calligraphic layout reinforces their metaphorical imagery and overall rhetorical effect.

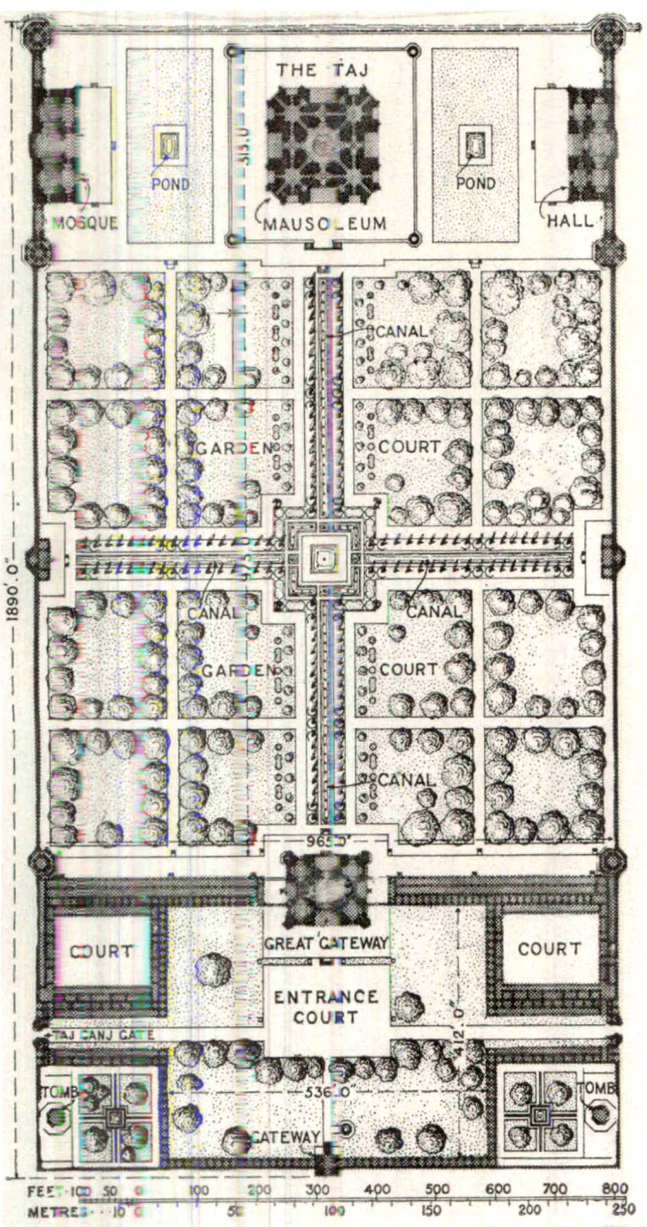
[67] *Badshah Namah*, II, 323ff. In his flowery description, Lahawri also states that the vast terrace foundation along the river ranks "with the Throne of God in magnificence"; and elsewhere he characterizes the mausoleum proper as "this *ʿArsh*-like structure." Interestingly enough, the technical term in Persian for the marble terrace upon which the tomb stands is *kursi*, the same word that is applied to the Pedestal of the Divine Throne.

[68] For a discussion of the influence of European painting and prints upon Mughal painting, see Edward Maclagen, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, London, 1932, 222ff.; for some of the Sadeler prints that reached India, see Milo Cleveland Beach, "The Gulshan Album and Its European Sources," *Bulletin*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, LXIII, 1965, 63–91; see also Richard Ettinghausen, "New Pictorial Evidence of Catholic Missionary Activity in Mughal India (Early XVIIth Century)," *Perennitas*, ed. H. Rahner, Münster, 1963, 385–396. For discussion of a Mughal manuscript that was sent by Shah Jahan to England in 1638, as a gift for Charles I, see J. V. S. Wilkinson, "An Indian Manuscript of the Golestan of the Shah Jahan Period," *Ars Orientalis*, II, 1957, 423–425.

[69] See Richard Ettinghausen, "The Emperor's Choice," in *De Artibus Opuscula*, XL, *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York, 1961, 98–120.



28 Ibn al-ᶜArabi, *Diagram of the Plain Assembly (Ard al-Hashr) on the Day of Judgment*, from autograph MS of *Futuhat al-Makkiyya*



29 Plan of Taj Mahal (after Fletcher)

sits majestically amid the clouds, which were probably employed by the artist as a substitute for the great white Throne described in Revelation 20ff. The visionary arrangement of the print is paralleled in the layout of the Taj and its garden, with the great domed outline of the tomb appearing almost to float on the horizon, suspended majestically between Heaven and earth—calling to mind the supposed words of Muhammad at the time of his ascension: "I saw there His Throne, which seemed joined to Heaven in such a manner that it appeared that Heaven and the Throne were created together."[70]

VI

In effect, the layout of the Taj complex and the apocalyptic imagery running through the Koranic inscriptions strongly suggest that the monument was conceived as a vast allegory of the Day of Resurrection, when the dead shall arise and proceed to the place of Judgment beneath the Divine Throne.[71] Although Christian depictions of the Last Judgment were known and copied in Mughal India,[72] a far closer iconographic parallel to the Taj's allegorical conception is provided by the diagram of the "Plain of Assembly" (Fig. 28), contained in Ibn al-ᶜArabi's *Futuhat al-Makkiyya*.[73] Incidentally, a copy of this important manuscript is known to have belonged to the Emperor Jahangir, who inscribed it and presented it to a famous Sufi of Gujarat, the father of one of Shah Jahan's most trusted companions, whom he appointed to an extremely high rank in the

[70] Cerulli, 82: ". . . ie vi sa chaere que estoit iointe au ciel, en maniere qu'il me sembloit qe li ciel et la chaere fussent creez ensemble."

[71] In addition to the works of Islamic eschatology already cited, see John MacDonald, "The Day of Resurrection," *Islamic Studies*, 1966, 129–197; cf. M. Wolff, trans., *Muhammedanische Eschatologie*, Leipzig, 1872; and John Bowman, "A British Museum Arabic Eschatological Fragment," *Muslim World*, XXXVIII, 1948, 198–217.

[72] See R. H. Pinder-Wilson, *Paintings from the Muslim Courts of India*, exh. cat., London, 1976, 63 (Cat. No. 94a): Nanha and Manohar, *The Last Judgement*, ca. 1605, added to a manuscript of Mir ᶜAli Shir's *Khamsa* (copied at Herat, 1492), now in the Royal Library, Windsor. According to an autograph note by Jahangir, the manuscript was one of his "most treasured books"; even more important for our purposes is the autograph note by Shah Jahan, dated 1627–28, and recording his ownership of the manuscript, which probably came into his possession at the time of his coronation in February, 1628.

[73] *Futuhat* (Cairo ed.), III, 425 and 438–440.

Mughal nobility.[74] To my knowledge, this diagram is unique in all of Islamic art. As a representation of the Day of Judgment, the diagram incorporates numerous eschatological notions about the hereafter: the pulpits for the righteous flanking the Throne—shown as an eight-pointed star inscribed within a circle—on either side; the Tank of Abundance *(al-Hawd al-Kawthar)* in the center; the Praiseworthy Station *(al-Maqam al-Mahmud)* beside it, where Muhammad will stand to intercede for the faithful, who will be allowed to enter Paradise (the circle at the left), while the wicked will fall from the *Sirat* bridge into Hell (the bifurcated circle at right). In marked contrast to the other diagrams we have seen, here the Throne is situated within a clearly defined space, with a measurable relationship in size to its surroundings. In fact, the spatial relationships of all the features of the diagram are so specific that it resembles an actual architectural plan, a plan that is curiously similar to the layout of the Taj and its garden (Fig. 29).[75]

Not only does the Throne have a "measurable" physical relationship to the area of the Plain of Assembly, but Ibn al-ᶜArabi has also furnished it with explicit, although stylized structural characteristics. Thus, each of the angles of the eight-pointed star is identified by an Arabic label as the place of a *qaᶜim*, or "pillar" supporting the Throne. These eight pillars of the Throne apparently allude to the well-known Koranic passage, "and eight will, that Day, bear the Throne of thy Lord above them,"[76] implying that the usual number of four supports will be doubled on the Day of Judgment. Because of the increase in the number of the Throne's bearers, some mystical accounts of the Resurrection imply that the "architectonic" structure of the Throne will itself be altered, its shape changing from square to octagonal. In any event, the "pillars" on the diagram strongly evoke the image of actual throne structures, like the *sarir* which Ibn al-ᶜArabi alluded to in his explanation of the diagram of the Divine Throne and Pedestal. Whether or not the architects of the Taj knew this diagram, it is obvious that their decision to place the mausoleum at one end of the garden, rather than in the center (as had been the case in all previous Mughal garden tombs), allowed for a much more specific, one-to-one symbolic equation between the architectural features and their celestial prototypes.[77]

The Koranic passages inscribed on the mausoleum itself (Fig. 30) appear to bear out the allegorical interpretation proposed here: they allude both to the

[74] See M. Mahfuzul Haq, "A Valuable Manuscript of the Futûhât-al Makkîyya," *Islamic Culture*, XIII, 1939, 215–221. The manuscript, which is bound in five volumes, is presently in the library of the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta. Although the colophon is missing, there are various autograph notes which allow its ownership to be traced from the late 16th to the middle of the 17th century. The earliest of these is signed by the powerful noble ᶜAbd al-Rahim, Khan-i-Khanan (1556–1627), and records his acquisition of the manuscript in 1584. Sometime before 1619, the manuscript passed into the library of the Emperor Jahangir, since in that year he inscribed it to Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Gujarat as a present. Or rather, according to his autograph note, Jahangir (who was then at Agra) deputed Mir Sayyid Jalal al-Din Muhammad, the son of Sayyid Muhammad, to take it to his father, described in the note as a mystic "adorned with the qualities of excellence and rectitude." The third autograph note is that of Sayyid Muhammad, who inscribed the book to his son, possibly soon after he had brought it to Gujarat. In view of the fact that Sayyid Jalal al-Din (1595–1647) was a close companion of Shah Jahan, as well as a Sufi scholar, it is possible that his copy of the *Futuhat* may have been consulted by those responsible for the design of the Taj and the conception of its symbolic meaning. But considering the high regard in which Indian mystics held Ibn al-ᶜArabi, who came to be called *al-Shaykh al-Akbar*, or "The Greatest (Mystical) Teacher," manuscript copies of the *Futuhat* must have been plentiful during the period. (Moin-ud-Din, 94–97, mentions that Sayyid Jalal, called Bukhari, is buried at Agra, a short distance to the west of the Taj; but Haq, 220, states that he is buried in Gujarat, beside his father's grave).

[75] In the diagram, the space between the *Kawthar* Tank and the Throne is apparently conceived as the location of the Scale of Judgment *(Mizan)*, as indicated by the two sets of circles at the left and right sides, which identify the two upper circles as "weighing pans" (holding good and bad deeds respectively); the lower pair are labeled the "Book of the Right" and the "Book of the Left." The centrally placed circle at the very bottom of the diagram is inscribed the "Book of the Back," referring to the belief that those who receive their record from behind shall be cast straightway into Hell.

According to Ibn al-ᶜArabi's vivid commentary, the "Plain of Assembly" (which will take the place of the universe obliterated on the Final Day) will be surrounded by seven rows of angels, two on either side and three at the farthest end away from the Throne. The chief of the angelic hosts, presumably Gabriel, will stand before the Throne, at the place on the diagram indicated by a small circle inscribed "The Spirit" *(al-Ruh)*. In addition to being an epithet of Gabriel, the term *Ruh* is also employed in the *Futuhat* as an epithet of the First Intelligence *(ᶜAql al-Awwal)*, as well as of the embodied Pen.

The symmetrical placement of the stylized pulpits *(minbar)* flanking the Throne, designated as seats of honor for the spiritually elect *(al-Aminum)*, is strikingly similar to the arrangement of the Taj's mosque and assembly hall, which are identical copies of each other except that only the structure on the west is provided with a *minbar* and a *mihrab* oriented toward Mecca. Incidentally, the architecture of Paradise is supposed to include a mosque, the celestial prototype of the Kaᶜba, so that the faithful can continue to worship God in Heaven as they did on earth (for a discussion of the symbolism of the Kaᶜba and its celestial prototype, see Henry Corbin, "La Configuration du temple de la Kaᶜba comme secret de la vie spirituelle, d'après l'oeuvre de Qâzî Saᶜid Qommî (1103/1691), *Eranos Jahrbuch*, XXXIV, 1965, 79–166).

[76] Sura 69, verse 17. Who or what the eight bearers of the Throne are is uncertain, although in the exegetical literature, they are usually identified as angels, the usual number of four being increased to eight on the Day of Judgment.

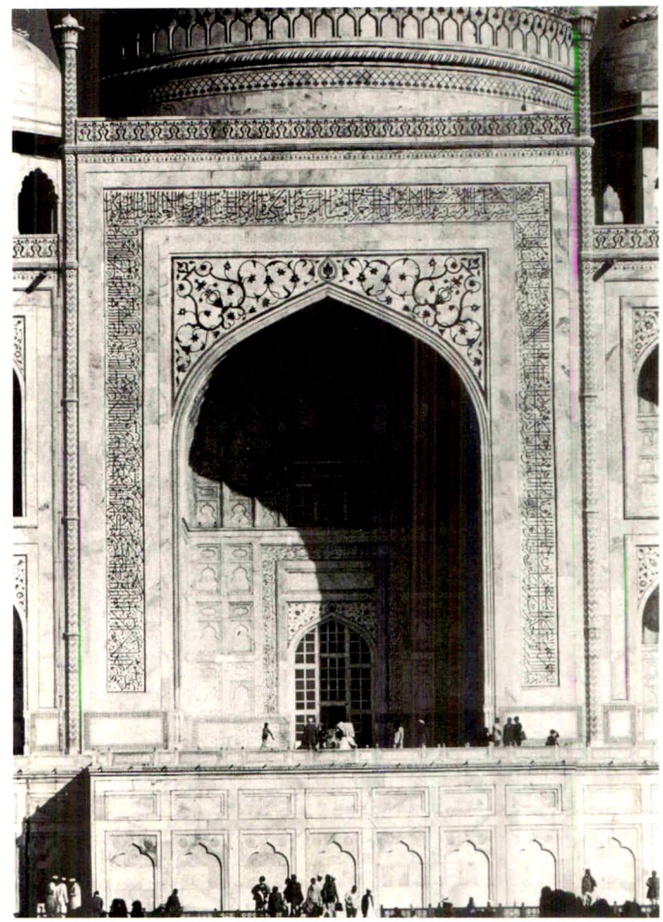
[77] Thus, whereas all four of the tanks in the garden of Akbar's tomb might be metaphorically likened to the celestial *Kawthar* Tank, only the single tank in the Taj's garden (which is, moreover, larger and more prominent because it is constructed from the same white marble as the mausoleum) could be construed as a replica of the specific one in Paradise.

awesome and terrible finality of the Day of Judgment and to the pleasures of Paradise that God has promised as a reward for the faithful. Some of these passages are of course conventional within a funerary context, but a significant number are not—being totally or partly unique to the Taj. It is well known that the profound *Ya Sin* Sura, which decorates the four vast *iwan* arches of the tomb, is traditionally recited at funerals and is popularly regarded as the "heart" *(qalb)* of the Koran.[78] What is less well known, however, is the fact that the verse that is called the "heart" of the entire Sura, v. 58, directly alludes to the ultimate Vision of God promised to the faithful in Paradise, and this verse is the only place in the Koran where the actual words God will use to address those in Paradise are recorded.[79]

Compared to the solemn grandeur and majestic rhetoric of the *Ya Sin* Sura, the three Suras 81, 82, and 84 ("The Folding Up"; "The Cleaving Asunder"; and "The Rending Asunder"), which are inscribed over the south, west, and north doorways, strike a far more terrifying note, as they summon up a very real vision of the cataclysm of the Final Day—hardly the kind of imagery to be expected on the tomb of a beloved wife. In fact, there is a Hadith to the effect that Muhammad's hair turned gray from hearing and pondering the fearful words of "The Folding Up" *(al-Takwir)*, and other Suras.[80] As in the case of several of the Taj's Koranic passages, the question naturally arises as to why these particular passages were chosen to be inscribed in this particular sequence. The answer seems to lie in a tradition recorded in the *Mishkat al-Masabih*, a collection of Hadith that was extremely popular in Mughal India, so popular in fact that it was translated from Arabic to Persian in 1620, by one of the most famous religious scholars of the day.[81] According to the *Mishkat*, the three Suras 81, 82, and 84 are to be recited by anyone "who would like to look at the Day of Resurrection as though it were before his very eyes."[82] Since the deviser of the Taj's inscriptional program was undoubtedly familiar with this tradition, the implications of the choice of these three Suras seem clear: their recitation is capable of summoning up a vision of the Resurrection, along with a concomitant vision of Paradise and the Divine Throne, upon which God will be seated in majesty on the Day of Judgment.

VII

Numerous Koranic passages are also inscribed inside the great domed hall of the mausoleum, in the center of which an octagonal marble screen surrounds the cenotaphs of Mumtaz Mahal and Shah Jahan (Fig. 31). It is among the Koranic verses inscribed on top of Mumtaz Mahal's cenotaph that we find perhaps the most striking evidence for the allegorical interpretation we have proposed. Incidentally, this interpretation may be viewed as an extension of one of the basic conventions of Islamic literatures, namely that all phenomena have both an exoteric, or revealed aspect (called *zahir*), and an esoteric, or concealed aspect (called *batin*); this convention provides a distinction between the literal and the symbolic that may be applied to artistic forms as



30 South *iwan* arch of Taj Mahal, inscribed with first 21 verses of Sura 36, *Ya Sin*

[78] See *Mishkat* (Robson trans.), I, 338ff.; cf. Arthur Christiansen, *Xavass-i-Ayat: Notices et extraits d'un manuscrit persan traitant la magie des versets du Coran*, Copenhagen, 1920, 63–64.

[79] Christiansen, *ibid.* The verse in question reads: "'Peace!'—such is their greeting from the Lord All-Merciful." Despite its brevity, however, the verse came to be regarded as textual proof of the literal truth of the ultimate Vision of God promised to the faithful in Paradise (see the Hadith recorded in Robson's translation of the *Mishkat*, II, 1208).

[80] *Mishkat* (Robson trans.), II, 1111.

[81] The scholar was ʿAbd al-Haqq Dihlavi (1551–1642); see M. Ishaq, *India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature*, Dacca, 1955, 146ff.

[82] *Mishkat* (Robson trans.), II, 1172.

well as literary motifs.[83] Thus, at first glance, one of the inscribed Koranic passages (Sura 40, verses 7, 8) merely seems to contain an appropriate prayer to be recited on behalf of the deceased:

> "O Lord! Thy reach is over all things, in Mercy and Knowledge. Forgive, then, those who turn in repentance, and follow Thy Path; and preserve them from the penalty of the Blazing Fire!
>
> "And allow them, O Lord! to enter the Gardens of Eden which Thou hast promised unto them, and unto the righteous among their fathers, their wives, and their posterity—for Thou art surely the All-mighty, and All-wise!"

The symbolic implications of this passage emerge only when we look at its immediate scriptural context, and discover that the pious prayer quoted in the inscription is being uttered by the angels who support the Throne of God. This crucial information is supplied in the first part of verse 7, which has been omitted in the inscription: "Those who bear the Throne, and those who encircle it, celebrate praise unto their Lord, and believe in Him, and implore forgiveness for the Believers [saying]. . . ." Since omitting parts of verses is a rather rare practice on Indian monuments, the effect of the omission is to focus attention upon it, as in the literary device of ellipsis. The ellipsis in this case seems to have been consciously employed in order to heighten the sense of hidden meaning that underlies the allegorical conception of the monument. The effect of the ellipsis becomes even more striking when we realize that this is not only one of the very few Koranic references to the angels who support the Throne, but also the only instance in the text when they are said to speak.[84]

In view of this veiled allusion to the Throne of God and the angels who support it, the octagonal marble screen surrounding the cenotaphs suddenly takes on added significance. For its form is also suggestive of the railings of another type of Islamic throne, exemplified by a sixteenth-century Persian depiction of Solomon's flying throne, now in the Freer Gallery, Washington (Fig. 32).[85] We know from the Persian histories that this marble screen is a replacement for one originally fashioned in gold and studded with jewels, one whose costly extravagance reinforced its regal throne-like effect.[86]

But how does the cenotaph itself fit into this complex allegorical program? First of all, it should be noted that there is an Islamic iconographic precedent for associating coffins with thrones, as in the depiction of the enthroned coffin of Genghis Khan from a late fourteenth-century Persian manuscript of the *Jami^c al-Tawarikh*, now in Calcutta, in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Fig. 33).[87] But this painting only shows the association of a deceased ruler's coffin with a real earthly throne, not with the Divine Throne. In keeping with the Taj's overall program of concealed symbolism, it may very well be that the cenotaph itself is also to be assigned an allegorical meaning transcending its literal function. It should be kept in mind that the real grave of Mumtaz Mahal is in the crypt (Fig. 34), therefore *beneath* the symbolic replica of the Throne of God—which, according to tradition, the inhabitants of Paradise will behold on the Day of Resurrection, after

[83] See Nicholson, "An Early Arabic Version of the *Mi^craj* of Abu Yazid al-Bistami," 414, where the following Hadith is quoted: "There is some knowledge that hath the aspect of a treasure stored away; none recognizes it but they that know God, and none denies it but they that are ignorant of God." It is of course the quest for the "hidden" *(batin)* Reality as opposed to the "external" *(zahir)*, that distinguishes the Sufi from the ordinary believer. The latter performs the prescribed observances and upholds the literal truth of the revealed scriptures, whereas the former frequently departs from accepted ritual and interprets the Koran and the Hadith allegorically, relating its hidden truths to his own personal mystical experiences. The tendency in Persian literature to impart hidden meanings undoubtedly derives from certain schools of Koranic exegesis that traced hidden meanings in every verse; the cabalistic and highly unorthodox Hurufiyya sect, for example, claimed esoteric significance for virtually every *letter* in the text. For a recent general study of these and other trends within Sufism with an extensive bibliography, see Annemarie Schimmel, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1975; cf. Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *An Introduction to Islamic Cosmological Doctrines*, Cambridge, Mass., 1964.

[84] For a discussion of the two other Koranic passages alluding to the angels who support the Divine Throne, see O'Shaughnessy, "God's Throne and the Biblical Symbolism of the Qur'an," 206–20; for the translation of the exegesis *(tafsir)* of verse 7 of Sura 40 by the famous 12th-century grammarian and exegete Zamakhshari (d. 1144), see Gätje, 164–66. Whereas Zamakhshari raises the question of whether the angels supporting the Throne can see God, Ibn al-^cArabi, in another of his mystical treatises that may have been known in Mughal India, asks whether even the Throne itself, upon which God sits, can in the final analysis have knowledge of the ultimately inscrutable nature of the Divine Reality; see Arthur Jeffrey, "Ibn al-^cArabi's *Shajarat al-Kawn*," *Studia Islamica*, x, 1959, 43–77, where the author describes the Throne as "trembling with emotion" as it speaks to deny any real knowledge of God's true essence.

[85] See Binyon *et al.*, *Persian Miniature Painting*, 136 (Cat. No. 157).

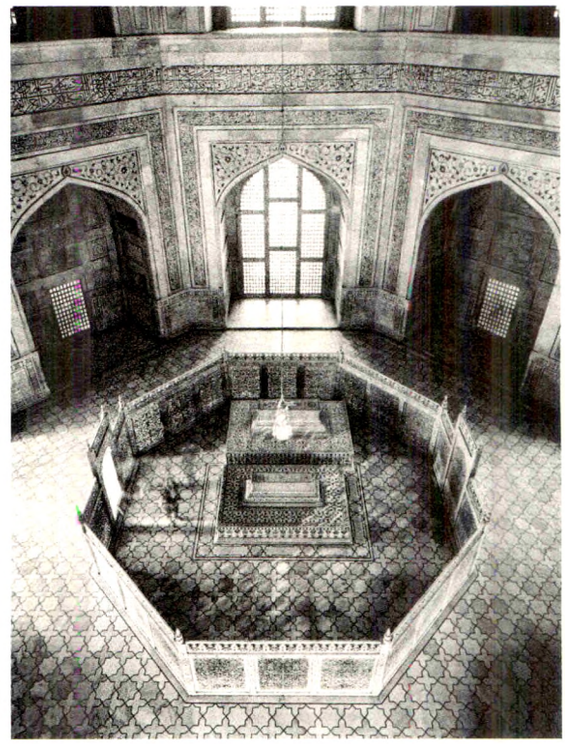
[86] See *Badshah Namah*, I, 487; II, 326; cf. Chaghtai, 56–57. According to Lahawri's account, 40,000 *tolas* of gold (about 1,500 lbs. Troy) were employed on the earlier railing, which was installed in 1633, under the supervision of the State Treasurer Bebedal Khan, who also was in charge of the Peacock Throne. The present marble railing, which took ten years to complete, was ordered by Shah Jahan as a replacement for the gold one; the installation apparently took place in 1643.

[87] See Basil Gray, "An Unknown Fragment of the 'Jami^c al-Tawarikh' in the Asiatic Society of Bengal," *Ars Orientalis*, I, 1954, 65–75.

their graves have opened. As is well known, the cenotaphs of women in Muslim India are conventionally flat, and frequently depict a writing tablet *(takhti)* on top.[88] In view of this convention, it may be that Mumtaz Mahal's cenotaph in the upper hall, surrounded by the octagonal marble railing, metaphorically alludes to the celestial Guarded Tablet *(Lawh al-Mahfuz)*, upon which God inscribed the destiny of the world, along with the original prototype of the Holy Koran.[89] According to traditional Islamic cosmology, the Guarded Tablet is the same as the "Inscribed Register" preserved in the celestial realm of *ʿIlliyun*—that is, on, or in direct proximity to, the Throne of God.[90]

VIII

As compelling as the circumstantial evidence seems to be for the interpretation of the Taj Mahal as a symbolic replica of the Throne of God, it does not fully



31 Interior domed hall of Taj Mahal, looking west (after Volwahsen)

32 *Solomon in His Flying Throne* (detail), Persia, early 16th century. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art (photo: Gallery)

33 *Enthroned Coffin of Genghis Khan*, from fragmentary MS of Rashid al-Din's *Jamiʿ al-Tawarikh*, Persia, late 14th-early 15th century. Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. D 31. fol. 90v (after Gray)

[88] See Herklots, trans., 102ff. It should be noted that in Persian, the words for tablet, bier (or coffin), and throne are all virtually identical; the ambiguity between the latter two undoubtedly gave rise to the expression *takht ya takhta*, meaning "Throne or Grave!" (an allusion to the frequently bloody battles for succession in Mughal India).

[89] See *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1st ed., s.v. "LAWH"; cf. Gätje, 51ff.

[90] According to the early Koranic exegete al-Tabari (d. 923), the realm of *ʿIlliyun* "may be identified with the seventh heaven or the right foot of the divine throne, or some other place in heaven" (*Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v. "ʿILLIYUN"). The *only* Koranic reference to this mysterious celestial realm is in Sura 83, verses 18–21, that is, the passage immediately preceding verses 22–28 of the same Sura, which are inscribed on the east side and part of the south end of the cenotaph of Mumtaz Mahal in the great domed hall. This passage explicitly describes the joys of Paradise, including drinking from the celestial fountain *Tasnim*, a privilege reserved for those who are "nearest to God." This last expression gradually came to be interpreted by the theologians as a technical term, referring specifically to those who stand so close to the Throne of God (presumably the angels who support it) that they are able to view the "Inscribed Register" (83.20) or Guarded Tablet itself: "To which bear witness those Nearest [unto God]" (83.21). The expression "those Nearest unto God" (the last few words of 83.28) takes on special significance on account of its being inscribed on the south end, or foot, of the cenotaph, combined with the first few words of 41.30: "Verily those who say 'Our Lord is God!' . . ." (for reproductions, see Carroll, *The Taj Mahal*, 60 and 101). In Arabic, these two detached phrases together form a semantic entity, almost as if they were meant to read as a separate, synthetic Koranic verse: "Those Nearest unto God [are] verily those who say, 'Our Lord is God!' " Since it is inconceivable that the calligrapher Amanat Khan would have allowed the last few words of the passage inscribed on the east side of the cenotaph to continue onto the south end without a reason, the arrangement must have had a symbolic purpose, perhaps to epitomize the allegorical meaning of the entire inscriptional program, to imply in effect that Mumtaz Mahal, by her profession of faith, had herself become one of "Those Nearest unto God."

Although the symbolism of these and other Koranic passages inscribed on the Taj will be treated in greater detail in my monograph in preparation, the evidence of one other short passage inscribed on the cenotaph should be briefly mentioned. This is verse 286 of Sura 2 (*al-Baqarah*, or "The Cow"), inscribed on the west side and part of the north end or head. According to tradition, this verse is "one of the treasures of God's mercy from under His Throne" (*Mishkat*, Robson trans., I, 458).

explain why Shah Jahan conceived such an unorthodox "iconographic" scheme to begin with. One wonders whether he intended to entrust his wife's mortal remains to Providence. And if so, whether he was inspired out of devotion or for some other reason. And one questions where he intended to be buried himself. Unfortunately, Shah Jahan's personality was too complex and the evidence is too fragmentary to allow us to come up with simple answers.

The allegorical conception of the Taj Mahal must have been at least partially coincidental: the throne-like shape of the mausoleum and the paradisiacal associations of garden tombs derived from earlier developments. These metaphorical associations were undoubtedly well known to the architects of the Taj, who seem consciously to have incorporated them into their design.[91] In fact, certain features of the Taj's architectural conception become explicable *only* when the monument is interpreted as an allegory of Paradise and the Divine Throne. In this process, as we have mentioned, the calligrapher Amanat Khan undoubtedly played an important role, since it was probably he who devised the inscriptional program. In effect, the underlying meaning of this program extends, and makes more literal, the Paradise symbolism of the Persian inscriptions of Akbar's tomb, inscriptions which, as mentioned above, Amanat Khan seems to have composed as well as inscribed. Since, according to Islamic belief, Arabic will be the only language spoken in Paradise, the Taj's unique assemblage of Koranic passages may be explained as an attempt to devise an inscriptional program suitable to the monument's lofty allegorical meaning. Moreover, Islamic tradition states that various parts of the celestial architecture in Paradise have the words of God written upon them—including the gateway and the Divine Throne itself.[92]

We may ask, however, what role Shah Jahan himself played in the conception of the Taj. We know that from an early age, he took a keen interest in architecture; ultimately, of course, he surpassed his grandfather Akbar as the greatest builder among the Mughal emperors.[93] As mentioned above, we know also that Shah Jahan was interested throughout his reign in the visible emblems of power. He was particularly obsessed with thrones, and one of his first official acts after his coronation in 1628 was to order his artisans to fashion the fabulous, jewel-encrusted Peacock Throne (see Fig. 3)—a task that took seven years to complete.[94] The completed throne bore a lengthy ode composed by one of Shah Jahan's court poets, which reads in part: "Almighty God who exalted the Heavenly Throne and Pedestal,/Only He can make sure a throne, through His Divine Power."[95]

Thus the poet explicitly compares the Peacock Throne to the *ʿArsh* and *Kursi*, suggesting, moreover, that the creation of such a throne is properly the province of God, or at least of his august representative on earth, the Emperor (Fig. 35).[96]

[91] The architect of the Taj seems to have been a man named Ustad Ahmad, who also worked on the design of Shah Jahan's new capital, Shahjahanabad, at Delhi, and whose sons and grandsons were both architects and scholars; see M. A. Chaghtai, "A Family of Great Mughal Architects," *Islamic Culture*, XI, 1937, 200–209; cf. the recent article by H. I. S. Kanwar, "Ustad Ahmad Lahori," *Islamic Culture*, XLVII, 1974, 11–32.

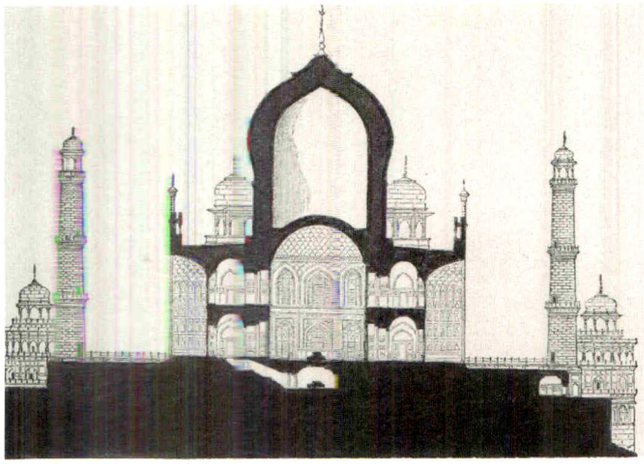
[92] See, e.g., the tradition stating that various Suras and verses "are hung upon the Throne; between them and God is no veil. . . ." (cited in Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim Devotions*, London, 1961, 115).

[93] Numerous references in the Persian histories attest to Shah Jahan's direct involvement in his various architectural projects, approving the plans, ordering alterations on the spot, and so forth; see Saksena, 261–63.

[94] For the history of the Peacock Throne, see Sanderson, 41ff.; cf. Abdul Aziz, "Thrones, Chairs, and Seats Used by the Indian Mughals," *Journal of Indian History*, XVII, 1938, 181–228. (The Peacock Throne was dismantled in 1739, during Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi.)

[95] Sanderson, 50. The ode was composed by Muhammad Jan Qudsi, and was inscribed in green enamel-work inside the throne, which was completed in 1634. Similar metaphorical imagery appears in the contemporary Persian inscription at Lahore praising Shah Jahan's construction of a Royal Pavilion *(Shah-burj)*, which was completed in 1631–32, only a few months after the death of Mumtaz Mahal: "The king . . . ordered a Shah Burj to be erected which for its immense height/Is like the Divine Throne beyond imagination and conception" (quoted in Nur Baksh, "Historical Notes on the Lahore Fort and Its Buildings," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1902–03, 218–224).

[96] The prototype of the allegorical painting depicted in Fig. 35, which survives in several different versions, was apparently made at about the time of Shah Jahan's coronation. Although the iconography of the ruler standing upon a globe was derived from similar portraits of Jahangir, it was especially appropriate in the case of Shah Jahan, whose Persian title literally means "King of the World." For a similar painting in the Chester Beatty Library, see Arnold and Wilkinson, III, pl. 63; for a Jahangiri prototype, see Richard Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India*, New Delhi, 1961, pl. 12.



34 Cross-section of Taj Mahal (after Fergusson)

35 Inscribed to Hashim, *Allegorical Portrait of Shah Jahan as "King of the World,"* dated 1628-29. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art (photo: Gallery)

Although Islamic rulers have typically been referred to by exalted titles, those of Shah Jahan and other Mughal rulers take on added significance when considered within the context of the Sufi cosmological doctrine of the Perfect Man *(al-Insān al-Kamil)*, especially as it was modified by the esoteric notions of various Indian mystics of the first half of the seventeenth century, with some of whose views Shah Jahan was apparently in sympathy.[97]

The origins of the mystical doctrine of the Perfect Man may be traced back to the medieval period, when a controversy was raging among Muslim theologians over the reality and nature of God's attributes. According to the rational orthodox view, there is no real ocular vision of God or of his throne; rather, these are allegories.[98] God has no physical attributes, he simply and transcendingly *is*. Orthodox theologians found themselves in a quandary, however, when they maintained that creation was real and distinct from God, since the act of creating would be an attribute by definition. Partly to resolve this quandary, certain medieval mystics—of whom Ibn al-ᶜArabi was perhaps the major figure—devised the notion of the Perfect Man, whom they conceived as a kind of hypostatization of God's transcendent non-creativity, but who paradoxically serves as the actual instrument, and ultimate goal, of Creation.[99] In some texts, the Perfect Man is referred to as the embodiment of the Divine Pen—the "Shadow" of God's essence—which writes all that has been, is, and will be. Although generally considered to be the archetype of the *Khalıfa*, or vice-regent of God on earth, the nature of the Perfect Man was believed in the final analysis to be cosmic and eternal—the distilled irradiation of God's Divine Essence. Thus, among certain medieval mystics, the Perfect Man was thought to be greater even than the Divine Throne, since it, like the universe and all of created reality, exists only "through

[97] For a detailed exposition of the Perfect Man doctrine, and its parallels to the Christian concept of the *Logos*, see Nicholson, 77–142; cf. Titus Burckhardt, trans., *ᶜAbd al-Karîm al-Jîlî, de l'homme universel*, Lyon, 1953.

[98] See, e.g., the chapter on "God and the World" in Wensinck, 58ff. Orthodox theologians accepted the literal truth of the Koranic passages referring to God sitting upon the Throne, but disallowed speculation as to how and why this was so; similarly they accepted the truth of the ultimate vision of God in Paradise, but denied that this would be perceived through normal eyesight.

[99] According to al-Jili (1365–1428), "the Perfect Man is a copy [*nushka*] of God. . . . As a mirror in which a person sees the form of himself and cannot see it without the mirror, such is the relation of God to the Perfect Man, who cannot possibly see his own form but in the mirror of the name of Allah; and he is also a mirror to God, for God laid upon Himself the necessity that His name and attributes should not be seen save in the Perfect Man" (quoted in Nicholson, 106–07).

and in the cosmic consciousness of the Perfect Man."[100]

IX

Needless to say, this mystical doctrine was, and still is, considered heretical by orthodox Muslims, although its advocates recognized Muhammad as the archetypal Perfect Man, and the first in a recurring series. We know that the doctrine was a live issue at the Mughal court, since Akbar himself was heralded by some obsequious theologians as the Perfect Man of that age.[101] It seems that Akbar also espoused this view, as he came increasingly close to believing in his own divinity (he founded his own religion and required the ceremonial court use of the ambiguous phrase *Allahu Akbar,* which may mean either "God is Great," or "Akbar is God").[102] The religious and intellectual climate of the reign of Akbar was especially favorable to the revitalization of the medieval doctrine of the Perfect Man. The close of the first millenium of Islam was approaching, causing, on the one hand, widespread fear that the end of the world was imminent, and, on the other hand, widespread belief that a new spiritual leader would emerge.[103]

Among the claimants for this exalted role was Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, who was born in 1564, and who was therefore approaching thirty as the year of the millenium actually occurred in 1592, the very year of Shah Jahan's birth.[104] In his later years, Sirhindi publicly advocated a return to orthodoxy, but his earlier theology was highly unorthodox. He apparently regarded himself as the spiritual leader of Islam for the second millenium, and the culmination of the doctrine of the Perfect Man. It was probably his extreme mystical vanity, rather than orthodox piety, which in 1619 made him refuse to bow before the Emperor Jahangir, who sentenced him to prison for his effrontery, as well as for the unorthodoxy of some of his mystical claims.[105] One of these claims was that Sirhindi had made a mystical journey to the very presence of God, going beyond even the exalted station of Muhammad, a claim in effect that he was at once a kind of pope and messiah.[106]

There is some evidence that Shah Jahan was sympathetic to Sirhindi, as well as a follower of some of his mystical views.[107] Obsessed as he was with his own royal greatness and destiny, however, Shah Jahan may well have utilized these views for his own purposes. He was certainly an independent enough thinker to see that the Perfect Man doctrine constituted a kind of intellectual justification of his own temporal authority as absolute ruler. In fact, the mystical titles and epithets of the Perfect Man were similar and in some cases identical to those applied to the *Khalifa,* as the following selected titles of Shah Jahan attest: Auspicious Lord of the Age; King of the World; Shadow of God; August Representative on Earth of the Divinity. Given Shah Jahan's extraordinary vanity and preoccupation with his royal destiny, it is not implausible to suppose that he saw a special significance in the fact that he was born in the very year of the millenium.[108]

In light of the strong possibility that Shah Jahan conceived of himself as the embodiment of the Perfect Man, the reasons for his not building a tomb for himself become clearer. Whatever may have been his original intention, he must have eventually concluded that the only appropriate burial place was in the Taj. In fact, it is entirely possible that he gave instructions to this effect to his daughter Jahanara, who was apparently responsible for making the necessary arrangements to have

[100] *Ibid.*, 92. In effect, according to al-Jili, the Perfect Man embodies the primordial substance, or *Prima Materia,* out of which Creation emanates (Nicholson, 106): "The Perfect Man in himself stands over all of the individualizations of existence. With his spirituality he stands over against the higher individualizations, with his corporeality over against the lower. His heart stands over against the Throne of God [*al-ᶜArsh*], his mind over against the Pen [*al-Qalam*], his soul over against the Guarded Tablet [*al-Lawhu 'l-mahfuz*]. . . ."

[101] See S. A. A. Rizvi, *Religious and Intellectual History of the Muslims in Akbar's Reign,* Delhi, 1975, 190 and *passim;* see also Rizvi in bibliog.

[102] H. Blochmann, trans., *The Aᶜin-i-Akbari, by Abu 'l-Fazl ᶜAllami,* New Delhi, 1977 (repr. of 1927 ed.), 175ff.

[103] See the chapter, "The Mahdawi Movement," in Rizvi, 68ff.

[104] See Yohannan Friedmann, *Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi: An Outline of His Thought and a Study of His Image in the Eyes of Posterity,* Montreal, 1971; cf. John A. Subhan, *Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines,* New York, 1970 (repr.), 275ff.; Rizvi, 203–329.

[105] Rizvi, 286ff.; for Jahangir's own account, see Alexander Rogers, trans., *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* (as cited in note 5), II, 91–93.

[106] Sirhindi's presumptuous mystical claims were made in a series of letters, which were widely circulated in Sufi circles in Mughal India (a number of these have recently been edited by Fazlur Rahman, *Selected Letters of Shaikh Sirhindi,* Karachi, n.d.). Following in the tradition of Ibn al-ᶜArabi and other great mystics, Sirhindi characterized his religious quest in visionary terms, describing his mystical ascension as if it were a real journey to Paradise. In addition to claiming to be the spiritual *Mujaddid,* or "Renewer," of the second millenium, Sirhindi also gave himself the exalted title of *Qayyum,* or "The Eternal," one of the ninety-nine names of God.

[107] Sri Ram Sharma, *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors,* Bombay, 1972, 90–91; but cf. Rizvi, 310–11, where, however, it is doubted that Shah Jahan had any close contact with Sirhindi.

[108] Unfortunately, we know very little about Shah Jahan's religious views, since he left no memoirs or any other writings that would shed light on the subject. Although a detailed study of the evidence has yet to be made, it is apparent that the present scholarly estimate of Shah Jahan as a relatively orthodox Muslim is simplistic and in need of revision. In view of the predisposition toward mysticism of his eldest and favorite son Dara Shikoh, it seems warranted to assume that Shah Jahan was at least sympathetic to these pursuits, if not actively involved. For a survey of Dara Shikoh's prodigious literary output, with extensive bibliography, see Bikrama Jit Hasrat, *Dara Shikuh: Life and Works,* Calcutta, 1953. It is of course a major premise of this article that the artistic monuments patronized by Shah Jahan, both architecture and painting, constitute important evidence for understanding his intellectual and psychological characteristics.

his body taken from the Fort to the Taj.[109] It is tempting to speculate, too, whether Shah Jahan may also have composed the epitaph of his grave in the crypt, which reads as follows: "The illumined grave and final resting place of the Emperor, dignified as Rizwan [the treasurer and guardian of Paradise] residing in Eternity; His Most Exalted Majesty, having his abode in *ʿIlliyun* [where the Guarded Tablet is preserved]; Dweller in Paradise, Second Lord of the [auspicious planetary] Conjunction, Shah Jahan, the King Valiant. May his grave ever flourish, and his abode be in the Gardens of Paradise . . ."[110]

Some of the allusions in this epitaph are so metaphorically specific that it seems almost certain that their author was aware of the concealed allegorical meaning of the Taj. According to Islamic belief, Rizwan is the gatekeeper of Paradise and the guardian of God's "treasure" lying beneath the Divine Throne (Fig. 36).[111] As already mentioned, the realm of *ʿIlliyun*, described as the abode of Shah Jahan, is the place where the "Inscribed Register" or Guarded Tablet is preserved; hence it is in direct proximity to the Throne of God.

The metaphorical implications of the epitaph in the crypt seem quite clear: Shah Jahan's final resting place is also beneath the Divine Throne.[112] Furthermore, like the cenotaph of Mumtaz Mahal in the upper hall, that of Shah Jahan could also have been assigned a symbolic meaning transcending its literal function. As remarked above, the graves of women in Muslim India are conventionally flat on top, and sometimes shaped like writing tablets; the graves of men, on the other hand, are frequently adorned with replicas of pen boxes, or *qalam-dar* (Fig. 37).[113] In the popular view, this symbolizes a hierarchical differentiation between the sexes, and perhaps also reflects the fact that a higher percentage of men than women were literate. To carry the popular explanation one step further, the pen box on the man's grave epitomizes, as it were, his ability, and perhaps his prerogative, to write his decrees upon the tablet of his wife's subordination to his will.

Although the pen-box device surmounting Shah Jahan's cenotaph obviously epitomizes some of these conventional associations, it may also allude to the mystical significance of the *Qalam*, or Divine Pen. In fact, the cenotaph itself seems to have been intended as a symbolic replica of the Pen, paralleling the conception of Mumtaz Mahal's cenotaph as a replica of the Guarded Tablet. Thus the arrangement of the two cenotaphs within the octagonal screen (Fig. 39) evokes the symbolism of another of Ibn al-ʿArabi's mystical diagrams, namely the diagram dealing with the process of Divine Emanation (Fig. 38).[114] In the diagram, the process of Creation is likened to God's writing his decrees with the Pen of the First Intelligence *(al-ʿAql al-Awwal)* upon

[109] See above, n. 23.

[110] Adapted from the Persian text and translation in Moin-ud-Din, 52–53.

[111] For the reference to the manuscript from which Fig. 36 is reproduced, see above, n. 38. In the painting, Rizwan stands by the gateway to Paradise, welcoming the faithful who have been able to cross the *sirat* bridge—shown as a thin, wiry line—without falling into Hell.

Since the Arabic word *ridwan*, pronounced Rizwan in Persian, occurs in the Koran with the meaning of God's "good pleasure," the angel of the same name seems to be a hypostasization and personification of that concept. According to popular Islam, Rizwan is the gatekeeper of Paradise, because without God's *ridwan* (i.e., his "good pleasure"), no one would be allowed to enter (Schimmel, 16). Rizwan plays an extremely important role in Islamic cosmological and eschatological literature, in the various legends of Muhammad's heavenly ascension, and especially in the accounts of the Day of Resurrection. In one treatise, Rizwan is commanded by God to "decorate the gardens," perhaps implying that he is at least partly the "designer" as well as the guardian of Paradise (MacDonald, "The Day of Resurrection," 149).

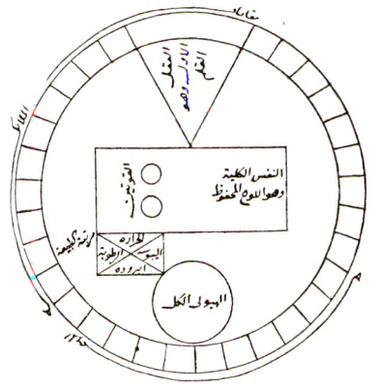
[112] According to Schimmel (p. 18), the four water channels of the *chahar-bagh* plan employed in Mughal garden tombs were intended "to produce a real paradisical garden beneath which rivers flow, and the deceased prince would foretaste heavenly bliss already in his tomb before the general resurrection and final judgment." See also the article by John B. Taylor, "Some Aspects of Islamic Eschatology," *Religious Studies*, IV, 1968, 57–76, where the following characterization of the esoteric eschatological beliefs of some 12th-century Ismaʿili mystics is quoted (p. 71): "Paradise being the life of the spirit, moreover, it was even claimed that Paradise itself could be attained already before death; at least in a potential sense, which our death will merely actualize."

It should be noted that Shah Jahan's posthumous title was *Firdaws-ashiyani:* or "Dweller in Paradise." Similar titles were used to designate most of the other Mughal emperors from Babur on, with Akbar being called *ʿArsh-ashiyani*, or "Dweller upon the Throne of God"—a title whose symbolic connotations seem to underlie the allegorical conception of the Taj.

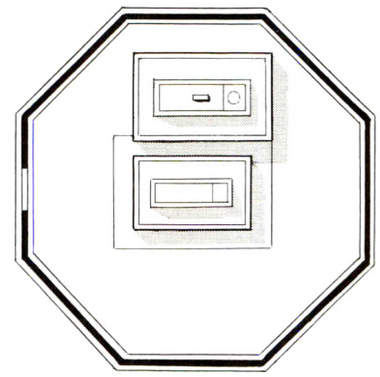
[113] Herklots, trans., 102.

[114] *Futuhat* (Cairo ed.), III, 421, and 429–430.

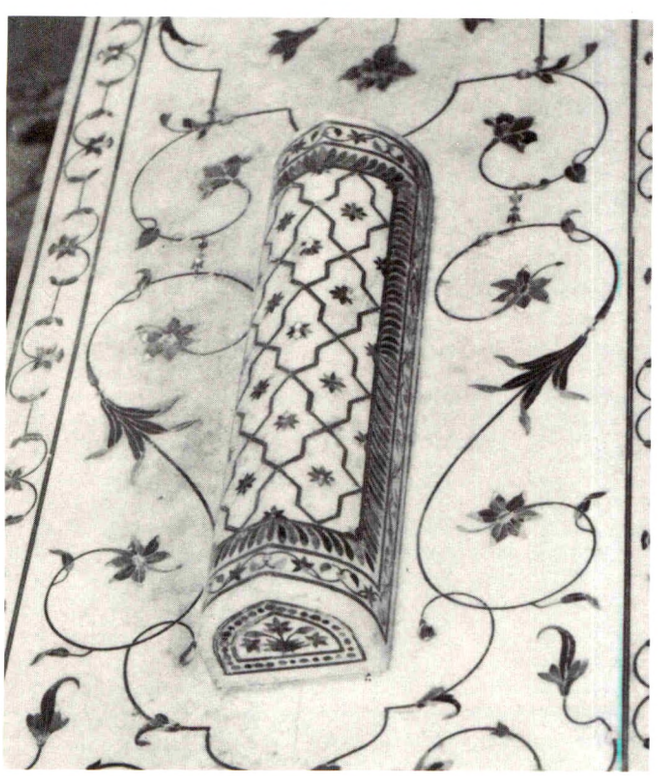
36 *The Angel Rizwan Admitting the Faithful to Paradise*, from "Illustrated Guide to Mecca and the Hereafter," MS Pers. d. 29, fol. 58r (photo: Bodleian Library)



38 Ibn al-ᶜ Arabi, *Diagram of the Process of Divine Emanation*, from autograph MS of *Futuhat al-Makkiyya*



39 Plan of cenotaphs and octagonal screen inside Taj Mahal



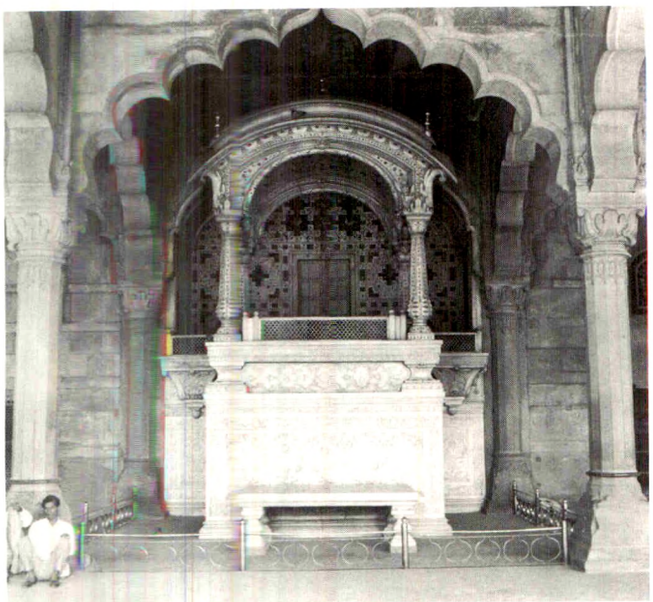
37 Pen-box device *(qalam-dar)*, on top of Shah Jahan's cenotaph in crypt of Taj Mahal

the Tablet of the Universal Soul *(al-Nafs al-Kulliya)*.[115] This cosmic event is witnessed by myriads of attending

[115] For an analysis of a variant of this diagram, which however may also go back to an original design of Ibn al-ᶜArabi, see Asín Palacios, 1919, 222–24; cf. Titus Burckhardt, *La Sagesse des prophets (Fuçuç al-Hikam)*, Paris, 1974, 120.

Although Ibn al-ᶜArabi gives his diagram the rather cryptic label "Image of the Obscurity" (*surat al-ᶜAma*, literally "Blindness"), he treats the cosmogonic process almost as if it were an actual event, taking place within what might be called the arena of Divine "Irradiation" *(Tajalli)*. The undifferentiated essence of God is here to be construed as converging centripetally inward from beyond the rim of the circle of adoring angels, in the form of a triangular wedge symbolizing the First Intelligence, which, according to Ibn al-ᶜArabi's esoteric monist philosophy, represents the first seemingly differentiated aspect of Divine Unity. According to the Arabic label, this same shape also represents the Divine Pen, described allegorically as the "Shadow" of the Divine Essence. The "Light" of God's essence is symbolized by the rectangle, serving as the double manifestation of the Guarded Tablet and the Universal Soul. At the left of the rectangle are two small circles bearing the label *al-Qadratin*, and standing for the two differentiated "Powers" of the Divine Essence, namely Potentiality and Actuality, mystically conceived as mirror images of each other.

The interaction of the Pen upon the Tablet brings about the existence of the elemental "Predispositions" of Nature, manifested as the four alchemical principles of Heat, Cold, Dryness, and Humidity, principles represented in the diagram by a smaller rectangle, attached to the bottom left of the Guarded Tablet, and divided into four triangles. Below this rectangle is a circle symbolizing the concept of Primordial Matter *(Hayuli al-Kull)*, that is, the existential source material or *Prima Materia*, out of which the created universe is actually fashioned. In Ibn al-ᶜArabi's emanatist system, however, *Hayuli al-Kull* is regarded as "coexistent with Being itself," and hence anterior to material, as opposed to spiritual, creation. In any event, it is clear from Ibn al-ᶜArabi's diagram that the Pen and Guarded Tablet are even more exalted than the Divine Throne and Pedestal, since they precede them in the cosmogonic process. In fact, as indicated by the label at the top of the author's Throne diagram (Fig. 20)—the second in the series—the outer circle is an enlargement of the smaller interior circle in the preceding Emanation diagram. Since the smaller concentric circle in the second diagram is labeled *Jism al-Kull*, or "Universal Body" (representing a closer parallel to the concept of *Prima Materia*), it is obvious that the Throne and Pedestal are to be construed as the first "physical" objects created by God, a metaphysical position that, interestingly enough, closely coincides with the popular Islamic belief in the Throne's literal existence.



40 Throne of Shah Jahan in Hall of Public Audience *(Diwan-i-ᶜAm)*, Red Fort, Delhi, completed 1648

angels positioned around the circle of Divine Emanation. As mentioned above, many mystics equated the Divine Pen with the Perfect Man, since both were felt to epitomize the active side of God's transcendent nature. Thus the symbolism of the cenotaphs—and perhaps the entire tomb—seems explicitly designed to reflect Shah Jahan's exalted image of himself as the Perfect Man.[116]

X

Although extremely esoteric, these metaphysical notions did not exist in a vacuum; indeed they were widely established within Islamic mysticism, especially in Mughal India. It is therefore against the entire background of Islamic religious concepts, as well as the background of Shah Jahan's life and personality, that the Taj must be interpreted. Within this broader context, the Taj seems less a romantic symbol of devotion than a vainglorious, yet profound attempt to define God in Shah Jahan's own terms, perhaps even to rival him. To a certain extent, every great work of art attempts to rival the handiwork of God, indeed to surpass it by achieving a more powerfully felt transcendence than that which we sense in nature. The Taj, although in the final analysis without precedent, is perhaps one of the most powerful images of Divine Majesty so far created. Its architectural beauty constitutes the formal counterpart of our most exalted mental concepts of a formless Deity. Frequently praised as "the most beautiful building in the world," the Taj in its relative beauty seems deliberately intended to mirror God's absolute Beauty.

Of course the beauty and majesty of the Taj also reflect the glory of its earthly creator, who has certainly been immortalized by it, although perhaps for the wrong reasons. Shah Jahan's remarkable building activities throughout his reign clearly reflect his excessive vanity and his apparent desire to create for himself a literal Paradise on earth. Like his younger contemporary, Louis XVI, who became king as the Taj Mahal was nearing completion, Shah Jahan was obsessed with absolute power, particularly with its external symbols. In addition to Shah Jahan's architectural projects, the fabulous Peacock Throne also clearly reveals the degree of this obsession, as does also the magnificent marble throne (Fig. 40) set up in the great Hall of Public Audience *(Diwan-i-ᶜAm)* of the Red Fort at Shahjahanabad, the new capital city created by Shah Jahan. After the Fort was complete, the Peacock Throne was apparently shifted to Delhi and installed in the Hall of Private Audience *(Diwan-i-Khas)*. At both ends of this hall is inscribed a famous Persian couplet, which seems to sum up Shah Jahan's view of himself and his empire:

"If there is a Paradise on earth,
It is Here, it is Here, it is Here!"[117]

It would be gratuitous, nevertheless, to dismiss Shah Jahan's motives for building the Taj as mere impious vanity, just as it would be gratuitous to praise him for his supposed devotion to his wife. In the final analysis, perhaps Shah Jahan's vanity is not so very different from that of our own age, an age in which science attempts to construct its own presumptuous model of the universe, and hence of its Creator.

University of Iowa

[116] Even before the Perfect Man doctrine was formulated, Muslim mystics had devised similar elaborate allegories to express their deeply felt sense that the material world mirrors its celestial prototype and that Man is truly made in the image of God; for a possible literary precedent for the symbolic parallelisms proposed here for the cenotaphs of Mumtaz Mahal and Shah Jahan, see the answers attributed to the early Persian pantheistic mystic al-Bistami (d. 875), in the following catechism quoted in Hughes, 620 (s.v. "SUFI"): "Being asked, 'What is the throne of God?' he [al-Bistami] answered 'I am the throne of God.' 'What is the table on which the divine decrees are written?' 'I am that Table.' 'What is the pen of God—the word by which God created all things?' 'I am the Pen. . . . I am the true God. Praise to me, I must be celebrated by divine praise.' "

[117] Sanderson, 42.

Appendix

List of Koranic Passages Inscribed on the Taj Mahal

Verse numbering follows that given in ᶜAbdullah Yusuf ᶜAli, *The Holy Qur'an, Text, Translation and Commentary,* first published in Lahore in 1937–38, and reprinted frequently thereafter; for passages cited in the article, A. J. Arberry's translation was consulted in addition to Yusuf ᶜAli's.

Inscription No.	Sura No.	Title	Location
		GATEWAY	
1.	89	*al-Fajr,* "The Daybreak"	South Arch
2.	93	*al-Duha,* "The Brightness"	North Arch
3.	94	*al-Inshirah,* "The Expanding"	North Arch
4.	95	*al-Tin,* "The Fig"	North Arch
		TOMB (EXTERIOR)	
5.	36	*Ya Sin*	South, West, North, East Arches
6.	81	*al-Takwir,* "The Folding Up"	South Door
7.	82	*al-Infitar,* "The Cleaving Asunder"	West Door
8.	84	*al-Inshiqaq,* "The Rending Asunder"	North Door
9.	98	*al-Baiyina,* "The Evidence"	East Door
		TOMB (INTERIOR)	
10.	67	*al-Mulk,* "The Kingdom"	Upper Circle, SE Arch
11.	48	*al-Fath,* "The Victory"	SE, E, NE, N, NW, W Arches
12.	76	*al-Insan,* "Man"	W, SW, S Arches
13.	39.53–54	*al-Zumar,* "The Troops"	S Arch
		CENOTAPH (UPPER)	
14.	41.30	*al-Fussilat,* "The Explanation"	Top
15.	40.7–8	*al-Mu'min,* "The Believer"	Top
16.	83.22–28	*al-Tatfif,* "Short Measure"	East, South Sides
17.	41.30	*al-Fussilat,* "The Explanation"	South, West Sides
18.	2.286	*al-Baqarah,* "The Cow"	West, North Sides
19.	59.22	*al-Hashr,* "The Assembly"	North Side
		CENOTAPH (LOWER)	
20.	39.53	*al-Zumar,* "The Troops"	Top
21.	3.185	*Ali ᶜImran,* "Family of Imran"	Top
22.	23.118	*al-Mu'minun,* "The Believers"	Top
23.	59.22	*al-Hashr,* "The Assembly"	North Side
24.	—	"99 Names of God"	East, West Sides
		MOSQUE	
25.	91	*al-Shams,* "The Sun"	Around Mihrab
26.	112	*al-Tawhid,* "The Unity"	Two Disks on West Wall
27.	—	[*"Allah, Ya Kafi"*	Several Inscribed Disks]
28.	—	[*Kalima*	Several Inscribed Disks]

Bibliography of Frequently Cited Sources

ᶜAbd al-Hamid Lahawri, *The Badshah Namah by ᶜAbd al-Hamid Lahawri*, 2 vols., ed. Kabir al-Din Ahmad and ᶜAbd al-Rahim, Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1867–68 (cited as Lahawri, *Badshah Namah*).

Arnold, T. W., *Painting in Islam*, New York, 1965.

Arnold, T. W., and J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty, A Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures*, 3 vols., London, 1936.

Asín Palacios, M., 1899, "Mohidín," in *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, 2 vols., Madrid, II, 217–256.

_____, 1919, *La escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, Madrid.

Begley, W., "Amanat Khan and the Calligraphy on the Taj Mahal," *Kunst des Orients*, XII, 1979 (in press).

Bernier, F., *Travels in the Moghul Empire*, trans. A. Constable, New Delhi, 1962.

Burckhardt, T., *Art of Islam, Language and Meaning*, London, 1976.

Carra de Vaux, B., "Fragments d'eschatologie musulmane," in *Compte-rendu du Troisième Congrès Scientifique Internationale des Catholiques (Deuxième Section, Sciences Religieuses)*, Brussels, 1895, 5–34.

Carroll, D., *The Taj Mahal*, New York, 1972.

Cerulli, E., *Il "Libro della Scala" e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia* (*Studi e Testi*, CL), Vatican City, 1949.

Chaghtai, M. A., *Le Tadj Mahal d'Agra*, Brussels, 1938.

Corbin, H., *En Islam iranien*, 4 vols., Paris, 1971.

Dodd, E., "The Image of the Word: Notes on the Religious Iconography of Islam," *Berytus*, XVIII, 1969, 35–79.

Gätje, H., *The Qur'an and Its Exegesis*, trans. A. T. Welch, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976.

Herklots, G. A., trans., *Islam in India, or the Qanun-i-Islam: The Customs of the Musulmans of India, by Ja'far Sharif*, Oxford, 1921 (repr. Delhi, 1972).

Hoag, J. D., "The Tomb of Ulugh Beg and Abdu Razzaq at Ghazni, A Model for the Taj Mahal," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXVII, 1968, 234–248.

Huart, C., trans., *Le Livre de la création et de l'histoire, d'Abou-Seid Ahmed ben Sahl el-Balkhi*[*sic*], 6 vols., Paris, 1899–1919.

Hughes, T. P., *Dictionary of Islam*, New Delhi, 1976 (repr. of 1885 ed.).

Ibn al-ᶜArabi, *Futuhat al-Makkiyya*, 4 vols., Cairo, 1911 (cited as *Futuhat*).

Jairazbhoy, R. A., "The Taj Mahal in the Context of East and West: A Study in the Comparative Method," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIV, 1961, 59–88.

Manucci, N., *Storia do Mogor, or Mogul India, 1653–1708*, trans. W. Irvine, 4 vols., Calcutta, 1965.

Moin-ud-Din, M., *The History of the Taj and the Buildings in Its Vicinity*, Agra, 1905.

Nath, R., *The Immortal Taj Mahal, The Evolution of the Tomb in Mughal Architecture*, Bombay, 1972.

Nicholson, R. A., *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge, 1921.

Pavet de Courteille, A., trans., *Mirâdj-nâmeh*, Paris, 1882.

Rizvi, S. A. A., *Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Agra, 1965.

Robson, J., trans., *Mishkat al-Masabih*, 2 vols., Lahore, 1975 (cited as *Mishkat*).

Saksena, B. P., *History of Shahjahan of Dihli*, Allahabad, 1962.

Sanderson, G., *A Guide to the Buildings and Gardens, Delhi Fort*, Delhi, 1937.

Schimmel, A., "The Celestial Garden in Islam," in E. MacDougall and R. Ettinghausen, eds., *The Islamic Garden*, Washington, D.C., 1976, 11–39.

Séguy, M.-R., *The Miraculous Journey of Mahomet, Mirâj Nâmeh, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Manuscrit Supplément Turc 190)*, New York, 1977.

Smith, E. W., *Akbar's Tomb, Sikandarah, Near Agra* (*Archaeological Survey of India*, XXXV), Allahabad, 1909.

Tavernier, J.-B., *Travels in India by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne*, trans. V. Ball, 2 vols., London, 1925.

Wensinck, A. J., *The Muslim Creed*, London, 1965 (repr. of 1932 ed.).

Conflicts Between *Regnum* and *Sacerdotium* as Reflected in a Canterbury Psalter of ca. 1215*

Madeline Harrison Caviness

An English Psalter in Paris (Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 770) has never been seriously studied by art historians.[1] Even the challenge of unidentified scenes has been neglected.[2] Yet the extraordinary program of pictures contained in this book forms a unique historical document: the pictures present an allegory of the conflicts between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, the Crown and the Church, in the period around 1200, and especially in the reign of King John. Political allegory was safely veiled by scriptural imagery and exegesis and hidden in a private liturgical book, but once deciphered the pictures appear as outspoken as the most extreme of contemporary treatises on kingship, and more powerful in their impact than the written word. The Psalter also deserves interest as a transitional production, made at a time when secular painters were beginning to provide illuminations for monastic books.

Many of the saints included in the calendar and litany were long ago recognized as those associated with the Benedictine house and cathedral of Christ Church, Canterbury, from which it has been concluded that the book originated there.[3] Furthermore, a *terminus ante quem* of 1220 for the completion of the Psalter has been argued because of its omission of the Feast of the translation of the relics of Thomas Becket, which took place in Christ Church on July 7 in that year and which was celebrated annually thereafter (Fig. 37).[4] In view of the importance of this conclusion, I have presented codicological and palaeographic evidence for the integrity of the calendar, Psalms, and litany in the Appendix. The book will here be called the Little Canterbury Psalter or Little Psalter to distinguish it from the better-known Great Psalter, also in Paris, which is a late twelfth-century copy of the Utrecht Psalter.[5]

Considering the iconographic complexity of the program of pictures in the Little Canterbury Psalter, it will be well to describe each briefly, in the order of its appearance.[6] Scenes are identified as they appear, from left to right.

fol. 11v, Ps. 1: Full-page *Beatus* initial containing an abbreviated Tree of Jesse (Fig. 19)
fol. 32v, Ps. 21: Flagellation of Christ; Carrying of the Cross (Fig. 1)
fol. 38v, Ps. 26: Saul threatening; David escaping (Fig. 7)
fol. 55r, Ps. 38: An execution; a king and a devil (Fig. 8)
fol. 70v, Ps. 51: Entombment; Crucifixion (Fig. 3)
fol. 71v, Ps. 52: David receiving bread and sword; priests slaughtered (Fig. 11)
fol. 87v, Ps. 68: Death of Saul; news brought to David (Fig. 12)
fol. 105v, Ps. 80: Coronation; battle scene (Fig. 14)
fol. 124v, Ps. 97: Two kings with gold; death of one of them (Fig. 17)
fol. 127r, Ps. 101: Resurrection; *Noli me tangere* (Fig. 4)
fol. 142r, Ps. 109: Trinity (Fig. 6)

The most important aspect of this arrangement is the interweaving of two cycles in an almost symmetrical sequence, which begins with the coming of Christ and ends with his return to Heaven. His Passion, placed at Psalms 21, 51, and 101, is interrupted by two groups of scenes dealing with kings; we shall see that all but one of these six scenes belong to a Davidic cycle. The christological sequence follows the classic diptych structure of much medieval narrative, with scenes of suffering culminating in the centrally placed scene of the En-

* A preliminary study was presented at the Annual Meeting of the College Art Association in 1976 in a session on the illuminated book in England, chaired by Larry Ayres. I am grateful to him and to Adelaide Bennett, and also to my colleagues Anne van Buren and Rudi Lindner, for their discussion of several points. In addition, Anne van Buren has been especially helpful in matters of presentation. I am also indebted to François Avril of the Bibliothèque Nationale for his most cordial help.

[1] N.B. A bibliography of sources, cited by author's name in the notes, appears at the end of the article. The dimensions of the MS are: 29.4 x 20.3cm. Other technical information on the manuscript is placed in the Appendix.

[2] Leroquais, II, 52–54, attempted a complete description of the illuminations, but was unable to identify two of the series and was mistaken in a third; he concluded that most of them had nothing to do with the text.

[3] The English origin was recognized by Meyer, 47, and by Delisle, 275–76. The identification of the calendar as that of Christ Church was made by Francis A. Gasquet and Edmond Bishop, *The Bosworth Psalter*, London, 1908, 68–69, who also collated the entries in their tables, 76–119. The identification and collation were accepted by Wormald, 64, who dated the manuscript about 1220. The provenance was confirmed by Ker, 39.

[4] An erasure at July 7 cannot be reconstructed as the *Translatio Sancti Thomae*, although it may have been made in preparation for its insertion.

[5] Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 8846; see: Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscripts, *Psautier illustré (XIIIe siècle): Reproduction des 107 miniatures du manuscrit latin 8846*, pref. H[enri] O[mont], Paris, [n.d.]; Adelheid Heimann, "The Last Copy of the Utrecht Psalter," in Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Year 1200: A Symposium*, New York, 1975, 313–38.

[6] The Douay translation of the Old Testament will be used; the numbering of the Psalms coincides with that of the Vulgate.

tombment at the lowest point, followed by scenes of triumph;[7] the Davidic cycle provides a parallel structure, although the triumphs are unusually vengeful. It is my thesis that this interweaving and the unusual subjects in the cycles provide the basis for the hidden political allegory of the Psalter.

Before dealing in detail with the two cycles and their interrelation, however, there are some observations of formal characteristics that have to be made, since they have an important bearing on the position of the pictures in the book. All the pictures in the Little Canterbury Psalter are placed in rectilinear frames; the only historiated initial is at Psalm 1, and this too is framed (Fig. 19). In most cases, pairs of pictures are arranged across the page to conform to the two columns of script (Figs. 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14, 17); an exception is the image of the Trinity which extends the full width of the page (Fig. 6). The positions of all the pictures except those at Psalm 21 are explained by normal liturgical use, since they mark the Psalms with which recitation was resumed during each Office of the week; the beginning of each of these Psalms is also marked by a decorated initial on a solid colored ground (e.g., Figs. 3, 8, 14, 17), but it is lacking at Psalm 21. Futhermore, although the ten liturgical divisions of the book correspond to usage that Haseloff has established as English in origin,[8] New Testament subjects serve to distinguish the older, three-part Irish division from the Continental eight-part division of the Psalms with which it had become fused; these New Testament subjects are at Psalms 1, 51, and 101. The placement of the Passion subjects, including the scenes at Psalm 21, is indeed unique to this Psalter, though some analogues may be found. A survey of these will enable the reader to assess the degree to which the pictures in the Little Canterbury Psalter depended on the Psalter text or on earlier programs and to weigh the possibility that the Psalter had some impact on later books.

The Passion Theme

The Psalter's theme of the Passion is justified by the opening of Psalm 21: "O God, my God, look upon me: why has thou forsaken me?", words that were recalled by Christ on the Cross; and reference to the Passion is also made in the title used for Psalm 21 in the Little Psalter: "quod ipse [i.e. Christus] transfixus clavis, vestimenta sua sorte dividi permissit." But this phrase would suggest Christ on the Cross and the soldiers drawing lots for his mantle as illustrations.[9] The Flagellation and Carrying the Cross, which appear in this Psalter, are very rarely illustrated in the text of the Psalms, and no pertinent comparisons have been found,[10] whereas the Crucifixion was occasionally represented at Psalm 21 in both East and West from the ninth century on.[11] Almost contemporary with the Canterbury book is a group of very fully illustrated Psalters that include this subject within the initial; the earliest is a late twelfth-century Psalter from the Harleian Collection, and it offers other points of comparison with the Little Canterbury Psalter.[12] The Psalter text and illustrations of this book are now thought to be English.[13] Closer in format to the Little Canterbury Psalter, but probably slightly later in date, is MS 1273 in the Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève in Paris.[14] Here the Crucifixion is framed above the decorated initial of Psalm 21 (Fig. 2), so that the layout resembles that of the Canterbury Psalter (Fig. 3). This Psalter was perhaps made for an English nunnery, judging by the litany and the donor figure, but it has had a calendar for St.-Bertin of St.-Omer substituted for the original. On the other hand, the style of this picture, and of the initials and

[7] As described by William W. Ryding, *Structure in Medieval Narrative*, The Hague, 1971, 25–27, 119–26.

[8] Haseloff, 6–7.

[9] The *tituli* conform to the fifth series recognized by Pierre Salmon, *Les "Titul Psalmorum" des manuscrits latins (Collectanea Biblica Latina*, XII), Rome, 1959, 138–48. Each demonstrates the relationship of the Psalm to Christ, as explained in the first: "Primus psalmus ostendit quod ipse [i.e. Christus] sit . . ."; thereafter each begins: "quod ipse. . . ." The earliest example noticed by Salmon is Carolingian; among the later ones is the late 12th-century Capucines Bible from St.-Bertin, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 16744. The titles do not, in other instances, apply to the illustrations of MS lat. 770.

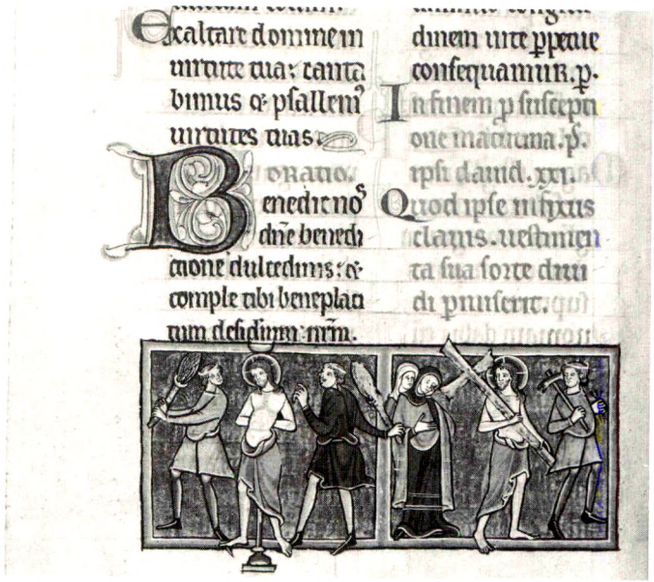
[10] In the Carolingian Stuttgart Psalter, the Flagellation is associated with Psalm 34: "congregata sunt super me flagella et ignoravi"; ill. *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter Bibl. Fol. 23, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart*, Stuttgart, [1965–68], I, fol. 43v. See also: Otto Pächt, C. R. Dodwell, Francis Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter (Albani Psalter)*, London, 1960, 58, n.1. The only other example of the Carrying of the Cross at Psalm 21 is in the Psalter of Pope Paul III, 1542, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 8880; see: Leroquais, 92, and Léon Dorez, *Psautier de Paul III*, Paris, 1909, pl. IX.

[11] See: *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter*, I, fol. 25v; II, 74. For Byzantine examples, see: *Psautiers grecs*, I, pp. 15, 21, pl. 1; pp. 49, 56, pl. 49; II, pp. 15, 23, pl. 15.

[12] Brit. Lib., Harl. MS 2895; Haseloff, 35. Two later manuscripts of the same group also have the Crucifixion at Psalm 21: Manchester, John Rylands Lib., MS 22 and Cambridge Univ. Lib., MS Ee IV.24 (Haseloff, 36, 37).

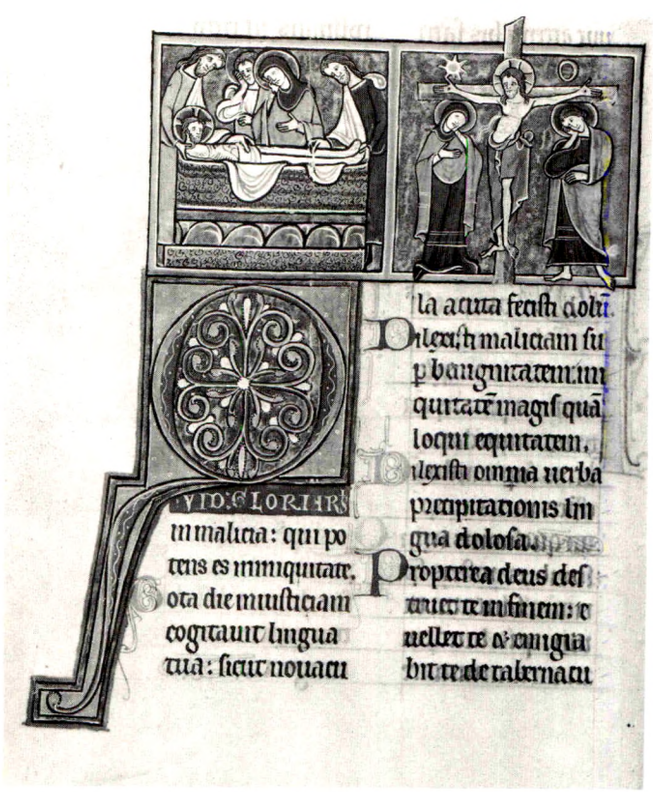
[13] The calendar is that of the Cluniac Priory of La Charité-sur-Loire, but Larry Ayres doubted that it was bound with the Psalms originally, a suspicion that was confirmed when the book was rebound; see: L. M. Ayres, "The Work of the Morgan Master at Winchester and English Painting of the Early Gothic Period," *Art Bulletin*, LVI, 1974, 210, n. 25.

[14] Leroquais, II, 152–54. The English litany is integral with the text of the Psalms and in the same script; the St.-Bertin calendar forms a separate quire and the script differs slightly from the text. The biblical canticles are included for monastic use, and a woman kneels at the foot of the Cross on fol. 38r.



1 Little Canterbury Psalter, Ps. 21, *Flagellation* and *Carrying of the Cross*. Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 770, fol. 32v (photos: Bibl. Nat.)

2 Northern French Psalter, Ps. 21, *Crucifixion*. Paris, Bibl. Ste.-Gen. MS 1273, fol. 38r (photo: author)



3 Little Canterbury Psalter, Ps. 51, *Entombment* and *Crucifixion*, fol. 70v

prefatory pages, appears more French than English, and MS 1273 has not been included in the standard works on English illumination.

In the Little Canterbury Psalter, the Crucifixion at Psalm 51 (Fig. 3) thus appears misplaced, and we shall see that its inclusion there displaced the Davidic subject called for by the title. An Irish origin for this unusual placement of the Crucifixion is confirmed by an eleventh-century Irish Psalter that by the sixteenth century, at least, belonged to St. Martin's Priory in Dover, a dependency of Christ Church.[15] This does not, however, explain the inclusion in our book of the Entombment, and it is to be noted that this picture, curiously, precedes the Crucifixion, being placed on the left of it (Fig. 3).

In the Little Canterbury Psalter, the inclusion of the Resurrection at Psalm 101 is unique (Fig. 4); it could have been associated with verse 14: "Thou shalt rise," but none of the standard commentaries makes this association. In the late twelfth-century Harleian Psalter, referred to above, however, it is illustrated at Psalm 117, which falls within the same division.[16] Our Psalter's Mary Magdalen before Christ (Fig. 4), perhaps suggested by the opening verses of repentance in Psalm 101, is scarcely less rare. The *Noli me tangere* scene oc-

[15] The "Southampton Psalter," Cambridge, St. John's Coll., MS C.9; see: F. Henry, "Remarks on the Decoration of Three Irish Psalters," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, C, 1960, 33–36. The presence of the Crucifixion is explained by the association of Psalm 53 with the Passion; the other two divisions are introduced by David killing the Lion and David killing Goliath.

[16] Haseloff, 35. The Resurrection also occurs at Psalm 29. The initials are on fols. 22v and 72r.

4 Little Canterbury Psalter, Ps. 101, *Resurrection* and *Noli me tangere*, fol. 127r

7 Little Canterbury Psalter, Ps. 26, *Saul Threatening* and *David Escaping*, fol. 38v

5 Northern French Psalter, Ps. 101, *Noli me tangere* (?). Paris, Ste.-Gen. MS 1273, fol. 113v (photo: author)

6 Little Canterbury Psalter, Ps. 109, *Trinity*, fol. 142r

curs, but at Psalm 26, in an early thirteenth-century English glossed Psalter with a unique program of historiated initials, as Brieger has noted.[17] The Ste.-Geneviève Psalter, however, offers only a partial analogy. Indeed, it may have been the Canterbury program that confused the illuminator of the Ste.-Geneviève Psalter: he has apparently conflated the representation of Christ and *Ecclesia*, which was common at Psalm 101 in English Psalters,[18] with the *Noli me tangere;* the kneeling woman in Figure 5 is more likely to be Mary Magdalen than *Ecclesia*, but ambiguity arises from the fact that neither figure in the Ste.-Geneviève Psalter holds the banner and Christ's hands do not show the wounds.

In the Little Canterbury Psalter, the representation of Christ seated on the right of God the Father before Psalm 109 is as commonplace as the Jesse Tree with which the New Testament cycle began (Fig. 6). The subject is suggested by the opening words of the Psalm, and was the norm on both sides of the Channel by 1220.[19] The only unusual feature of the picture may be the mandorla containing the dove of the Holy Spirit which is held aloft by the Father and Son; Adelaide Bennett has pointed out to me that the mandorla is similarly used in a mid-thirteenth-century Bible in London which she believes to be northern French.[20] It also appears, about the same time, in a Psalter illuminated in England by W. de Brailes.[21]

[17] Cambridge, Corpus Christi Coll., MS M.2; see: Peter Brieger, *English Art, 1216–1307*, Oxford, 1957, 85, fig. 26a. The other subjects are equally unusual, *viz.* Noah's Shame at Psalm 50, Balaam's Ass at Psalm 51, and the Annunciation at Psalm 109. Brieger associates the script with St. Albans.

[18] Haseloff, 101, Table 2.

[19] *Ibid.*, 34–36, 101, Tables 1 and 2, 105, Table 4.

[20] Brit. Lib., Add. MS 15253, fol. 161v.

[21] Formerly Cockerell Collection; see: Rickert, pl. 103c.

The Theme of Kingship

In our Psalter, the other scenes that mark the liturgical divisions treat the theme of kingship, one that is common in Psalters and quite natural in view of the medieval attribution of the Psalms to David. Indeed, most of the scenes are best identified as illustrations of the books of Kings (I and II Reg. of the Vulgate). They include, however, some rare and unique representations, and an unusual positioning within the Psalms of some of the more common subjects. Furthermore, unlike the joyous Davidic scenes that more often illustrate the Psalms, the cycle in the Little Canterbury Psalter is characterized by violence and pessimism; not only is David shown suffering under Saul but after his coronation, battles are depicted devastating the kingdom (Figs. 7, 14). The final scene of the cycle, at Psalm 97, and the only one that cannot be explained by biblical history, presents the corruption and downfall of evil rulers (Fig. 17). Not only does the cycle as a whole reproduce the diptych arrangement of the Passion and Resurrection, but several pairs of illustrations have a significant relationship to one or more scenes in the New Testament cycle. Their typological relationships are expressed through the use of a comparable position on the page—whether left or right—and often through the use of an analogous composition. These parallels, explicit as they are once the juxtaposition of scenes is made, are veiled by the separation of scenes in the sequence of the Psalms; they would have become apparent only to the observer who searched for hidden meanings.

At Psalm 26, instead of the usual anointing of David, we see Saul threatening him with a spear as he leaves with his harp, in illustration of I Reg. 18:10–11 (Fig. 7).[22] David is placed in a position and pose that mimic those of Christ carrying the Cross, a scene placed only six folios earlier (Fig. 1). A rare example of this scene at this place occurs in the group of fully illustrated Anglo-French psalters already referred to, but in a later thirteenth-century book.[23]

The next sequence shows, in the right frame, a king with a devil in illustration of the opening words of Psalm 38: "I said: I will take heed to my ways: that I sin not with my tongue . . . ." (Fig. 8). A similar subject is commonly included at Psalm 38 in English Psalters, but ours is uniquely augmented by a scene of execution on the left. The king is usually identified as David resisting the temptation of the Devil to sin in his speech. I would suggest, however, that the king here is Saul sinning in telling Jonathan and his servants to kill David (I Reg. 19:1). Instead of covering his mouth with the conventional motion of resistance to temptation, the king makes the customary gesture for speech with his right hand. The title promises that Christ will lay hold of us because of our sins and correct us;[24] the pictorial commentary interprets this as a threat to evil kings. Since this combination of subjects is unknown in Psalters or biblical cycles, the illuminator may have conflated the usual scene of the evil one before the king with a subject such as David ordering the execution of the Amalakite (which occurs at Psalm 51 in the mid-twelfth-century Lambeth Bible from Canterbury), or Saul ordering Doeg and his soldiers to kill the priests at Nob.[25] It may be objected that two executioners do not normally appear with the Amalakite, but either model would require adaptation. Another episode from earlier Davidic cycles, although less common, would have provided a closer model for Figure 8: a king ordering the arrest of a young man, represented at Psalm 33 in the Harleian Psalter, is identified in the title as King Achish directing the removal of David from his presence (Fig. 9).[26]

If my identification of the scenes at Psalm 38 in the Little Canterbury Psalter is correct, the historical sequel is illustrated at Psalm 52; David, fugitive from Saul, receives hallowed bread and the sword of Goliath from the priest Ahimelech at Nob, and the priests are slaughtered by Doeg as a consequence (I Reg. 21; Fig. 11). These events are commonly illustrated at Psalm 51 since the title to that Psalm refers to them, but we have seen that the Passion cycle was continued at that place, according to Irish tradition. Only one page separates the scenes of Entombment and Crucifixion from those of David and the priests (Fig. 3); this and the reversed order of the Passion scenes encourages a comparison between the Crucifixion and the slaughter of the priests, an idea to which I will return later. Rare examples of David and the priests at Psalm 52 are in two of the Anglo-French Psalters studied by Haseloff. The theme might have been justified by the words in verse 1 of the Psalm: "Corrupt are they, and have done abominable iniquity: There is none that doeth good." In addition, the title in the Harleian Psalter refers to Ahimelech, but the initial contains only a seated king

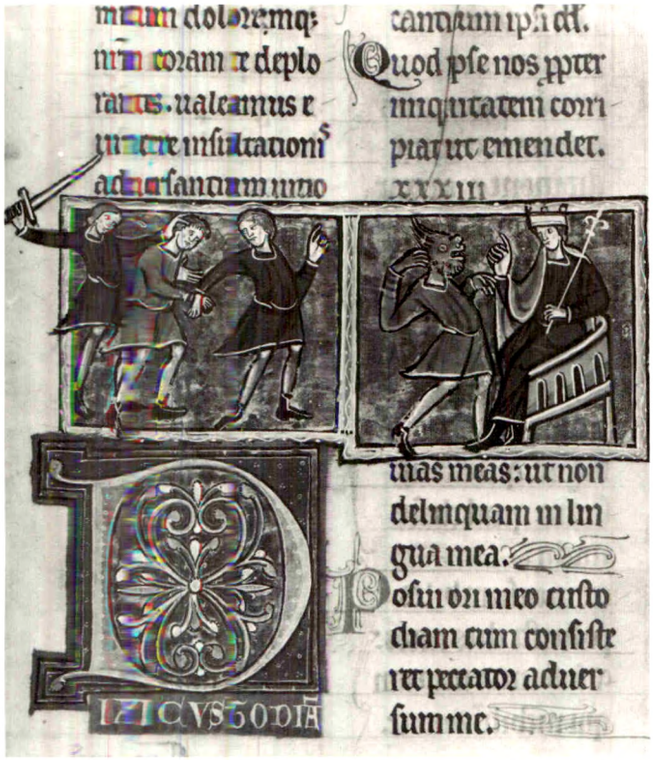
[22] For the anointing or crowning of David at Psalm 26, see Haseloff, 100, Tables 1 and 2, 104, Table 4, 110, Tables 7 and 8. David's triumph over the lion is portrayed at Psalm 26 in the Lambeth Bible and in a Psalter in Oxford, Magdalen Coll., MS 100, as pointed out by L. M. Ayres, "Problems of Sources for the Iconography of the Lyre Drawings," *Speculum*, XLIX, 1974, 63, fig. 1.

[23] Paris, Bibl. Ste.-Geneviève, MS 56; Haseloff, 34.

[24] "Quod ipse nos propter iniquitatem corripit ut emendet."

[25] Both subjects are known in Psalters as well as in Davidic cycles, as Ayres has indicated (*Speculum*, XLIX, 65–67).

[26] The scene also appears in the frontispiece of the Psalms in the Bible of Stephen Harding, Dijon, Bibl. Mun., MS 14, ill. Ayres, *Speculum*, XLIX, fig. 7.



8 Little Canterbury Psalter, Ps. 38, here identified as *Saul Plotting the Death of David*, fol. 55r

11 Little Canterbury Psalter, Ps. 52, *David Receiving the Bread and Sword at Nob* and the *Priests Slaughtered*, fol. 71v

9 Psalter, English(?), Ps. 33, *David Removed from the Presence of King Achish* and the *Last Supper*. London, Brit. Lib. Harl. MS 2895, fol. 25v (photo: Brit. Lib.)

10 MS Harl. 2895, Ps. 52, *Doeg before Saul(?)*, fol. 36r (photo: Brit. Lib.)

talking with three men, the foremost of whom wears a sword (Fig. 10).[27] Possibly this is Doeg before Saul, but there is no other correspondence to the pictures in the Little Psalter. The initial at Psalm 51 has been cut out, but a later book in this group depicts a priest killed here, whereas two scenes in the initial to Psalm 52 invert the historical order to show the priests giving bread to David, and the same handing him the sword of Goliath while watched by Saul's spy.[28]

Keeping the narrative sequence, at Psalm 68 in our Psalter there follows the ignominious death of Saul who killed himself in battle, and the Amalakite witness bringing the news to David (Fig. 12). The death of Saul is often represented, as in the Lambeth Bible, at the opening to the second book of Kings where it is recounted (II Reg. 1:1).[29] It has been noted that the Lambeth Bible also includes the episode of the Amalakite, at Psalm 51.[30] Neither of those scenes, however, is the model for the sequence in the Little Canterbury Psalter. The Psalter omits the execution of the Amalakite and shows David mourning; his posture is fitting, since the Psalm begins with a lament which culminates in verse 4: "I have laboured with crying. . . ." Illustrations at Psalm 17 in the Harleian Psalter omit the Amalakite altogether: on the left Saul falls on his sword; on the right, David, already crowned, reacts without grief (Fig. 13). The title there refers to David's deliverance from Saul.

Psalm 80 in the Little Canterbury Psalter is marked by a coronation and a massacre (Fig. 14). The more common scene of Solomon crowned by Zadok and Nathan has probably been replaced by a coronation of

[27] The title reads: "In finem pro Amalec [*sic*] intellectus David."

[28] Cambridge, Univ. Lib., MS Ee IV.24; Haseloff, 38.

[29] London, Lambeth Palace Lib., MS 3, fol. 15r, ill. Boase, fig. 62.

[30] Maidstone Mus., MS P.5; the scene was correctly identified by Ayres, *Speculum*, XLIX, 66, fig. 6.

David, which continues the Old Testament sequence (II Reg. 2:4). If so, the adjacent scene is likely to be the triumph of David's general, Joab, over the forces of Saul's son, Ishbosheth, led by Abner, at the Pool of Gibeon (II Reg. 2:12–18). That sequence is illustrated on a prefatory page in a twelfth-century Bavarian manuscript of Peter Lombard's Commentary on the Psalms (Fig. 15).[31] The accompanying verses explain the fatal consequences: "Denuo rex unctus est regni munere functus. Quis ludi fructus manans de funere luctus," which may be translated: "The king is anointed anew to provide the executive arm of the kingdom; the fruits born of this rite are funereal mourning." The sequence is also placed at the opening of Psalm 97 in the fourteenth-century Bohun Psalter (Fig. 16). This English book presents a continuous Davidic cycle throughout the ten normal liturgical divisions, and two more at Psalms 119 and 137; it affords a rare example in Psalter illustration of adherence to historical chronology.[32] In both examples the coronation of David is performed by two priests, as it is in the Little Canterbury Psalter.[33] The Canterbury work differs from them, however, in illustrating the content of the accompanying Psalm: the opening invocation is to the Lord as the helper and God of Jacob, and verses 15–16 make vehement reference to subduing the Israelite's enemies. The triumph and revenge of David provide an antithesis to the sequence of his flight and Saul's revenge on the priests (cf. Figs. 14, 11).

At Psalm 80 in the Little Psalter the Old Testament cycle ends. Psalm 97 presents subjects for which Leroquais could offer no identification, or even an accurate description (Fig. 17).[34] The first can be identified, however, because it is a copy of a scene from one of the twelfth-century typological windows of Christ Church, and the figures are there labeled (Fig. 18); they are the Emperors Julian the Apostate and Maurice Tiberius, seated on either side of a vessel heaped with gold coins (colored yellow in both glass and illumination). The glass panel was originally in the sixth window of the series where it illustrated the thorny ground in which the seed of the Parable of the Sower could not thrive;[35] the good ground was represented by righteous men of the Old Testament, Daniel, Job, and Noah. The pairing of the two avaricious Roman emperors was suggested in a letter of Gregory the Great criticizing Maurice for his treatment of the Church and, especially, for his ordinance forbidding his soldiers to enter the monasteries.[36] Julian was an even clearer representative of evil kingship. According to a miracle of the Virgin recounted by William of Malmesbury and John of Salisbury, he was struck down by the avenging heavens in answer to a prayer of Saint Basil; it is, presumably, his burial that is shown on the right in the Little Psalter.

The demise of the Roman emperor, Julian, seems to illustrate the fate of the heathen in the second verse of the Psalm: "He hath revealed his justice in the sight of the Gentiles." The Harleian Psalter portrays the enemies of God as kings at the opening of Psalm 82;[37] one is struck by flames from the hand of God and two others fall, in illustration of verses 15–16: "As fire which burneth the wood: and as a flame burning mountains: So shalt thou pursue them with thy tempest: and shalt trouble them in thy wrath." Both the *Glossa Ordinaria* and the Commentary of Peter Lombard refer here to the punishment of the wicked which will deter them from the persecution of God's people, and the Lombard adds a topical note to the effect that the people are much afflicted at the present time.[38] In fact such references in the Psalms to the punishment of God's enemies were often noticed by the commentators; it is of special interest for the death scene that is included in the Little Psalter that the commentary of Cassiodorus on such passages in Psalms 96:3 and 109:1–3 refers to Is. 26:10–12.[39] This passage also echoes the theme of justice of Psalm 97: "Let us have pity on the wicked, but he will not learn justice. . . ." Could it have been known in the West that in Byzantine Psalters this verse of the Ode of Isaiah was illustrated in the margin by the death of

[31] Bamberg, Staatsbibl., MS 59, fol. 3v; Hanns Swarzenski, "A Chalice and a Book of Kings," *De Artibus Opuscula*, XL, *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss, 1961, 440–41; *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, I, Rome, 1968, 487; Württembergisches Landesmuseum, *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte—Kunst—Kultur*, exh. cat., Stuttgart, 1977, I, 557–59, No. 735 with earlier bibliog.; II, fig. 526.

[32] Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus., MS 38–1950, fol. 120r; see: M. R. James and E. G. Millar, *The Bohun Manuscripts: A Group of Five Manuscripts Executed in England about 1370 for Members of the Bohun Family (Roxburghe Club*, CC), Oxford, 1936, 54–57.

[33] Leroquais, II, 54, identified this as the coronation of Solomon, but no battle followed that event; the identification with David is supported by numerous examples where he is crowned by two priests.

[34] Leroquais, II, 54, suggested that the round objects were the hallowed loaves.

[35] The title given in the medieval manuscripts that record the glass referred to the "Richmen of this world with money," and the inscription in the glass may be translated: "These thorny ones are the rich and extravagant; they bear no fruit since they seek earthly things"; see: *C.V.M.A.*, Window n XI, panel 26 (now in the north choir aisle, n. XV, 7).

[36] References for this and much of the following discussion are given in Caviness, 128–29.

[37] Brit. Lib., MS Harl. 2895, fol. 56r; Haseloff, 35.

[38] J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus . . . Series Latina* (hereafter *Pat. Lat.*), Paris, 1879f., CXIII, 982; CXCI, 779: "Mali vero qui eos persequuntur, torquebuntur, per quod deterret iniquos a persecutione populi Dei, quem multis modis mali in praesenti affligunt, maxime tempore Antichristi."

[39] Cassiodorus, XCVIII, 871, 1009.

12 Little Canterbury Psalter, Ps. 68, *Death of Saul* and *The Amalekite Telling David*, fol. 87v

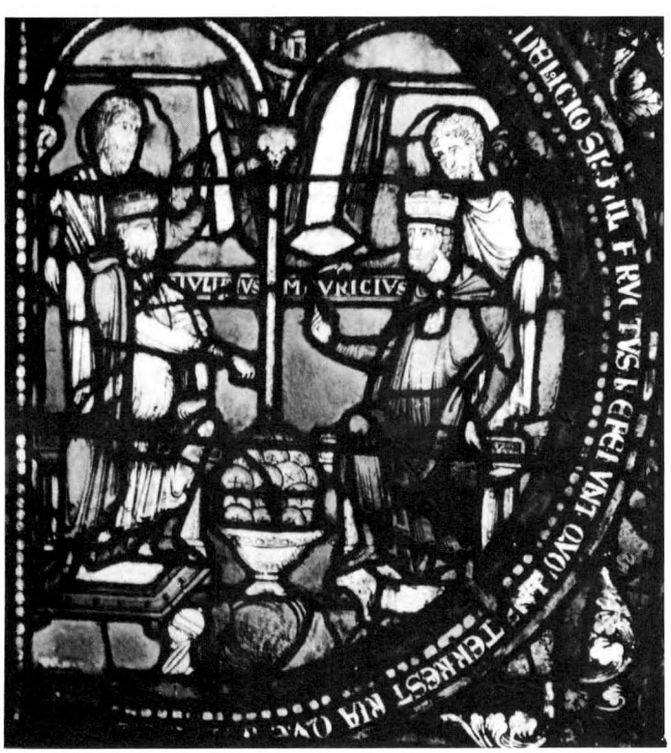
13 MS Harl. 2895, Ps. 17, *Death of Saul, with David*, fol. 15v (photo: Brit. Lib.)

14 Little Canterbury Psalter, Ps. 80, *Coronation of David* and *Battle of Gibeon*, fol. 105v

15 Bavarian, Peter Lombard, Commentary on the Psalms, *Coronation of David* and *Battle of Gibeon*. Bamberg, Staatsbibl. MS 59, fol. 3v (photo: Staatsbibl.)

16 Bohun Psalter, Ps. 97, *Coronation of David* and *Battle of Gibeon*. Cambridge, Fitzw. Mus. MS 38-1950, fol. 120r (photo: Museum)

17 Little Canterbury Psalter, Ps. 97, here identified as the *Emperors Julian the Apostate and Maurice Tiberius* and *Death of Julian*, fol. 124r



18 Stained glass, *Emperors Julian the Apostate and Maurice Tiberius*, Canterbury Cathedral, panel from the si typological window (photo: author)

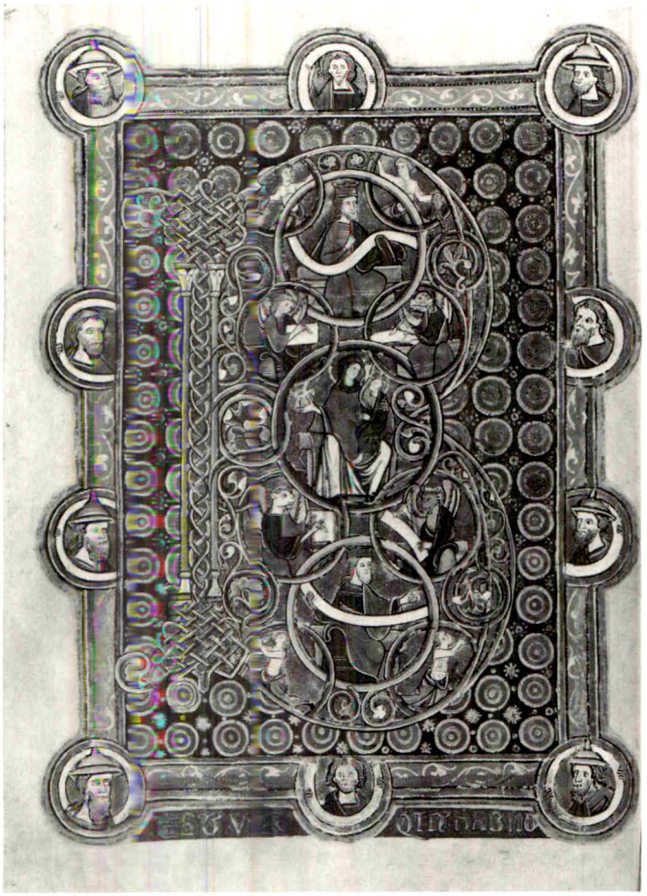
Julian the Apostate?[40] If so, the scene might have been transferred to illustrate the liturgical division of a Western Psalter following the logic of a cross-reference, but up to now I have not found a commentary that makes this reference in the context of Psalm 97, or one that mentions Julian, so the manner of the transfer remains hypothetical. The Byzantine pictorial tradition is not followed in the Little Psalter; the burial (Fig. 17) mimics instead the composition of the Entombment of Christ (Fig. 3), as if to contrast the wicked who will not rise with the triumphant Resurrection of Christ which follows three folios later. So also the seated emperors in Figure 17 mimic the postures of God the Father and Christ in the picture of the Trinity (Fig. 6), but the contrast is emphasized by the substitution of the vessel of worldly wealth for the mandorla of the Holy Spirit. The emperors are the Antichrist in visual terms, just as in the words of Gregory they were "the adversary of God." The sequence draws attention to verse 4 of Psalm 109: "The Lord at thy right hand hath broken kings in the day of his wrath."

If we now consider the *Beatus* page, the uniqueness of its adaptation of Jesse Tree iconography may be understood in relation to the program it introduces (Fig. 19). The Virgin and Child occupy a central medallion, surrounded by interlocking medallions with the four Evangelists, as in a *Majestas* composition. These are supplemented by two personified Rivers of Paradise in the upper lobe of the letter and in the lower lobes, by two similar semi-nude figures, one of whom prays instead of holding a waterpot. The Jesse Tree theme is expressed chiefly in the rinceaux that link the medallions and fill the letter, and in two kings placed above and below the Virgin, who are outnumbered by ten busts of prophets which decorate the frame. This disregard for a linear organization of the genealogy recalls that in a page in the contemporary Imola Psalter which shows the descent of both John the Baptist and Christ through Anna, and which places Christ in the center.[41] In the Lambeth Bible, the Jesse page is dominated by the Virgin, who extends the height of the tree, and two busts of kings are relegated to the lower corner medallions,[42] but a page in the Great Canterbury Psalter offers the closest compositional analogy, since all its figures are

[40] As in the 11th-century Psalter, London, Brit. Lib., Add. MS 19352, fol. 200r, where an angel drags Julian by his hair; see: *Psautiers grecs*, II, 103, pl. 315. The Ode continues, even more to the point (vv. 13–14): "O Lord our God, other lords besides thee have had dominion over us, only in thee let us remember thy name. Let not the dead live, let not the giants rise again: therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them, and hast destroyed all their memory."

[41] Imola, Bibl. Com. MS 100, fol. 10v; ill. Rickert, pl. 96b.

[42] London, Lambeth Palace Lib., MS 3, fol. 198r; see: Arthur Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, London, 1934, 99–102, pl. XV.



19 Little Canterbury Psalter, Ps. 1, *Beatus* page, fol. 11v

likewise contained within medallions linked by rinceaux.[43] There, although the normal genealogical order is followed, with the busts of three kings placed below those of the Virgin and Christ, Isaiah appears to occupy the lowest medallion and ten other prophets are given equal importance alongside the line of Jesse. At the top, Peter and Paul flank Christ. The nature of Christ is thus to be understood in relation to the priesthood as well as to kingship and his spiritual lineage, which is also that of the heads of the Jewish and Gentile Churches, is represented. The page in the Little Canterbury Psalter, on the other hand, is organized centrifugally; the *Majestas* quatrefoil in the center corresponds to a heavenly zone, emphasized by the zoanthropomorphic form of the Evangelists,[44] whereas the kings and semi-nude figures correspond to an earthly zone. The page thus introduces the theme, later reinforced by the burial of Julian the Apostate, that the power of earthly kings is subject to heavenly authority.

The comparisons made thus far indicate that some of the subjects in the Little Canterbury manuscript are apparently unique in the context of a Psalter, and, moreover, that the program as a whole has no exact parallel. The combination of Davidic and christological themes itself is not rare, and, in view of the number of commentaries on the Psalms that were primarily concerned with their prophetic value, it is not surprising that we have found some overlapping of subjects with the most profusely illustrated Psalters. Neither is it surprising that some of these may be northern French, since it was in the schools of Laon and Paris that Anselm and Peter Lombard produced the Great Gloss. The Gloss was annotated by Herbert of Bosham at Pontigny and taken by him to Canterbury.[45] The outstanding features of the Little Canterbury Psalter are the planned sequence, which perserves the chronological order of each cycle while interdigitating them, and the addition of the esoteric images of the Antichrist which were borrowed from the windows of Christ Church. Furthermore, not only are the New Testament subjects used to mark the Irish divisions of the Psalter but they are intimately related typologically to the other scenes. Both cycles exclude joyful or triumphant scenes which are often included in prefatory pages or in initials; there is neither a Nativity nor Annunciation to the Shepherds, nor a David surrounded by musicians or overcoming Goliath, the lion, or the bear. The cycles also avoid banal illustrations either of the right behavior of kings—as at the Adoration of the Magi—or of the tyrannical behavior of rulers, such as Herod ordering the Massacre of the Innocents. Yet the cumulative impact of the illustrations is overwhelming. The composer of the program demonstrated visually that David and the priests persecuted by Saul were types of the suffering Christ, and that David's coronation was followed by revenge, just as Christ finally triumphed over the Antichrist and evil kings were destroyed.

The concept of David as a type of Christ was common in twelfth-century exegesis; a sermon attributed to Hugh of St. Victor, for instance, on the text of II Reg. 15 interprets the conspiring Absalom as the Jews and David as Christ crucified; it goes on to draw a parallel between David killing Goliath and Christ destroying the Devil, and between David suffering the persecution of Saul and Christ tormented by the Devil.[46] This theme, which also included parallels with the early life

[43] Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 8846, fol. 42r; ill. Boase, fig. 96.

[44] On this supernatural rendering of the Evangelists, see most recently: Elizabeth Parker McLachlan, "The Pembroke College New Testament and a Group of Unusual English Evangelist Symbols," *Gesta*, XIV, 1975, 6, with bibliog. For the early development of the *Majestas Domini* composition with zoanthropomorphic Evangelists, see: Martin Werner, "The Four Evangelist Symbols Page in the Book of Durrow," *Gesta*, VIII, 1969, 3–17.

[45] Smalley, 82, and n. 91. For the manuscripts, now in Cambridge, Trinity Coll., MS B.5.4 and Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Auct. E inf. 6, see: Dodwell, 104–07.

[46] Sermo LIX, *Pat. Lat.* CLXXVII, 1077–78.

of Christ, was used in the Canterbury Cathedral glass, in a program comprising twelve typological windows which was composed about 1175–1180 for the choir and presbytery.[47] David and Goliath appeared in the third window, on the north side of the choir, as a prefiguration of the third Temptation of Christ,[48] and in the twelfth, across from the third, David rescuing the Lamb was a type of the Harrowing of Hell.[49] In the second window, David fleeing from Saul and Doeg was inscribed with the verse: "David did not fall; instead of him Saul slaughtered these: So Jesus, in flight, was not killed with the slaughtered," and next to it was the Flight into Egypt.[50] These subjects were followed by the Massacre of the Priests and the Slaughter of the Tribe of Benjamin in Gabaon as types of the Massacre of the Innocents. Themes, therefore, that had been clearly developed in the windows were only hinted at later in the Little Psalter, as if the typological exegesis were common knowledge by then. This theological background rather than any single commentary on the Psalms seems to lie behind the program of the Psalter. Authority for the Passion cycle, however, may have been found in the commentary of Peter Lombard; at Psalm 21 he takes up the idea that the Passion is alluded to, and that David prefigures Christ. He stresses that the faithful should not despair, for although the Passion *begins here*, the title recalls the triumphant Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, *who sits on the right of God the Father.*[51] Thus Peter encapsulates the cycle of the Psalter, including the representation of the Trinity.

Political Allegory

The meaning of the Little Canterbury Psalter reaches beyond theological exegesis to political allegory, and to some extent this also can be placed in a general context. The pessimistic tenor of many of the scenes, involving sudden death, brings to mind the effects of bad government. A twelfth-century recension of Saint Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, probably made in Canterbury, illustrates the evils of bad government by a battle scene.[52] Specifically, the tyranny of kings was discussed by several writers of the twelfth to the thirteenth century, chiefly in relation to conditions in Sicily and England. Roger II earned the name "Rex Tyrannus" from his chroniclers.[53] In his *Policraticus*, John of Salisbury compared the rule of kings to that of the judges and priests under Mosaic law, and concluded that when the old system became corrupt and the people did not obey the law, "at last, in the anger of God, they were given kings, some good, many bad"; however, he did not hazard a direct attack on Henry II.[54] Later, Stephen Langton preached on the theme of tyrannical kings, but used William Rufus as an example rather than a current ruler.[55]

The most outspoken treatise of the period was that of Gerald of Wales, the eminent satirist and churchman whose ambition to hold the See of St. David's was thwarted by King John. Gerald's *De Principis Instructione*, completed only after the death of John in 1216,[56] began with a treatment of the necessary virtues of rulers, with historical examples, and in the second and third books fulminated against Henry II and his son John, referring to the latter as a "tyrant whelp, sprung from tyrants, the most cruel and himself of all tyrants the most tyrannical." "Raging madly against priesthood and people," John was the "most vicious and generally detestable tyrant of any age,"[57] according to Gerald. Indeed, it was in England, in the fifty years between about 1165 and 1215, that the conflicts between princes and prelates were most bitter, and in England nowhere more than in Canterbury.

The imagery of the Little Psalter may well belong to the specific context of thought and art in Canterbury. Both the art and writings associated with Christ Church during this period are sensors of the political climate. The period spans three reigns, those of Henry II, Richard I, and John. It was marked by two crises in the relation of *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, the conflict between Henry and Becket, climaxed by the prelate's martyrdom in 1170, and the conflict between John and Stephen Langton, Archbishop-elect of Canterbury, climaxed by a general interdict in England from 1207 to 1214, the excommunication of the king, and papal encouragement of the French to seize the English Crown.

[47] Caviness, 115–18, appendix figs. 8–19, offers the most complete reconstruction of these windows so far published. A new edition and translation of all the verse inscriptions that are known from the medieval manuscripts will follow in the *C.V.M.A.* volume, in press. Only parts of four windows have survived.

[48] *Ibid.*, Window n XIV, 8.

[49] *Ibid.*, Window s XV, 17. Other Davidic subjects in the Passion windows are David bearing himself on his hands, a type of the Last Supper, in the eleventh window (s XIV, 20), and David let down from the window, a type of the Resurrection, in the twelfth window (s XV, 14).

[50] *Ibid.*, Window n XV, 12.

[51] *Pat. Lat.*, CXCI, 225.

[52] Florence, Bibl. Laurenz., MS Plut. XII.17, fol. 1v; see: C. M. Kauffman, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1055–1190*, London, 1975, 62, No. 19, pl. 49.

[53] Helene Wieruszowski, "Roger II of Sicily, Rex Tyrannus in Twelfth-Century Political Thought," *Speculum*, XXXVIII, 1963, 46–78.

[54] Quoted from John Dickinson, "The Medieval Conception of Kingship as Developed in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury," *Speculum*, I, 1926, 310–11.

[55] Roberts, 130, 134–35. Sermons listed by her as Nos. 30, 36, and 54 have the theme *rex tyrannus*.

[56] For the date see: Gerald of Wales, xv–xvi.

[57] *Ibid.*, lii, 310, 328.

Smalley has discussed the impact of the conflict between Henry and Becket on the schools of theology, and demonstrated that by that era political allegory had already become a "habit of mind."[58] She cites the letter that Herbert of Bosham drafted for Becket in 1166 in an attempt to arouse the pope against Henry, in which he quoted Psalm 75: "Be judge, strong and righteous, terrible and [one] who taketh away the spirit of princes, terrible to the kings of the earth."[59] Herbert's preface to the Psalter commentaries of Peter Lombard, written at Pontigny in the 1170's, contains a reference to his own exile and his persecution by the ruler;[60] one is reminded of the Lombard's own comment on Psalm 82, quoted above. The almost contemporary windows of Christ Church also reflect the Becket conflict. In selecting the figures for a long genealogy of Christ based on Luke and Matthew, a marked preference for priests and judges over kings was shown; these figures were placed in the clerestory. In the twelve typological windows, below, the themes of the authority of the Church over kings and the wickedness of rulers were given some importance.[61] Bad feelings must have lingered for some time in Canterbury where the cult of Becket continued to grow. Toward the end of the century the canonization of Albert of Louvain was supported by Ralph of Sarre, who was close to the monks of Christ Church;[62] Albert, a bishop-elect of Liège who was murdered in 1192 at the instigation of Emperor Henry VI, was considered a latterday Thomas Becket.

On the other hand, there is evidence that at least some of the extremists were mollified in the reign of Richard, the Crusader king. By 1190 when Herbert of Bosham composed his commentary on the *Hebraica*, his attitude to the Psalter was strictly scholarly; his chief concern was with the literal sense of the Hebrew text; and beyond that, he showed only an occasional interest in interpretations that claimed the Psalms as portents of the coming of Christ.[63] At the same time the program of glazing in Christ Church showed some concessions to the popularity of Richard. The king was well liked by the clergy and had stopped at the tomb of Becket on his return to England in 1194.[64] About 1200 a Tree of Jesse was supplied in a window of the corona which mimicked the French treatment of the theme in the Royal Abbey of St.-Denis. It may not have been merely aesthetic interest that led the painter of the window to base his design for King Josiah on the new seal of Richard.[65]

The reign of King John was so disruptive for the Christ Church community that its members left little public record of their feelings. It is a matter of speculation how far their determination to honor Becket with the largest monumental cycle of depictions of miracles that had been dedicated to any saint, and with a great ceremony at the translation of his relics, was strengthened by the persecutions by the king, who delayed the execution of both designs. The miracle cycle, painted for the twelve windows of the Trinity Chapel between about 1190 and 1220, contains no innuendos about Henry or John. Nevertheless, if Christ Church members sought to express their feelings in the reign of King John, they would have found both a literary and a pictorial tradition available for new interpretation. It will be worth considering in detail a number of themes that first appeared in the aftermath of the Becket conflict and that are taken up, sometimes with a new slant, in the Little Psalter.

One such theme is the prominence given to Peter and Paul as heads of the first churches. In the eighth typological window of Christ Church, the Child Placed Among the Disciples by Jesus was next to a scene of kings obeying the teaching of Peter and Paul, as a type.[66] Although the type could have been derived from several biblical texts, it is significant that in a sermon preached in Christ Church on December 21, 1171, when the cathedral was reopened after the martyrdom, Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, referred to Saint Peter in this role: "The Good Shepherd, who laid down his life for his sheep, exalted St. Peter, whose feast we are keeping, and set him up as chief shepherd after himself, as prince of the apostles and as ruler over all rulers, that is over kings, emperors and bishops."[67] And, remarkably, the next subject in the eighth window was the Good Shepherd. The prominent positions of Peter and Paul on either side of Christ in the Jesse page of the Great Canterbury Psalter, noted earlier, reflect the same theme. In the Little Canterbury Psalter, I remarked that the theme was less specifically rendered (Fig. 19). Indeed, the relation of temporal to heavenly rule expressed in the Little Psalter page is closer to the general formulation of Langton, who wrote to the monks of Christ Church in 1207: "Fealty is promised or sworn to kings . . . saving loyalty to the superior lord, the eternal king who is king of kings and lord of lords."[68]

The sinfulness of monarchs was also treated in the early glass of Christ Church. One such subject, in the

[58] Smalley, 32–36.

[59] *Ibid.*, 66–68.

[60] Ed. H. G. Glunz, *The Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon*, Cambridge, 1933, 342–46.

[61] Caviness, 110–12, 118.

[62] Smalley, 208–12.

[63] *Ibid.*, 83–85. Lengthy excerpts of the text are given by R. Loewe, "Herbert of Bosham's Commentary on Jerome's Hebrew Psalter," *Biblica*, XXXIV, 1953, 44–47, 159–92, 275–98.

[64] F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, London, 1965, 18–20; Langton even wrote a Life of Richard.

[65] Caviness, 73–74.

[66] *C.V.M.A.*, Window n VIII, 12. The title supplied in the manuscript records was: "Reges inclinantur doctrine Petri et Pauli."

[67] Quoted by Smalley, 220–21.

[68] Quoted by Powicke, *Langton*, 97.

tenth window, showed the Emperor Constantine as a type of Jairus's daughter dead in the chamber, and as an example of sin in the heart, although he was dissuaded from his wicked intent to slaughter children.[69] In the Little Psalter, Saul plotting the death of David is also an example of evil intent, although it involves sinning in speech in addition. We have already seen that the use of the Emperors Julian and Maurice to represent the deceitfulness of riches was directly borrowed in the Little Psalter. Again the treatment is less specific in the later work; divorced from their typological context and without name-bands, the emperors became general images of avaricious rulers (Figs. 17, 18). At the same time they were more susceptible to topical interpretation. When King John seized the revenues of Christ Church during the exile of the monks in 1207–1213, he would have become, in their eyes, yet another example of avaricious kingship. Indeed, Gerald of Wales, outside the community, described the interdict as one of the two plagues brought upon England by John, referring to John's extortion and spoiling of church property.[70]

The third and most fruitful theme was the story of David. The Davidic types in the early windows were overtly only allegories of Christ's life, as noted earlier, but the cycle in the Little Psalter easily lent itself to political allegory as well. The literary tradition for this goes back to the Becket conflict. Smalley cites the letter of John of Salisbury to Gilbert Foliot in which he defended Becket and the liberties of the Church with the help of Scripture; John claimed that since David, the shepherd boy, is a type of the pastor or prelate, in killing Goliath he provides an example to bishops "to defeat the evil intent of wicked rulers."[71] The visual tradition that included the Flight of David and the Slaughter of the Priests at Nob, used as types in the windows, gained added meaning in the reign of King John. Indeed, nowhere in England would such scenes be as fraught with meaning as at Christ Church, Canterbury. Although there is no indication how the slaughtered priests were portrayed in the glass, in the Little Canterbury Psalter they are tonsured and dressed as monks (Fig. 11). On one level, the event may have been seen as a type of Becket's murder; since the title suggests that Saul presided over the scene, this may have been in the minds of the creators of the window.[72] Although neither the window nor the Little Psalter specifically identifies the priests with Becket, the connection was made explicit in a later copy of the *Bible moralisée*. In that work, the Slaughter of the Priests was juxtaposed to the Murder of Becket, and each event was attended by a king. The identity of Becket is made clear by his miter and he is accompanied by his cross-bearer, Edward Grim, who receives a wound in the head.[73] The original text refers only in general terms to the persecution of churchmen by rulers, but in the Bodleian copy of the Bible a note was added, and later erased: "As the king of England. . . ."[74]

The commentaries of Cassiodorus and Peter Lombard on the title of Psalm 51 add another dimension to the theme. David is not only a king but in taking the hallowed bread he becomes a priest; in this dual role he is like Christ.[75] In the Psalter, therefore, his flight may be an allegory of the exile of a prelate, and the slaughter of the priests the revenge on his house or on those who helped him (Fig. 11). This picture may refer to Becket's exile of 1164 or, more probably, the monks' exile in 1207; all were given refuge in the monastic houses of northern France. The monks had elected Stephen Langton their archbishop (the sword and bread given to David), but King John refused to accept his nomination and Stephen had to spend the next six years in exile at Cistercian Pontigny (the flight of David). The fear of reprisals against Christ Church was such that all the able-bodied members of the house fled. There was no slaughter, but John later avenged himself on the Church by seizing revenues (cf. the priests at Nob).[76]

The coronation scene and battle at Psalm 80 (Fig. 14) may also be related to events in the reign of King John. A similar scene of the coronation of David in an English Psalter from the Glazier Collection was tenuously re-

[69] *C.V.M.A.*, Window s XII, 41.

[70] Gerald of Wales, 310–11.

[71] Smalley, 34–35.

[72] The manuscript records give the title: "Occisio sacerdotum domini sub Saule." The subject is lacking in the Peterborough Psalter, which otherwise seems to follow the same iconographic guide as the Canterbury windows; it includes the two scenes which accompanied the Slaughter in the window, *viz.* the Massacre of the Innocents and the Slaughter of the Tribe of Benjamin, witnessed by kings; see: Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and Other Fenland Manuscripts*, London, 1974, 113, fig. 23.

[73] Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Bodl 270, fol. 141v; ill. A. de Laborde, *La Bible moralisée illustrée*, Paris, I, 1911, pl. 141. The pictures illustrate the text of I Reg. 22:18–19. According to R. Haussherr, the *Bible moralisée* was first composed between 1215 and 1219 in Paris, perhaps by Dominicans; see: "Sensus litteralis und Sensus Spiritualis in der Bible moralisée," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, VI, 1972, 371–73.

[74] Smalley, 207.

[75] *Pat. Lat.*, CXCI, 495; cf. Cassiodorus, XCVII, 472.

[76] The heaviest extortions occurred after the king's excommunication in 1209; the Cistercians suffered more than other Orders; see: Austin Lane Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087–1216*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1955, 448–49.

lated by Schapiro to the coronation either of King John or of Henry III.[77] He associated the fact that there is no anointing with the decree of Pope Innocent III forbidding the anointing of the head of a king and restricting that rite to the priesthood.[78] The scenes in the Little Canterbury Psalter give clearer indication of a political context, although they remain ambiguous. There is some support for the argument that they are intended as an allegory of the second coronation of King John at Canterbury in 1202; it is also David's second coronation that is portrayed.[79] According to this interpretation, the bloodshed that follows is the result of bad government, and finds parallels in John's reign, which was marked not only by unsuccessful campaigns on the Continent but even by the use, in 1215–16, of foreign mercenaries to subdue the rebel barons. The king's troops pillaged the north, and in the southern campaigns they stabled their horses in Rochester Cathedral.[80] Gerald of Wales saw these events as the second plague of the reign, one from which he hoped Louis of France would save England by seizing the Crown.[81] Indeed, by 1216 the French were in England. In this light, however, the succession of David to the throne of Saul and his subsequent defeat of Saul's supporters are much more likely to be intended to refer to the hoped-for usurpation of John's crown. Political disobedience was openly discussed by Langton, as we have seen, and in 1213 even the pope advocated French intervention. A full outbreak of the old conflict between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* was avoided by John's capitulation to the pope,[82] but Gerald of Wales, at least, maintained his opposition to the king to the end of the reign, when he put the finishing touches on *De Principis Instructione*. Gerald appeared somewhat isolated among churchmen by that time, and it is tempting to associate the Little Psalter with his vindictive views, since it too was probably completed about then, but we do not know what secret thoughts were harbored in the Christ Church community. Neither association, however, would explain why the calendar was immediately adapted for Cluniac use, and the identity of the patron is not clarified by the fact that the Psalter passed early in its history into secular ownership in France (see Appendix).

There is evidence of a change of mood at Canterbury after the death of King John. In 1220, to commemorate the presence of the newly crowned king, Henry III, at the translation of the relics of Becket to the upper church, the vaults of the Trinity Chapel were decorated with paintings. With the saints were represented the hallowed kings of England, Cnut, Ethelred, Edward the Confessor, and, with them, Henry III.[83] At that time Psalm 97 regained its joyful sound, adapted in the words of Pope Honorius III, who wrote to Christ Church: "Cantet igitur novum domino canticum, felix Cantuariensis ecclesia."[84] Langton, however, could not resist referring in his sermon to the coincidence of the day, July 7, with the burial of Henry II;[85] the wheel of fortune, which Gerald said had begun to turn with Becket's murder, had come half circle with the translation of his relics.[86]

A date for the Psalter before July, 1220, argued by other scholars from the calendar, is thus supported by the political allegory of its unique series of pictures. Earlier, in the public art of Canterbury, neither pictures nor verses could risk overt political allegory; topical allusions in the typological windows, if they were present, had to be well disguised in scriptural exegesis. Unlike that program or the treatise of Gerald of Wales, however, the Psalter pictures were not intended for publication; rather, one can imagine the secret pleasure of the owner as he turned the leaves and reflected on their hidden meanings. Such a private work of art, unannotated and in a liturgical book without glosses, would be quite safe, even in the lifetime of the king.

The Production of the Psalter

I come now to the question of the manner of production of the Little Canterbury Psalter. Our knowledge of the centers of manuscript production that were active

[77] New York, Morgan Lib., Glazier MS 25; see: Meyer Schapiro, "An Illuminated English Psalter of the Early Thirteenth Century," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIII, 1960, 181–84, 187, pl. 21b; cf. Francis Wormald, "Notes on the Glazier Psalter," in *ibid.*, 307–08; see also: Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Year 1200: A Centennial Exhibition*, I, *Catalogue*, ed. Konrad Hoffman, New York, 1970, 259–60, No. 258.

[78] E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton, 1957, 318–21; he comments, however, that the decree had no effect on actual coronation rites in England or France.

[79] Poole, *From Domesday Book*, 407.

[80] *Ibid.*, 479–80.

[81] Gerald of Wales, 311.

[82] Powicke, *Langton*, 98–111, has summarized Langton's reaction to John's surrender of the kingdom to the pope. See also Roberts, 135–36.

[83] M. H. Caviness, "A Lost Cycle of Canterbury Paintings of 1220," *Antiquaries' Journal*, LIV, 1974, 66–74.

[84] Letter to Stephen Langton, January 26, 1219. Quoted by Raymonde Foreville, *Le Jubilé de Saint Thomas Becket, du XIIIe au XIVe siècle, 1220-1470: Étude et documents*, Paris, 1958, 163.

[85] "Stephani Langton Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis Tractatus de Translatione Beati Thomae," ed. J. A. Giles, *Vita Sancti Thomae*, II, London, 1845, 292–93.

[86] Gerald of Wales, 168.

in the early thirteenth century is in its infancy, and liturgical use cannot be taken as proof of provenance.[87] Several factors might give rise to serious doubts about the actual execution of the Little Psalter within the monastic scriptorium of Christ Church, or even in Canterbury at all. First, as already mentioned, there are indications that the book was in France very early in its history, and that it was used by the laity.[88] When we also consider the number of parallels for the program in northern French books, we might suppose that the book was made in France. Second, comparison with several other Psalters of the period made for Canterbury use does not indicate a homogeneous Canterbury production. Even when it is demonstrated that the page design of the book depends on Canterbury traditions, it still might be claimed that the Little Canterbury Psalter is a copy of an earlier manuscript. The pictorial cycle could have been created in the aftermath of the Becket conflict and only adapted here; indeed, the Little Canterbury Psalter could have been made in France, copied from an English iconographic guide brought over during the exile. In many ways the suggestion is a satisfying one. We can easily imagine a sumptuous lost Psalter, perhaps glossed, equal in quality to the Great Psalter. It would have been composed about the same time as the typological windows; the illuminations are close to the spirit of that program, and, moreover, the way of expressing allegory in pictorial terms by mimicking compositions was also used in the earliest glass.[89] The question of lost original creations frequently vexes manuscript studies, and once an imaginary lost work is invented it is very difficult to dispose of.[90] Luckily, in this case, the Little Canterbury Psalter shares a repertory of *moduli* with a contemporary Psalter made for St. Augustine's Abbey in Canterbury, which casts light on the problem.

The St. Augustine's Psalter is in Oxford (Bodl. Lib. MS

20 St. Augustine's Psalter, Ps. 108, *Flagellation.* Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Ashmole 1525, fol. 92v (photos: Bodl. Lib.)

21 Detail of Fig. 1

22 St. Augustine's Psalter, Ps. 8, *Massacre of the Innocents.* Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Ashmole 1525, fol. 10r

23 Detail of Fig. 8

24 St. Augustine's Psalter, Ps. 30, *Christ and the Holy Spirit,* fol. 24r

25 Detail of Fig. 14

[87] Rickert, 96–102, has outlined the difficulties of establishing provenance for a number of English Psalters of the period. There has been no attempt to study Canterbury books of the 13th century together, as Dodwell has done for the 12th century. A group of mid-13th-century books, including the Bible of William of Devon, London, Brit. Lib., MS Royal 1.D.i, once attributed to Canterbury, have now been associated with the Friars in some other center; see: Adelaide L. Bennett, "Additions to the William of Devon Group," *Art Bulletin*, LIV, 1972, 31–38, with bibliog.

[88] See Appendix, under *provenance.*

[89] Caviness, 120.

[90] As, for instance, the supposed model for the Cotton Aelfric: G. Henderson, "Late-Antique Influences in some English Medieval Illustrations of Genesis," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXV, 1962, 172–98; cf. C. R. Dodwell, "L'Originalité iconographique de plusiers illustrations anglo-saxonnes de l'Ancien Testament," *Cahiers de civilization médiévale*, XIV, 1971, 319–28, and C. R. Dodwell and Peter Clemoes, *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, XVIII), Copenhagen, 1974, 65–73.

26 St. Augustine's Psalter, Initial, fol. 110v

27 Detail of Fig. 6

28 St. Augustine's Psalter, Initial, fol. 69v

29 Detail of Fig. 4

Ashmole 1525).[91] Wormald collated the Feasts in the calendar, and noticed a number that differentiate it from Christ Church use.[92] The Feast of the translation of Thomas Becket's relics appears to have been added, and afterwards erased, indicating that the original was written before July, 1220 and that the book remained in England. The *obit* of a Christ Church prior, Thomas Goldstone, who died in 1517, suggests that by the early sixteenth century the Psalter belonged to the rival house.[93] Cockerell noticed that the text includes the same collects as the Little Canterbury Psalter in Paris.[94] Both calendar and text were originally more fully illustrated than those in our Psalter, with Labors of the Months and numerous historiated initials, but all the larger illustrations have been cut out. These apparently included pictures, as well as decorated initials, at the liturgical divisions.[95] Among the surviving smaller initials there remain many instances of poses, facial types, and drapery schemata that correspond very closely to ones in the Little Canterbury Psalter. A few of these are illustrated here.

At Psalm 108 the St. Augustine's Psalter has a Flagellation (Fig. 20) which is evidently based on the same design as the larger scene at Psalm 21 in the Little Psalter (Fig. 21), except that it is oddly conflated with the hanging of Judas, in the right-hand figure. Allowing for the difference in size of the figures, the style of execution is very similar. Small, tense faces are framed by untidy hair, large hands caricature gesture, draperies are boldly outlined and subdivided to indicate the limbs and appear heavy and flat. Only the subtleties of shading and highlighting are missing in the smaller rendering. At Psalm 8 in the St. Augustine's Psalter is a Massacre of the Innocents (Fig. 22) in which one executioner assumes the posture of David at Psalm 38 of the Little Canterbury Psalter (Fig. 23), except that he holds his victim by the hair in the manner of David's executioner. Again one notices the similarity of facial types and hair, the repetition of the stooped stance, the stiff skirts with flaring hemlines divided by the rigid delineation of the thigh. At Psalm 30 in the St. Augustine's Psalter (Fig. 24), a frontal standing figure of Christ makes the same *orans* gesture as David crowned in the Little Canterbury Psalter (Fig. 25); the former is attenuated to fill the initial I, but much of his drapery follows the same schemata in reverse. The dove of the Holy Spirit from the Trinity at Psalm 109 in our Psalter (Fig. 27) is exactly reproduced, but without nimbus, in the initial of Psalm 124 in the Ashmole manuscript (Fig. 26). The feet are curiously splayed to touch the wingtips, and the head, with staring eye and fat cheek, turns to the right. The feathers on the body are loosely arranged in rows, but on the wings they are indicated by continuous lines with light washes laid in stripes across them. The same treatment is found in the wings of the angel on fol. 69v of the Ashmole manuscript (Fig. 28); his gesture and drapery in turn echo those of Christ in the Resurrection in the Little Psalter, and the facial type is like that of the youthful risen Christ of Psalm 101 (Fig. 29). The unbearded Christ also appears in the Ashmole book.[96]

In view of the many cases where the same *modulus* was used for both the Ashmole and the Little Canterbury Psalters, it is unlikely that the artists of the latter were copying a set of pictures *in toto* from an earlier book; if a finished product of less than forty years earlier had been available as an iconographic guide, it would also have furnished acceptable *moduli* for the fig-

[91] See Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, III, *British, Irish and Icelandic Schools*, Oxford, 1973, 34, No. 355, pl. xxx, figs. 355a–e. The size of the book, 30.5 x 21.5cm, is comparable to that of the Little Canterbury Psalter. I am grateful to Larry Ayres for bringing this book to my attention at an early stage.

[92] Wormald 49–50. These include Honoria in February and the translation of Saint Augustine in September.

[93] The *obit* of Dominus Gervasius Crambrok was added to October in a 13th- or 14th-century hand.

[94] His notes, made in 1925, are in the manuscript.

[95] The initial for Psalm 80, on fol. 67, has survived, but the preceding leaf is missing. Apart from the mutilated pages at the other divisions, a leaf has been cut out at Psalm 21.

[96] E.g. Christ in Majesty in the initial of Psalm 92, fol. 78r.

30 Great Canterbury Psalter, Detail of initial of Ps. 9. Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 8846, fol. 15v (photos: Bibl. Nat.)

31 St. Augustine's Psalter, Initial of Ps. 80, fol. 67r.

32 Christ Church Rental, Initial, Cant. Cath. Lib. Register K, fol. 23r (photo: author)

ures. It is much more likely that the pictures were being composed *ad hoc* for the Little Canterbury Psalter at the behest of a patron who could provide no model for the unique program he envisaged; in this case the artists had to adapt figures from available *moduli*. The sparsity of most of the compositions may also result from this process; Deuchler observed the same poverty of invention in the Theophilus cycle in the Ingeborg Psalter, from which he concluded that there was no model available in the workshop.[97]

Affinities between the two Canterbury Psalters go beyond a shared repertory of forms based evidently on the same *moduli;* they extend to the style of execution, as noted above, and especially to the use of color.[98] The two manuscripts present the same range of colors and harmonies. An opaque blue with black or gray shades and white highlights is common, as is a brownish purple with red shading. White or pale yellow may be shaded in red or brown. Orange is only occasionally used, but light pinks and tans are common. The flesh is whitish, the faces often with red cheeks. Overall the palette is rather bland and muddy.

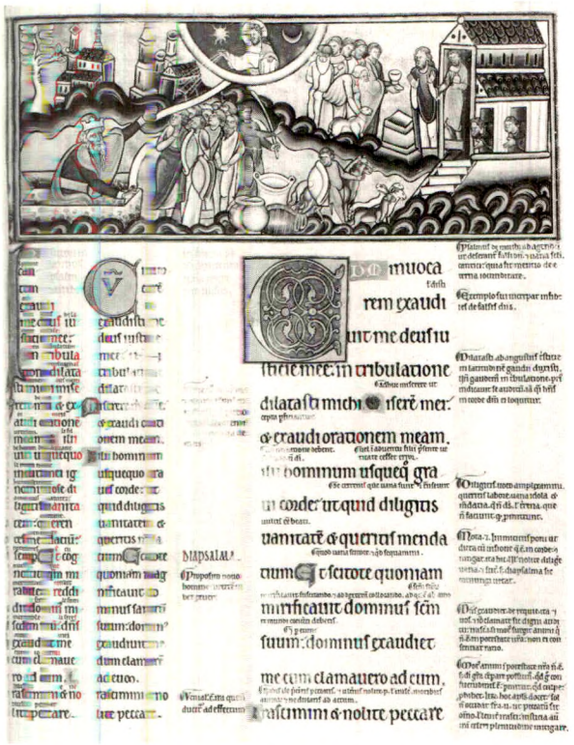
The attribution of the historiated initials in the St. Augustine's Psalter and the pictures in the Little Psalter to the same group of artists confirms that the figural work was done in Canterbury, but it raises other questions both about the production of the two books and about the existence of a "Canterbury School" of illumination. The implication is that only professional illuminators would have worked for both houses.[99] It may be significant that a number of painters are recorded renting land from Christ Church in the period ca. 1150–1207.[100] The two books, however, lack any coincidence in script and decoration, including line-endings and penwork (Figs. 17, 22). There is evidence, as will be seen, that some decoration was done in Christ Church, and the script of the Little Canterbury Psalter can be associated with the monastic scriptorium; prayers added to the fly-leaf of an earlier Christ Church Psalter (Brit. Lib. Arundel MS 155, fol. 1r) appear to be in the same hand, which is distinguished by rather tall and uncertain uprights terminated above the line with only slight indications of serifs. In spite of these idiosyncratic features, the script of our Psalter is not of a type that

[97] Florens Deuchler, "The Artists of the Ingeborg Psalter," *Gesta*, IX, 1970, 58.

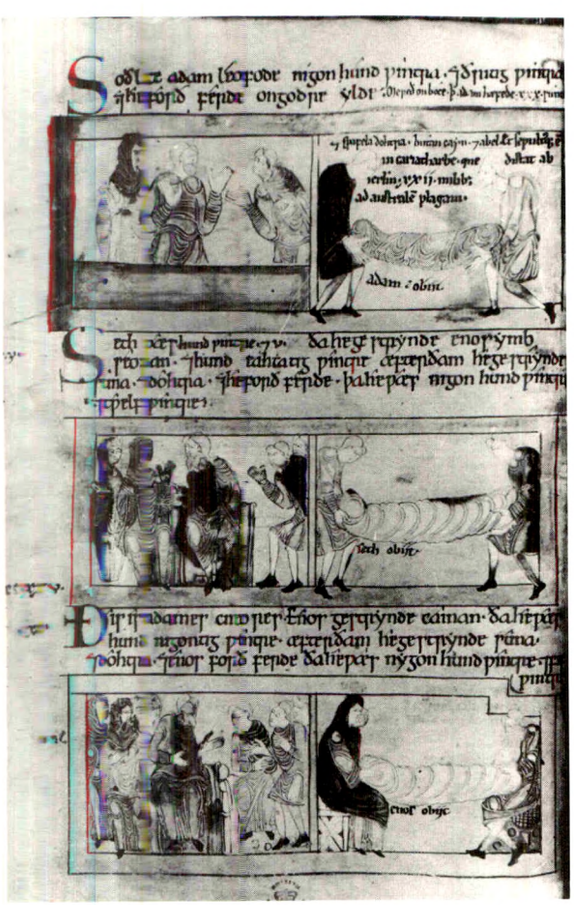
[98] I cannot agree with the view that the miniatures in the Little Canterbury Psalter were originally much more sensitive line drawings, later overpainted; such a claim would have to be proved by infra-red photographs; see: William H. Monroe, "A Roll-Manuscript of Peter of Poitiers' Compendium," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, LXV, 1978, 104.

[99] Rivalry between the houses was such that one would not anticipate any friendly exchanges, although relations were improved under Roger, Abbot of St. Augustine's in 1175–1213, who had been a monk of Christ Church. See: Caviness, 112–13, with bibliog.

[100] For the painters see: William Urry, *Canterbury Under the Angevin Kings*, London, 1967; 222, Albericus, Rental A, 8, after 1153; 426, Jacobus and Osmundus, Charter LI, ca. 1180; 282, Fulco, Rental D, 213, ca. 1200; 323, Willelmus, Rental F, 78, before 1207. Urry's definition of *pictor* (p. 121) is uncertain.



33 Great Canterbury Psalter, Ps. 4, fol. 9r



34 Anglo-Saxon, Aelfric's Pentateuch and Joshua, *Deaths of Adam, Seth, and Enoch*. London, Brit. Lib. Cott. MS Cl. B.IV, fol. 10v (photo: Courtauld Institute)

can otherwise be localized or that can be closely dated.[101]

A broader survey of Canterbury Psalters of the period about 1175 to 1225 has revealed such a variety of modes of decoration that a Canterbury tradition cannot be identified. There are even several quite distinct types within a single manuscript; the Great Canterbury Psalter, for instance, has a few initials with human figures or lions, dogs, and the like, many with delicate gold arabesques and some with richly colored and robustly modeled pronged acanthus (Figs. 33, 30). Another Psalter in the Bibliothèque Nationale, conventionally dated about 1200, has an entirely different and generally archaic repertory of initials.[102]

In the thirteenth-century books, pronged acanthus was still in use, although the vegetal forms are flattened and the colors are fewer and duller than in the Great Psalter; this is a normal trend for the period. Such acanthus is more prevalent in the Ashmole manuscript than in the Little Psalter, and comparison of typical examples from each book shows sufficient differences that it would not have led to an attribution to the same shop (Figs. 17, 31). In light of the suggestion that the Little Psalter is written in a Christ Church hand, it is surprising that the initials have little in common with the only decoration that may with certainty be ascribed to the monastic scriptorium; a rental in the Cathedral Archives and Library has been dated ca. 1213–16 and contains a single tiny initial framed in gold and colors (Fig. 32).[103] The interlaced acanthus, restricted palette, black outlining, and white accents provide points of comparison with the Ashmole manuscript as well as with the Little Psalter, but bestial motifs recall the older mode of the Great Psalter. A thirteenth-century Psalter with hymnal in Windsor contains only one richly colored initial; leafy tendrils arranged in a rosette only

[101] Classified as "littera textualis formata" or "psalterialis" by M. G. L. Lieftinck, "Pour une Nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite gothique," in Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du IXe au XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1954, 16–17, fig. 22. Some traits, however, suggest a date in the first half of the century: upright "d" is preferred to the Uncial form; "h" does not go below the line; bows sometimes touch but the strokes are not confluent. Philologically, an early date is also supported by retention of "t" in preference to "c" in *Oratio, reverentia*, etc. Furthermore, both the Little and the Ashmole Psalters have writing above the top line of the page, a trait that gradually disappeared in the 13th century in England; see: N. R. Ker, "From 'Above Top Line' to 'Below Top Line': A Change in Scribal Practice," *Celtica*, v, 1960, 13–16. I am especially indebted to Jonathan Alexander for this reference.

[102] Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 1670; 26.6 x 19.3cm. There are no marks of ownership, but two untinctured shields were drawn at the foot of fol. 89r, ca. 1400. The calendar dates it between 1173 and 1220; see: Leroquais, II, 140–41, with bibliog.

[103] Register K, Rental Y; Urry, *Canterbury*, 17–18.

superficially resemble those in the Little Psalter (e.g. Fig. 8).[104]

The lack of a cohesive tradition in the decoration of these books is especially baffling when the situation is compared with that in the stained glass of Christ Church. In the windows of the period ca. 1175–1220 the ornament not only demonstrates, much more clearly than the figure painting, the continuity of the atelier, but it also provides valuable evidence for sporadic external influences. Furthermore, the carved capitals in the building and even the initial in the Christ Church rental fit into the general development that I have traced in the glass.[105] In this context, all the decoration surveyed in the other manuscripts appears extraneous, as if done by itinerant craftsmen.

The complete process of production of the Little Canterbury Psalter still eludes us; it was probably written in Christ Church and farmed out to a team of professional painters, resident in the town, who did the pictures. If they completed the *Beatus* page, with its intricate mingling of figures and ornament (Fig. 19), it is likely that they worked on other initials as well (e.g., Fig. 14), but, if so, they did not execute the initials in the Ashmole Psalter, and neither did they share the decorative designs used in that book.

More clearly indicative of a Canterbury tradition is the page layout of the Little Psalter, whereby paired pictures span two columns of the text. The Psalter parallels the organization of the Great Psalter; the pictures are in simple colored frames, extending above the initial of the Psalm (Figs. 17, 33). The Ashmole book may have shared this composition at the divisions of the Psalter. Such simple framing was not used in the earlier Utrecht Psalter copies, but it is found in other books from Canterbury. One is the illustrated recension of Aelfric's Anglo-Saxon paraphrase of the Pentateuch and Joshua (Brit. Lib. Cotton MS Claudius B. IV) of the eleventh century.[106] Many pages use paired scenes between text passages. The pages from Genesis showing each Patriarch seated among his family and then carried away to his funeral bear a striking resemblance to the picture of the seated emperors and the burial of Julian in the Little Psalter (Figs. 17, 34). Another, closer in time to the Great Psalter, is the Life of Becket by John of Salisbury;[107] at the beginning of the account four illustrations of the life are paired in two registers extending across the page, with a framed initial with lions below them.

Further light may be shed on the origins of our Canterbury illuminators if we return to the comparison between the Little and the Great Psalters (Figs. 17, 33). Delisle long ago remarked on the resemblance of the two books.[108] Beyond the general similarity in layout, there is a close relation between the figure style of the Little Psalter and that of one artist of the Great Psalter. This is easily overlooked since the dominant style of the latter is memorable for its range of fresh, bright colors which include vermillion and orange, purples varying from lilac to deep maroon, and brilliant blues. Painterly tonal modeling as well as a fine web of angular folds and highlights add plasticity to severely outlined garments, although these effects are occasionally softened by translucent washes which represent stripes in the textile. Heavily drawn facial features are modeled with high cheek-bones, prominent chins, and domed foreheads, often animated by wrinkled brows (Fig. 35).[109] Several pages, however, are much duller in the range and tonality of colors.[110] On a gold ground are brownish-pink in two or three tones, orange shaded with red, saturated blue with blackish shades, bluish-gray, occasional greens, and white with folds drily indicated in red or ocher. Only the greenish tinge of the modeling of the flesh tones distinguishes this palette from that of the Little Psalter. The figures by this hand in the Great Psalter are flatter and more awkward than the other master's, and line has become the dominant mode of representation; these differences may be seen in comparing details from two folios (Figs. 35, 36). In one, Christ's feet are planted firmly on the clouds, and he is supported by angels with resplendent wings. In the other (Fig. 36), Christ in Majesty floats, weightless, and the angels are portrayed in strong outline with a series of sketchy folds in red on white; their wing feathers are rendered by irregular lines, reminiscent of those of the dove in the Little Psalter (Fig. 27). This inferior hand in the Great Psalter seems to introduce the trend of the later books. The tendency toward flatness, as toward caricatured gesture, is only slightly greater in the Little Psalter; the small tensed faces and large hands are already present in the angels of the group in the Great Psalter (Figs. 29, 36). Even the mound on which the sepulcher rests in the Little Psalter is derived from the hillocks of the Great Psalter (Figs. 33, 17).

[104] Eton Coll., MS 78; initial to hymnal, fol. 128r. See: M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College*, Cambridge, 1895, 26–27; Ker, 42. Photographs are in the Courtauld Institute. The size of the manuscript, 26 x 20.2cm, is strictly comparable to that of MS lat. 1670. Calendar pages are present only for March and April, November and December, and here medallions have been cut out; the *Beatus* page and initials at the divisions have likewise gone, except for decorated initials at Psalms 80 and 97.

[105] Caviness, 75–76, 90, figs. 122–25, 179–84.

[106] For bibliog. see n. 90 above.

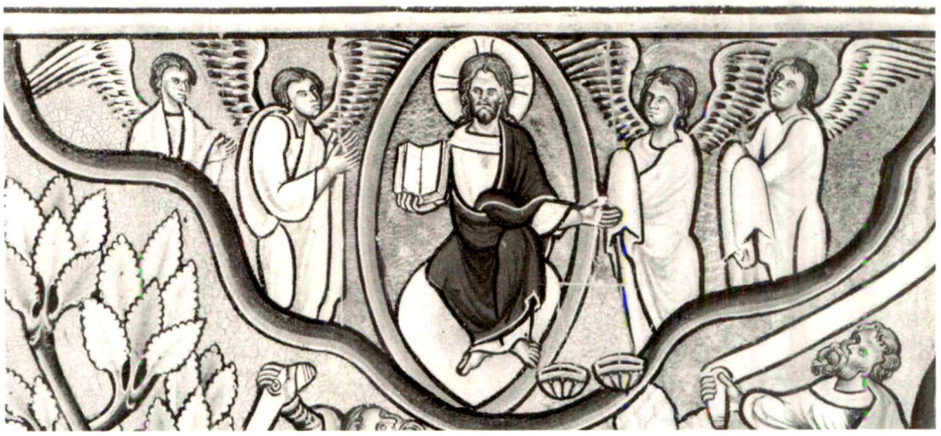
[107] Brit. Lib., Cotton MS Cl.B.II, fol. 341; ill. Christopher Brooke, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance*, New York, 1969, fig. 43. See also Dodwell, 112.

[108] Delisle, 275.

[109] Fols. 49, 53, 70, and 75 are representative of the full range of colors and techniques of this painter. Heimann (as cited in n. 5 above), 322, noticed Byzantinizing tendencies and characterized his work as "stylistically more advanced" than the other's.

[110] Fols. 27v, 32, 33v, 34v are all notable examples.

35 Great Canterbury Psalter, fol. 32r (detail)



36 Great Canterbury Psalter, fol. 15v (detail)

The Great Psalter contains no liturgical evidence for dating, but the script and illustrations have generally been placed in the last quarter of the twelfth century, or about 1200. It may have been worked on over a lengthy period; indeed, it was not finished in a single campaign, and after Psalm 98 the style of the miniatures attests to its presence in Spain by the late Middle Ages.[111] The two early hands, however, are strictly contemporary; the leaves attributed to each are scattered through the quires of the early part. The work may have broken off towards the turn of the century, or possibly as late as the exile of 1207. The stylistic trend of one of the painters resurfaced in Canterbury after the exile, in the Psalters made for Christ Church and St. Augustine's about 1215. Probably this style was developed by a group of professional illuminators based in Canterbury. If so, it was their patrons, who were probably largely drawn from the two monastic houses in town, who decided the iconographic programs, and who may have indicated models in the libraries or in the windows; these were supplemented in the shop by more adaptable *moduli*. This would explain why the pictures of the Little Canterbury Psalter reflect an extraordinary creative intellect yet lack comparable creativity in their execution.

Tufts University

[111] For the later miniatures see: M. Meiss, "Italian Style in Catalonia," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, IV, 1941, 73ff. According to L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, Paris, III, 1881, 173, n.1, the book had been in the library of the Duc de Berry.

[112] On fols. 19v and 82v, both catchwords and numbering are in red, the ink that happened to be in use in the last line of the text.

[113] Leroquais, II, 53.

[114] Wormald, 54.

Appendix

Technical Notes on Bibl. Nat. MS lat. 770

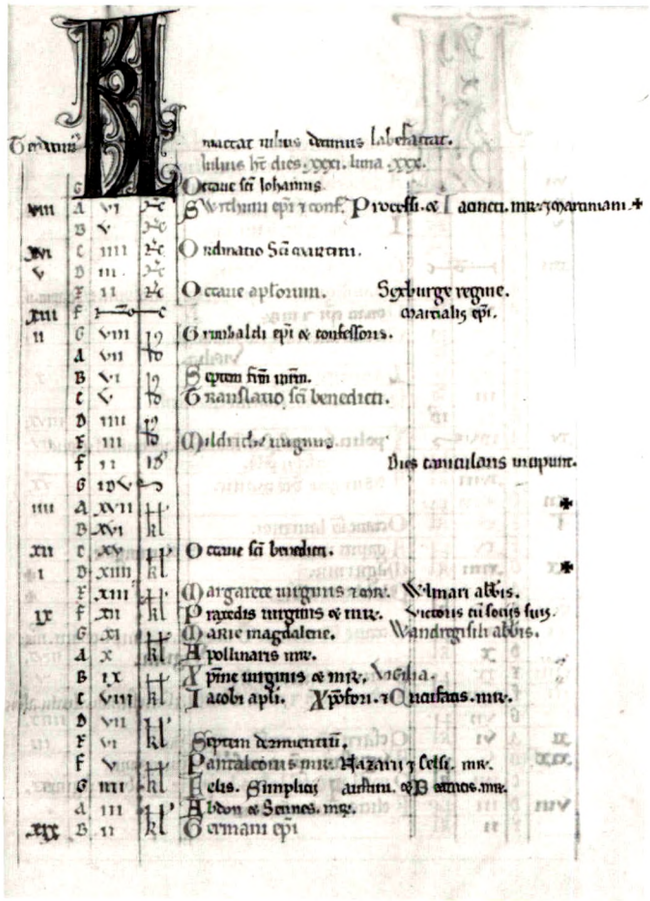
These notes are intended to supplement previous descriptions of the manuscript and to present detailed evidence not included in the text.

Codicology. There is nothing exceptional in the make-up of the book. A survey of a number of Canterbury books of the period did not discover any peculiarities in it (or in the ornament) that might be recognized as Canterbury traits. The gatherings are predominantly of five bifolios, bound hair to hair side and flesh to flesh side, the latter on the outside of the gathering. The bifolios are pricked and ruled in ink after folding. The parchment is of variable thickness and quality throughout.

Codicological evidence has to be taken into account in deciding whether the Christ Church calendar was made for this Psalter, and therefore whether the *terminus ante quem* of 1220 is binding for the whole book. The calendar and Easter tables constitute the first gathering and two leaves added to the second (fols. 9 and 10); the first gathering, of only four bifolios, is not included in the numbering that the scribe added with the catchwords as he completed the text on the last leaf of each gathering thereafter.[112] The Psalms begin at fol. 11v, that is, on the first bifolio of the five of the second gathering. These observations suggest that the main text was produced independently of the calendar. The litany, however, is bound integrally with the Psalms and collects (fols. 201–03).

Script. Analysis of the script indicates that the calendar and Psalter text were produced in the same scriptorium, possibly by the same scribe. The script is only slightly larger, more formal, and upright in the Psalms than in the calendar and tables; Uncial "d" occasionally appears in the latter, but it is also used in the catchwords to the Psalter text. Neither are additions to the calendar in a perceptibly different script, although some are made with a thinner pen and darker ink (Fig. 37; for the added entries on this page, see below).

Calendar and litany. The Christ Church entries in the calendar are in gold, blue, red, green, and black. A few entries are missing, such as Deusdedit (July 15) and Neot (July 31) on the page illustrated (Fig. 37). The litany, printed by Leroquais, includes many Canterbury saints.[113] As noted by Gasquet and Bishop and Wormald, there are a good many foreign additions to the calendar, most of them Cluniac.[114] Among them are Abbot Odilon on January 2 and November 19, Abbot John on January 27, Abbot Hugh on April 29, Abbot Maol on May 11, Bishop Medard on June 8, and Abbot Philibert on August 20. Eastern saints include John Chrystostom on



37 Little Canterbury Psalter, Calendar page for July, fol. 5r

January 26, and Gregory Nazianzen on May 9. Additions on the page illustrated (July; Fig. 37) are: *Sexburge regine* on the sixth, *Martialis episcopi* on the seventh, *Victoriis cum sociis suis* on the twenty-first, and *Nazarii et Celsi martyrerum* on the twenty-eighth. These additions may have been made for the first owner of the book, evidently an outsider to Christ Church.

Provenance. The book is bound in red morocco with the arms and cypher of Colbert on the cover. It was part of the collection of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Minister to Louis XIV, whose books entered the royal collection in 1732.[115]

Colbert was a descendant of the Estouteville family of Normandy; his grandson laid claim to the title of Duc d'Estouteville.[116] It may be no coincidence, therefore, that the only clue to earlier ownership is an *obit* at October 11 for an Edmund de Estoutevilla. The semi-cursive hand may be English or French of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.[117] Strenuous efforts to identify Edmund among the French Estoutevilles have not, however, been successful. Neither have I found an Edmund in the Anglo-Norman branch of the family. Nicholas de Stuteville, who was among the thirty-one barons excommunicated in 1215 for supporting Louis of France against King John, is a tantalizing candidate for early ownership of the Psalter, but he may have to be ruled out because of the French orthography of the later *obit*.[118]

The presence of the book in France at an early date is suggested by the tract in French on the perilous days, which was written in the first half of the thirteenth century on the recto of fol. 1.[119] It may also indicate that, despite its monastic liturgical use, the book was by that time in lay hands.

[115] For a history of the collection see: Delisle, *Cabinet*, I, 1868, 439–86.

[116] *Recueil des titres de la Maison d'Estouteville*, Paris, 1741, 1, 24.

[117] I am indebted to M. François Avril for his opinion, and also for his help in indicating manuscript sources for the Estouteville family.

[118] Christopher R. Cheney and Mary G. Cheney, eds., *The Letters of Pope Innocent (1198–1216) Concerning England and Wales*, Oxford, 1967, 172, No. 1029. The "E" seems to have been dropped in England by 1140; see: H. A. Cronne, R. H. C. Davis, eds., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154*, III, Oxford, 1968, 180, 222.

[119] Meyer, 47–50.

Bibliography of Frequently Cited Sources

Boase, T. S. R., *English Art, 1100–1216*, Oxford, 1953.

Cassiodorus: *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori Expositio Psalmorum*, ed. M. Adriaen (*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, XCVII and XCVIII), Turnhout, 1958.

Caviness, Madeline H., *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral, ca. 1175–1220*, Princeton, 1977.

C.V.M.A.: Madeline H. Caviness, *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Great Britain)*, London, in press.

Delisle, Léopold, "Livres d'images destinés à l'instruction religieuse et aux exercices de piété des laïques," *L'Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXXI, 1890, 275–76.

Dodwell, C. R., *The Canterbury School of Illumination*, Cambridge, 1954.

Gerald of Wales, *De Principis Instructione*, ed. George F. Warner, *Opera*, VIII, London, 1891.

Haseloff, Günther, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert; Studien zur Geschichte der Buchmalerei in England, Frankreich und den Niederlanden*, [Kiel], 1938.

Ker, N. R., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain. A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed., London, 1964.

Leroquais, Victor, *Les Psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Macon, 1940–41.

Meyer, Paul, "Bribes de littérature anglo-normande, IV: Les jours périlleux," *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, VII, 1866, 47–51.

Psautiers grecs: Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques, *L'Illustration des Psautiers grecs du moyen âge*, Paris, I, 1966 (text Suzy Dufrenne); II, 1970 (text Sirapie der Nersessian).

Rickert, Margaret, *Painting in England: The Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., Harmondsworth and Baltimore, 1965.

Roberts, Phyllis B., *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton, Stephanus de lingua tonante*, Toronto, 1968.

Smalley, Beryl, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools: A Study of Intellectuals in Politics in the Twelfth Century*, Totowa, N.J., [1973].

Wormald, Francis, *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100* (*Henry Bradshaw Society*, LXXVII), London, I, 1939.

The Iconography of the Columns in Titian's Pesaro Altarpiece

Helen S. Ettlinger

For L. D. Ettlinger on his sixty-fifth birthday

In 1526 Titian's altarpiece for Jacopo Pesaro was placed on the altar of the Immaculate Conception in S. Maria dei Frari. In a remarkable departure from Venetian tradition, Titian placed the Madonna and Child at one side of the composition (Fig. 1).[1] The vertical format of the altar produced a large empty space in the upper center of the picture where in Venetian art the Madonna enthroned normally appears. Titian put into this prominent place two large columns which disappear behind the top of the frame. This extraordinary device has provoked much discussion, including speculation that Titian did not paint the columns, a suggestion which has been discounted by recent technical examination.[2] Although Titian may have initially planned another background, these magnificent pillars are in fact part of the altarpiece.

How should such a dominant and revolutionary element in the painting be explained? As Tietze-Conrat pointed out, an altarpiece normally refers to the dedication of the altar in some way.[3] Various interpretations of the pillars in connection with the Immaculate Conception have been put forward, none of which are completely satisfactory.[4] In fact, however, the columns seem to be a direct illustration of the text of Ecclesiasticus 24:7, ". . .et thronus meus in columna nubis."[5] In the past, art historians have connected other passages from Ecclesiasticus 24 with the Immaculate Conception, but these were for the most part the allegorical passages, which use plant imagery and are therefore commonly illustrated by artists.[6] Titian's use of the column motif reflects the fact that a larger part of Ecclesiasticus 24 (from verse 5 through 31) had become central to the proof of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary by her mother, Saint Anne, is one of the most complex, most disputed, and most misunderstood concepts of Catholic theology. It is not my purpose here

1 Titian, Pesaro *Madonna*. Venice, S. Maria dei Frari

N.B. A bibliography of selected sources, cited by author in the notes, appears at the end of the article.

[1] D. Rosand, 195–213, 200, H. Wethey, 1969, 102, and 1975, 259.

[2] S. Sinding-Larsen, 139–169. Sinding-Larsen's suggestion that the columns are a later addition has been disproved technically by F. Valcanover; Wethey, 1975, 259. See also A. S. Harris's Letter to the Editor and D. Rosand's reply, *Art Bulletin*, March, 1972, 116ff.

[3] E. Tietze-Conrat, 177.

[4] Summarized in Rosand, 203, n. 27.

[5] Translated in the King James Version as, ". . .and my throne is a cloudy pillar."

[6] M. Levi d'Ancona, 65, and M. Vloberg, "The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception," in E. O'Connor, 463–506. See also n. 25.

to repeat the long and complicated history of the development of this doctrine. In order to establish the iconography of the "cloudy pillar" in the Pesaro Altarpiece, however, it is necessary to clarify what the "Immaculate Conception" meant by the time it received the first official sanction from the Church in 1477 and how Ecclesiasticus 24 came to be a text central to this doctrine.[7]

The Immaculate Conception was originally a Feast dedicated to Saint Anne commemorating her conception of Mary.[8] The idea that Mary was exempt from Original Sin at the moment of her conception first appears after 1100 and was by no means an integral part of the celebration of the Feast.[9] The earliest discussions of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages lay great stress upon the definition of Original Sin that had come down from Saint Augustine, namely, Original Sin was the concupiscence propagated by *libido carnalis* at the moment of conception.[10] The definition clearly focused discussion on the physical conception of the Virgin. By a series of long and complicated arguments based on the theories of Saint Anselm of Canterbury,[11] Franciscan thinkers shifted the definition of Original Sin to "the privation of original justice." They thus changed "the emphasis in the discussion of sin and its propagation from a carnal to a spiritual plane."[12] This grace (freedom from sin) is granted by God in order to make Mary worthy to bear the Son of God.[13] Duns Scotus, the great Franciscan thinker, took this idea a step further, stating that it was the presence of grace in the soul from the first moment of conception that made the Virgin immaculate, rather than relating Original Sin to the physical act of conception.[14] The Immaculate Conception therefore no longer involves a state of physical action but purely abstract ideas in the mind of God.

Scotus's writings went far both to clarify the problem and to reconcile much of the Church to the Immaculate Conception.[15] Many of the great Catholic thinkers of the thirteenth century had, however, been opposed to the idea that the Virgin was conceived without stain precisely because of Saint Augustine's definition of Original Sin.[16] Because Mary's father was Joachim, a mortal, it was impossible that she could have been conceived without sin, yet she had to be pure enough to bear Christ. It was proposed instead that Mary was sanctified in the womb as was John the Baptist (Luke 1:41). This opinion received wide support among scholastics before Duns Scotus and was perhaps most clearly articulated by Saint Thomas Aquinas.[17] As a result, the Dominicans continued to oppose the Immaculate Conception and to support the sanctification theory even after the Franciscans had shifted the definition of Original Sin to a non-physical realm. This question became the focal point of a fundamental disagreement between the two Mendicant Orders and resulted in numerous long and complex treatises attacking and

[7] For a detailed history of the whole problem and a bibliography from 1830 to 1955, see O'Connor. See also the entry by X. M. Le Bachlet and M. Jugie, "Immaculée Conception," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. M. Vacant, Paris, 1922, VII, cols. 845–1218 (hereafter DTC); M. Righetti, *Manuale di storia liturgica*, Milan, 1955, II, 294ff.; E. Campana, *Maria nel culto cattolico*, Turin, 1933, I, 157–210; K. A. Kellner, *Hertologie*, Freiburg, 1911, 190ff.; and *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, Ann. LXXII, Fasc. VI, Quarrachi ad Claras Aquas, 1953, *Fasciculus Specialis: Beatae Mariae Virgini Primo Exeunte Saeculo a Definito Dogmate Immaculatae Conceptionis*. For the iconography of the Immaculate Conception see, Levi d'Ancona; Vloberg in O'Connor; Lépicier, K. Künstle, *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg, 1928, 646–658; and P. Venturino Alce, "L'Immacolata nell 'arte dalle fine del sec. XV al sec. XX," *Virgo Immaculata: Acta Congressus Mariologici-Mariani Romae Anno MCMLIV Celebrati*, XV, Rome, 1957, 107ff. For a work that shows the closeness between liturgy and image for the Immaculate Conception, see Carmichael.

[8] *DTC*, cols. 956–960.

[9] *Ibid.*, col. 991ff. The early Benedictine calendars merely mention "conception"; F. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, London, 1934, and the same author, *English Kalendars after A. D. 1110*, London, 1938.

[10] Saint Augustine, Epistle 174, in J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. . .Series Latina*, Paris, 1895, CLXXXII (hereafter *Pat. Lat.*), 334.

[11] Much of what was thought to have been written by Saint Anselm on the Immaculate Conception was in fact written by his follower and biographer Eadmer; J. S. Bruder, *The Mariology of St. Anselm of Canterbury*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1939, 25–66; also C. Balič, "The Mediaeval Controversy over the Immaculate Conception up to the Death of Scotus," in O'Connor, 161–212, 168ff.

[12] Wolter, 26–69.

[13] Balič in O'Connor, 169.

[14] *Ibid.*, 204–212.

[15] After Scotus, the Carmelites, Augustinian Hermits, Cistercians, Benedictines, and "the major part of the secular church" celebrated and supported the Immaculate Conception; Righetti, *Manuale*, 294ff; Kellner, *Hertologie*, 197; *DTC*, VII, cols. 1082 and 1089.

[16] Perhaps the most famous Franciscan to oppose the Immaculate Conception was Saint Bonaventura; Wolter, 48. It is usually accepted that in spite of Bonaventura's opposition, the Franciscans formally adopted the Feast at the Council of Pisa in 1263; L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum Seu Trium Ordinum a S. Francisco Institutorum*, Ad Claras Aquas (Quarrachi), 1931, IV, 238ff. This is based, however, on a misinterpretation of the documents by Wadding; see H. Golubovich, "Statuta Liturgica Seu Rubricae Breviarii Auctore Divo Bonaventura in Generali Capitulo Pisano An. 1263 Editore," *Archivium Franciscana Historica*, IV, 1911, 62–73. Other prominent theologians to oppose the Immaculate Conception were Saint Bernard, Albertus Magnus, and Petrus Lombard; see Balič in O'Connor, 188ff.

[17] *Ibid.*, 192ff.

defending the Immaculate Conception throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[18]

It is because of this dispute that Ecclesiasticus 24 became a major text in support of the Immaculate Conception. It was first used as a definitive proof in a treatise entitled *Liber de Originali Virginis Innocentia* by Petrus Thomae, a Franciscan lector in Barcelona around 1320.[19] Until this time, the basic method of approach had been to defend the doctrine from attack by offering alternative interpretations to the texts quoted against the Immaculate Conception.[20] In other words, support for the doctrine lay in disproving the opposition, not in presenting a substantive case for the Immaculate Conception. Petrus Thomae followed this pattern in his first and third books. His second book represented, however, a complete innovation. For the first time, Scripture was used as a positive proof in support of the Immaculate Conception. Petrus proceeded with care, choosing only "those texts which the Fathers have applied to Mary and particularly which the Roman Church reads (in Mass and Office) in honor of the Virgin,"[21] to support the immaculacy of Mary. Of the several texts he used, the exegesis for Ecclesiasticus 24 was one of the most significant for his argument.[22] Beginning with "Ego ex ore Altissimi prodivi primogenita ante omnem creaturam. . ." and ending with "Que elucidant me vitam aeternam habebunt," Petrus carefully went through the chapter to show in great detail how Mary's preservation from Original Sin was implied in every line. He stressed that the reason for her privilege stemmed from her role as the Mother of the Son of God[23] and that the privilege of being "first-born among all creatures" was a priority of dignity, not of time.[24] He went on to demonstrate that each of the plants mentioned in the text is an allegory of the purity of the Virgin and he concluded that if the Virgin did not have original grace, the text would not be read for her by the Church.[25]

It is no accident that Petrus Thomae should have chosen as central to his argument for the Immaculate Conception a text that was read on the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin. Petrus's main source was the *Tractus de Conceptione*, written in 1315 by Peter Aureoli, a French Franciscan whose work expanded many points that Duns Scotus had not made clear.[26] Although Aureoli did not use Scripture in the way that Petrus did, he argued that the Feast of the Assumption proved the Immaculate Conception because Mary's uncorrupted flesh presupposed the incorruptibilty of her spirit.[27] Furthermore, Aureoli argued, if the Virgin was flawed, the Church which is prefigured by the Virgin must also be flawed.[28] Here we can see clearly how the definition of the Immaculate Conception was removed from the physical into the spiritual sphere.

The work of Petrus Thomae did not have an immediate impact,[29] and it was not until 1387 that his method of quoting Scripture was again utilized, by Jean Vitalis in his *Defensorium Beatae Virginis*, commissioned by the faculty of the Sorbonne to answer charges by a young Dominican that the Immaculate Conception

[18] Much of the material in support of the Immaculate Conception was printed by Alva y Astorga in the 17th century. For a complete list as well as a list of 14th-century writers on the Immaculate Conception see P. Fauwells, *Les Franciscains et l'immaculée conception*, Malines, 1904, 15 and 77ff.

[19] Repr. in Alva y Astorga, 212–274. I want to thank Father Bruno Korosak of the Library of the Antonianum in Rome for making available to me this extremely rare volume as well as for giving me valuable theological advice. For a discussion of Petrus Thomae's work, see Brady, 70–110, and P. Antonius Braña Arrese, 48ff.

[20] Brady, 70–110.

[21] *Ibid.*, 78. "Ab auctoritate Romanae Ecclesiae quae ista in honorem Virginis legit"; Alva y Astorga, II, Pt. 4, chap. 9, 246.

[22] *Ibid.*, 245. The verses of Ecclesiasticus 24 had been used in the Office of the Assumption of the Virgin since the 9th century; M. Jugie, *La Mort et l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge*, Rome, 1944, 210. For the relationship between the Assumption and the Immaculate Conception, see below, n. 27. The text had also been applied to the Virgin Immaculate by Haymon of Halberstadt in the 9th century and it reappears in partial quotation in this application throughout the Middle Ages: Levi d'Ancona, 20.

[23] "Primum, quod ipsa sola generavit creabilem, in Filii Dei conceptionem"; Alva y Astorga, 245.

[24] ". . .sed cum omnis creatura ex ore Dei procedat (ipse enim dixit et facta sunt omnia) propter aliquam praerogativam Conceptionis Virginis ipsa dicitur spiritualiter ab ore Dei prodire, sed primogenita non est intelligenda propter prioritatem temporis, sed dignitatis"; *ibid.*

[25] *Ibid.* Some of these symbols such as the "cedrus in Libano" and "plantatio rosae in Jericho" appear in the later iconographic type known as the Virgin of the Litanies and have a long history as both Marian and Immaculatist symbols; Levi d'Ancona, 65f., and L. B. Bataillon, "Les Symboles des litanies et l'iconographie de la Vierge en Normandie au XVI siècle," *Revue archaéologique*, XVIII, Nov.–Dec., 1923, 261–288.

[26] For the sources of Petrus Thomae in Peter Aureoli, see Brady, 71ff. The importance of Peter Aureoli and other 14th-century thinkers in the development of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is only beginning to be explored; see P. Leo Rosato, *Doctrina de Immaculata BVM Conceptione Secundum Petrum Aureoli*, Rome, 1959, and the bibliography cited in Brady. For a nearly complete list of manuscripts of Petrus Thomae, see P. Martí de Barcelona, "Fra Pere Thomae (XIV), Doctor Strenus et Invincibilis," *Estudis franciscans*, XXXIX, 1927, 90–103.

[27] Aureoli took much of his material from *De Assumptione* by Pseudo-Augustine; Rosato, *Doctrina*, 84, n. 29.

[28] *Ibid.*, 89–90.

[29] A copy of his treatise was sent to Avignon for the approval of John XXII; Brady, 76. See also below n. 42.

was expressly against the faith.[30] In the discussion of Ecclesiasticus 24, Vitalis stressed the absolute predestination of the Virgin independent of sin (which did not exist when she was created), in contrast to Thomae's interpretation that "firstborn" meant first in dignity.[31]

Vitalis's treatise as well as the work of other Franciscans formed the basis for the defense prepared by John of Segovia, Cardinal of Toledo, for the Council of Basel (1431–37) which debated the problem of the Immaculate Conception.[32] The opposing point of view, written by the great Dominican Torquemada, was never presented to the Council.[33] John of Segovia, modeling himself after Petrus Thomae and Jean Vitalis, quoted extensively from Scripture, citing Ecclesiasticus 24 as a "major authority" for proof of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin.[34] John again stressed that it is because of Christ that the Virgin is granted her singular privilege, basing his argument on "Ego ex ore Altissimi prodivi. . . ."[35] The Assumption was also used as a proof, since the Virgin, who is "thronum Dei, thalamum Domini, domum, atque tabernaculum Christi," could not be allowed to be corrupted in spirit if she was not corrupted in body.[36]

The work of John of Segovia was presented to the Council on March 23, 1436.[37] On September 18, 1437, Eugenius IV officially dissolved the Council and called a new council in Ferrara to open in January, 1438.[38] No official discussions on the Immaculate Conception took place at this Council, but the meetings were held in the main Franciscan church of S. Francesco and some of the most prominent Franciscans of the day attended. Among them were Ludovico da Pirano, a theologian at the Council of Basel until 1437 when Eugenius ordered him to Ferrara, Gugliemo de Casale Monferrato, Minister General of the Franciscans, and Giacomo Testorio, a Doctor from Paris and Professor of Theology and Philosophy at Bologna,[39] where one of his pupils was Francesco della Rovere, the future Sixtus IV.[40]

Sixtus IV was obviously fully conversant with the problems arising out of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. There are 135 large volumes of material that he gathered on this subject scattered throughout the Vatican Archives.[41] Among the books in his library at his death were the copy of the *Liber* by Petrus Thomae written for John XXII in Avignon and the works of Duns Scotus, Sixtus's favorite theologian.[42] Throughout Sixtus's reign, the disagreement between the Franciscans and the Dominicans was kept alive by various public debates and publications which were curtailed only by the issuance of a Bull threatening excommunication to any who claimed either view was heretical.[43]

Two Offices were approved by Sixtus for reading at the Feast and Octave of the Immaculate Conception.[44] The second, by Bernardo de Bustis, is a long-winded polemic seeking to prove the Immaculate Conception rather than to celebrate it.[45] Since the Office was never widely used, it need not concern us here. The first Of-

[30] Alva y Astorga, 89–190. For a contrast between the methods of Petrus Thomae and Jean Vitalis, see Braña Arrese, 50ff. For the controversy at the Sorbonne, I. Brady, "The Development of the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in the 14th Century after Aureoli," *Franciscan Studies*, xv, 1955, 186ff., and Sericoli, 18; also *DTC*, col. 1083ff. For controversies in Paris as early as the 13th century, see *Acta Ordinis*, 278–286, and W. Sebastian, "The Controversy over the Immaculate Conception after Scotus to the End of the 18th Century," in O'Connor, 213–270, 214f.

[31] Braña Arrese, 56.

[32] P. Hyacinthus Ameri, *Doctrina Theologorum de Immaculata B. V. Mariae Conceptione Tempore Concilii Basileensis*, Rome, 1954, 113; C. J. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1869, VII, 426ff; *DTC*, cols. 1108ff. Ioannis de Segovia, *Septem Allegationes et Totidem Avisamenta pro Informatione Patrum Concilii Basileensis. . .Circa Sacratissimae Virginis Mariae Immaculatam Conceptionem* (1436), ed. Alva y Astorga, Brussels, 1664.

[33] Ioannis Turrecremata, *Tractus de Veritate Conceptionis Beatissime Virginis pro Facienda Relatione Coram Patribus Concilii Basilee, 1437*, Rome, 1547.

[34] "Libri Ecclesiastici sunt majoris auctoritatis"; Ioannis de Segovia, *Septem Allegationes*, 58.

[35] *Ibid.*, 257.

[36] *Ibid.*, 58 and 77. Other texts that are also consistently quoted in connection with the Immaculate Conception are Genesis 3:15, Proverbs 8:22, and Canticles 4:7 (English Bible), and as such have been dealt with more closely by art historians; Levi d'Ancona, *passim*.

[37] Ameri, *Doctrina*, 9.

[38] Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, VII, 659. The Council of Basel continued in defiance of the papal edict and officially approved the Immaculate Conception on September 17, 1438. This had little immediate effect in Italy, however; Sebastian in O'Connor, 229f, and Sericoli, 21.

[39] P. Gino Zanotti, *La Basilica de San Francesco in Ferrara*, Milan, 1958, 171ff. Torquemada also attended the Council of Ferrara; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Freiburg, V, col. 1093.

[40] B. Platina, *Le vite de' Pontefici*, Venice, 1685, 454.

[41] Sericoli, 25.

[42] E. Müntz and P. Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XVe siècle*, Paris, 1887, 171. This manuscript still exists in the Vatican Library as Vatican Lat. 1288. For Sixtus and Duns Scotus, see Ettlinger, 239–274, 255.

[43]. Sebastian in O'Connor, 234–38; *DTC*, col. 1122, and Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, X, 1482. The Bull is reprinted in *Bullarium Franciscanum*, ed. P. Ulricus Hüntemann, n.s., Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1949, III, No. 1773. For a discussion of the Bull, see Sericoli, 40–56.

[44] *Bullarium Franciscanum*, Nos. 924 and 1336.

[45] The entire Office is reprinted in *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Immaculatem Conceptionem B.M.V. Concernentia*, Ad Claras Aquas (Quarrachi), 1904, 17–36.

fice, written ostensibly by Leonardo Nogarolis but perhaps partially by Sixtus himself,[46] became the standard text until the Council of Trent.[47] It is a straightforward collection of scriptural texts, excerpts from Church writings and prayers, opening with *Sicut lilium inter spinas* (Canticles) and incorporating texts from Ecclesiasticus, particularly in the first Nocturne.[48] That this special privilege of the Immaculate Conception was granted to the Virgin to make her worthy to bear the Son of God is stressed again and again. In fact, much of the material used for the Office came from the treatise of John of Segovia, a work with which Sixtus must have been well acquainted.[49]

Nogarolis's Office was printed in Venice in 1478 and, in 1480, the cornerstone was laid for the first church bearing the title of the Immaculate Conception in that city.[50] The Venetian tradition of dedicating altars to the Immaculate Conception must have started over a century earlier, however, since the first known large-scale altarpiece representing the Virgin Immaculate appears around 1350 (Fig. 2).[51] Here is the first known example in Italy of the seated Virgin and Child used as a symbol for the Immaculate Conception of Mary. In the guise of the "Madonna of Humility," Mary is seated on the ground holding the Christ Child (who necessitates her Immaculacy). She is given, as is often the case with representations of the "Madonna of Humility," the attributes of the Woman of the Apocalypse. This in itself would not be enough to establish this work as an Immaculatist image, but, fortunately, the panel is still part of its original polyptych and the many side panels clarify the matter.[52] On the left-hand side are the stories of the Conception and Birth of the Virgin (Joachim's Rejection, the Angel Appearing to Joachim, the Meeting at the Golden Gate, and the Birth of the Virgin). This sequence of scenes is, again, no clear indication that this altarpiece refers to the Immaculate Conception. On the right side, however, are a series of miracles of the Virgin Immaculate.[53] These tales of salvation through the intervention of the Immaculata originated in the thirteenth-century sermon on the Conception attributed to Saint Anselm of Canterbury,[54] and they ultimately became part of the Office of Bernardo de Bustis.[55]

Unfortunately, no other monumental altarpieces to the Virgin Immaculate are known before Sixtus's approval in 1477. It is probable that there were others, particularly since the Virgin Immaculate was popular as a protectoress against the plague.[56] But Venetian devotional traditions are, by and large, still an unknown territory.[57] It is known, however, that Lorenzo Giustiniani, the first Patriarch of Venice, was an enthusiastic supporter of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception and that after about 1480 the notices of regularized celebration of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception greatly increase.[58] The seated Virgin and Child with the attributes of the Apocalyptic Woman also remains a primary image of the Virgin Immaculate. In printed Venetian missals of the period there are numerous examples of this type which face the opening of the Office for December 8.[59]

It has often been noted that the opening of Ecclesiasticus 24 ("Ex ore altissimi. . .") is used in conjunction with the Immaculate Conception as are the small bits of the allegorical passages dealing with plants.[60] What may be the first altarpiece successfully integrating the

[46] Platina, *Vite*, 454, states that Sixtus wrote a commentary on the Immaculate Conception. Since no trace of this has ever been found, it has been suggested that Sixtus actually helped to write part of Nogarolis's Office. P. Athanasius Matanič, "Xystus Pp. IV scriptsitne librum 'De conceptione beate Virginis Marie'?" *Antonianum*, Rome, 1954, 573–78.

[47] At the Council of Trent all Offices that were not two hundred years old were discarded; Sebastian in O'Connor, 264ff.

[48] Nogarolis's Office was printed in Venice in 1478; P. Piacenza, "De Quadam Locutione Restituenda in Officio Immaculatae Conceptionis B.M.V.," *Ephemerides Liturgica, Annus* XXV, Rome, 1912, 431–436. I want to thank the Biblioteca Angelica for furnishing me with a microfilm of this text.

[49] There were at least five books dealing with the decrees of the Council of Basel in Sixtus's library: Müntz and Fabre, as cited in n. 42, 193–95.

[50] Dalla Santa, 5–7.

[51] Davies, 549–552.

[52] M. Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death*, Princeton, 1951, 154–5.

[53] For a complete list of these rather involved tales, see Davies, 549–552.

[54] This sermon, believed at the time to be by Saint Anselm, was in fact written by Eadmer; *Pat. Lat.*, CLIX, cols. 319–323. These stories do not appear in the Golden Legend until the end of the 15th century.

[55] *Acta Ordinis*, as cited in n. 45, 27.

[56] The Virgin Immaculate with Child was extremely popular as woodcut "Pestblätter." In almost every example the attributes are those of the Woman of the Apocalypse and have a prayer recalling indulgences granted by Sixtus IV in connection with the worship of the Immaculate Conception. See W. L. Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des XV. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1926, II, 122ff., and Volberg in O'Connor, 507–08. Verona dedicated itself to the Immaculate Conception in 1511 after suffering a severe plague; Davies, 163.

[57] P. Prodi, "The Structure and Organization of the Church in Renaissance Venice: Suggestions for Research," *Renaissance Venice*, ed. J. Hale, Totowa, N.J., 1973, 409–430, 417.

[58] *DTC*, col. 1117; Dalla Santa, *passim*.

[59] Victor Massena, (Prince d'Essling), *Les Livres à figures venitiens*, Florence, 1907–1914, index.

[60] Rosand, "Titian's *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple. . .*," *Art Bulletin*, March, 1976, 68. Carlo Crivelli's *Immaculate Conception* of 1490 (London; National Gallery) uses an adaptation of the quotations; Davies, 165–66. The most frequent images from Ecclesiasticus 24 are the "cedrus in Libano," "oliva speciosa," and "plantatio rosae in Jerico"; Volberg in O'Connor, 476, n. 39.

seated Virgin and Child with extensive imagery from Ecclesiasticus 24 comes not from Venice but Florence. Botticelli's Bardi Altarpiece of 1485 (Fig. 3) was commissioned by Giovanni dei' Bardi for his chapel in the newly rebuilt church of S. Spirito in Florence, and it shows the Virgin suckling the Child and flanked by the two Saints John.[61] The background is formed by the plants mentioned in Ecclesiasticus 24 and, lest there by any question as to their reference, ribbons bearing the appropriate texts flutter throughout the picture.[62] The only flora not mentioned in Ecclesiasticus 24 are the lilies in the vases wreathed with roses, but a ribbon bearing a text makes their iconography clear: "Sicut lilium inter spinas," the opening of Nogarolis's Office of the Immaculate Conception.

The combination of Virgin and Child with Saints and the text of Ecclesiasticus 24 also appears in Venice at about the same time in Giovanni Bellini's altarpiece for the sacristy of S. Maria dei Frari.[63] Here the Virgin is enthroned with the Child and flanked by Saints Nicholas, Peter, Mark, and Benedict, the four name saints of the patrons.[64] Over the Madonna's head an inscription begins, "Ianva Certa. . .," again an image from Nogarolis's Office.[65] Saint Benedict holds up a book clearly inscribed with the opening verses of Ecclesiasticus 24. It is not surprising that Benedict has the text testifying to the Immaculacy of Mary. It was the Benedictine Order that first celebrated the Feast in England, whence it spread to the Continent, and the legends of the miracles of the Immaculate Conception come from a Benedictine source.[66]

By 1500, the illustration of various passages of Ecclesiasticus 24 in large-scale altarpieces was a clear reference to the Immaculate Conception or, to be more precise, to the Immaculacy of Mary.[67] Not only is the entire passage up to verse 31 an important proof for this "pious belief" but it is also the main text for the Feast of the Assumption to which S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, the prime Franciscan church in Venice, is dedicated.[68] It seems logical that Titian, whose *Assumption of the Virgin* stood on the high altar of this church, should allude in the Pesaro *Madonna* to a text that would have been common knowledge to anyone familiar with basic Catholic liturgy, to say nothing of Franciscan theology.

The Pesaro Altarpiece is in fact a magnificent example of the integration of personal piety with broader theological concepts. The donor and his family (male members only!) kneel on the lowest level, clearly separated from the heavenly sphere.[69] Only Jacopo, the patron of the altarpiece, is set apart and dares to direct a glance toward the Madonna and Child. Even that is interrupted by the position of Saint Peter at the base of her throne. Behind Jacopo stands a figure variously identified as Saint George, Saint Mauritius, or simply "a knight," who bears a standard with the arms of Pope Alexander VI and Jacopo Pesaro.[70] The crowning of this standard with laurel together with the Turk and Negro slave led by the knight clearly refer to Jacopo's victory

[61] Mention should be made here of the *Immaculate Conception* by the Lucchese Master of the Immaculate Conception (Lucca; Pinacoteca) which is of uncertain date but certainly after 1481; see Carmichael, *passim*. In this work, not only the plants but also two urns appear, marked "mirra" and "balsamum," illustrating Ecclesiasticus 24:20: "Sicut cinnamomum et balsamum armatizans odorem dedi; Quasi mirrha electa dedi suavitatem odoris. . . ." S. Symeonides, "An Altarpiece by the Lucchese Master of the Immaculate Conception," *Marsyas*, VIII, 1959, 55–66, tries to date the painting after 1494 on the grounds that Saint Anselm, represented with a halo, was canonized at that time. In fact, Saint Anselm seems never to have been formally canonized; R. W. Southern, *St. Anselm and His Biographer*, Cambridge, 1963, 336–343. *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1967, I, 582, gives the canonization date as 1163. Anselm was certainly referred to as "Saint" before the burning of Canterbury Cathedral; R. Willis, *Architectural History of Some English Cathedrals*, repr. Chicheley, 1972, 46 and n. on 113.

[62] H. Horne, *Allessandro Filipepi, Called Sandro Botticelli*, London, 1908, 135–140. Horne calls the tree behind Saint John the Evangelist an "ilex" because plane trees were unknown in Europe at this time; however, I have closely inspected the original and cannot make any definite botanical identification. The cedar, "cedrus" in Latin, was confused with the lemon, "cedro" in Italian, and often was portrayed as a lemon tree; *ibid.*, 138, and M. Levi d'Ancona, *The Garden of the Renaissance*, Florence, 1977, 205. R. Lightbown, *Sandro Botticelli*, London, 1978, I, 101f., independently came to the same conclusions regarding the Immaculate Conception.

[63] Rosand, "Titian's *Presentation of the Virgin*," 68, n. 74.

[64] G. Fogolari, *I Frari e SS. Giovanni e Paolo*, Milan, 1949, xx.

[65] G. Robertson, *Giovanni Bellini*, Oxford, 1968, 87.

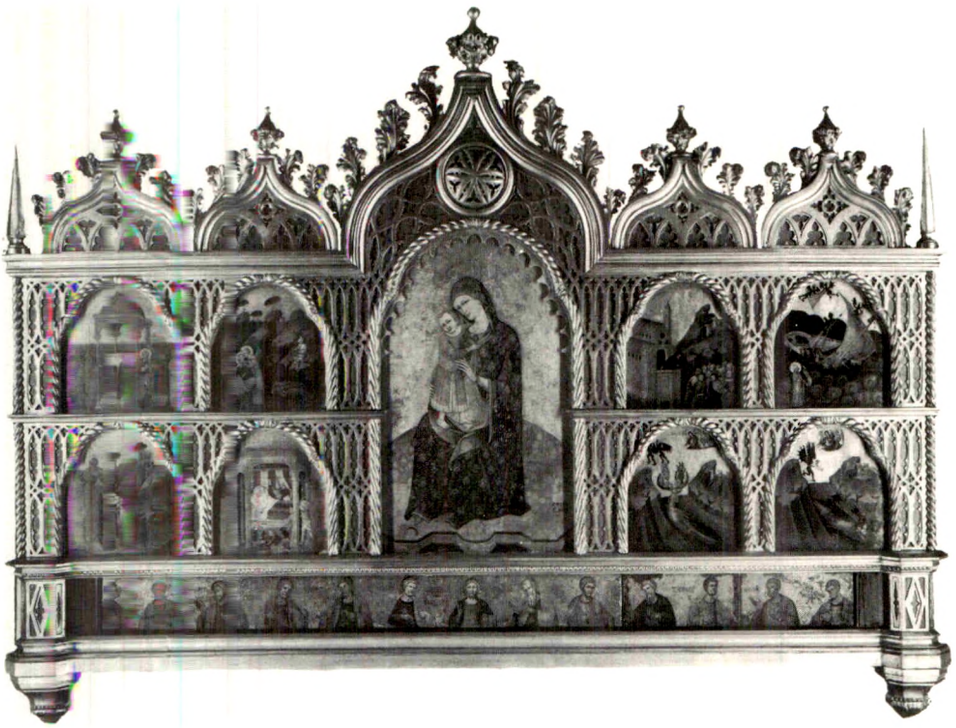
[66] See above, nn. 9 and 54.

[67] Sixteenth-century *Immaculate Conceptions* with allusions to Ecclesiasticus 24 include those by: Francia in Lucca, S. Frediano; Piero di Cosimo in Fiesole, S. Francesco; Signorelli in Cortona, Il Gesù; Zaganelli in Forlì, Pinacoteca; Girolamo dai Libri, the *Madonna with Saint Anne and Angels*, London, National Gallery; and Girolamo Marchesi, the *Eternal Father and the Madonna Between Two Saints*, in S. Marino, S. Francesco. This is not to imply that the Immaculate Conception was only represented with illustrations from Ecclesiasticus 24. Many of the older types persist throughout the 16th century and several new types develop as a result of the complex issues surrounding the clarification of the doctrine. See Levi d'Ancona, who lists over eighteen types, and Lépicier, who follows developments into the 20th century. Interestingly enough, neither discusses the image of the seated Virgin with Child.

[68] F. Cornaro, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di venezia e di Torcello*, Padua, 1758, 362.

[69] For various suggestions as to the identities of the family members, see Tietze-Conrat, 178ff., Wethey, 1969, 102, and P. Fehl, "Saints, Donors, and Columns in Titian's *Pesaro Madonna*," *Renaissance Papers, 1974*, Chapel Hill, 1975, 79f.

[70] Fehl, as cited in n. 69, 79.



2 Venetian School, Altarpiece of the Virgin Mary. London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery)

3 Botticelli, Barnabas Altarpiece. Berlin, Gemäldegalerie (photo: Gemäldegalerie)

over the Turks at S. Maura in 1502, when he led the papal forces, a position to which he had been appointed by Alexander VI.[71] Jacopo obviously considered this an important point in his life, for he had earlier commissioned Titian to paint a devotional picture, *Saint Peter Enthroned, Adored by Alexander VI and Jacopo Pesaro* (Antwerp, Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts).[72] The Pope presents Jacopo, who holds a banner with arms identical to those on the Pesaro Altarpiece banner. In the background can be seen several galleys, an obvious reference to his position as commander of the papal navy. Saint Peter has, as in the Pesaro Altarpiece, placed his keys at his feet on the stairs.[73] The book that he holds closed in this painting and open in the Pesaro Altarpiece unfortunately cannot be identified with certainty.

Saint Peter serves as a link both artistically and theologically between the realm of Jacopo's family and his worldly triumphs, and the higher level of the Immaculata. The altar was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception long before it was ceded to the Pesaro family.[74] Since the dedication was not changed with the owner, it seems apparent that Jacopo, for whatever rea-

[71] *Ibid.*, 77f.; Rosand, 203, n. 25; Wethey, 1969, 102.

[72] Wethey, 1969, 152f.; Sinding-Larsen, 159ff. Sinding-Larsen, 148, states that Saint Peter is Jacopo's patron saint, but gives no proof.

[73] For a discussion of the iconography of the keys see Rosand, 203, n. 27, and Wethey, 1969, 152.

[74] Rosand, 201, n. 22; Wethey, 1975, 259.

son, accepted the dedication to the Immaculate Conception and believed that a successful integration of all interests could be achieved.[75] The link between his personal triumph and the dedication of the altar is confirmed by an elaborate celebration to commemorate the battle that was held not on the anniversary of the victory but on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1529.[76] This festival, described by Sanuto, included the decoration of the altar with the sixteen standards of the doges and *capitani generali* of the ships that had followed Jacopo into battle. One of the standards was that of a Jacopo Marcello, killed at Gallipoli and buried in the Frari, with a fresco over his tomb depicting his demise. Had there been no link between Jacopo's interests and the altar dedication, it seems unlikely that he should have commemorated his great triumph on a day totally isolated from the event.

Saint Peter appears in the Pesaro Altarpiece, then, not only as intercessor, but also as representative of the Holy See which had made Jacopo commander of the papal armada against the Turks and had approved the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. Indeed, Saint Peter's link with the Immaculate Conception is even closer in light of the other two saints, both Franciscans, on the right of the Madonna's throne. Saint Francis, the more prominent of the two, is easily identifiable by his stigmata, and the second is generally accepted as Saint Anthony of Padua.[77] Both these saints appear in pictures of the Immaculate Conception, which is hardly surprising as they were popular Franciscan saints and the Immaculate Conception was a popular Franciscan doctrine.[78] But it is in conjunction with Saint Peter that these two saints appear for the first time in a monumental fresco of the Virgin Immaculate, in no less a place than the tomb chapel of Sixtus IV in old St. Peter's.[79]

Sixtus dedicated his tomb chapel in 1479 to the Immaculata and to Saints Francis and Anthony of Padua, his patron saints.[80] The decoration for the chapel was done by Perugino and showed the Virgin and Child enthroned in a mandorla of angels with Sixtus being presented by Saints Peter and Francis on her right and Saints Paul and Anthony on her left.[81] The connection between this work and the Pesaro Altarpiece appears even closer in view of the pose of the Virgin and Child. Although only a rough idea of what Perugino's group looked like is possible, there appears to be a clear echo of it in Raphael's *Madonna di Foligno* of ca. 1512 for the high altar of S. Maria in Aracoeli, the center of the Franciscans in Rome.[82] It has in fact been suggested that the Foligno *Madonna* is an Immaculata.[83] Whether or not this is so, the group was certainly known to Titian, although Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving altered the pose rather drastically.[84] Perhaps the clearest reflection in Titian's work is the *Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and Aloysius and Alvise Gozzi* which was originally installed in S. Francesco in Ancona (Ancona; Pinacoteca).[85] Another variation on the same theme can be seen in the Altarpiece of the Madonna and Child with Six Saints for S. Niccolò dei Frari, the small adjunct to the Frari across the piazza (Rome, Vatican).[86] Both of these paintings were executed during the early 1520's for Franciscan churches, giving them a remarkably similar background to the Pesaro *Madonna*.[87]

The iconography of the Virgin is an exceedingly complex one and its many ramifications in any single representation are almost inexhaustible. Here the matter is further complicated by the gesture of the Christ

[75] Rosand, 200. Altar dedications were often changed with the owner, e.g., the Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo; J. Shearman, "The Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIV, 1961, 129. There is no evidence that a change of dedication for the Pesaro Altar was ever discussed; Wethey, 1975, 259.

[76] Sanuto, LII, col. 331, repr. in Dalla Santa, 12. The victory took place on August 30, 1502; Wethey, 1969, 152. Wethey's citation of Sanuto (1975, 260) is considerably abbreviated and the scholar mistakenly discounts any connection between the Immaculate Conception and the Pesaro Altarpiece.

[77] A. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, London, 1907, 201; Tietze-Conrat, 181.

[78] For Franciscans in paintings of the Immaculate Conception, see Carmichael, *passim*.

[79] For a discussion of Sixtus's tomb chapel, see Ettlinger.

[80] *Bullarium Romanum*, V, 1860, 268ff.

[81] F. Canuti, *Il Perugino*, Siena, n.d., 52. There are two sketches of this chapel, which was destroyed when St. Peter's was torn down: the first is in the famous Grimaldi sketchbook in the Vatican (MS Barb. Lat. 2733, fol.131), reproduced in Ettlinger, pl. 41a; the second is a copy of the sketchbook in Milan (Cod. Ambrosiana, Milan, I, 87 infra.) which shows a slightly different arrangement and includes an inscription. This is reproduced in A. Schmarsow, *Joos van Gent und Melozzo da Forli in Rom und Urbino*, Leipzig, 1912.

[82] Dussler, 31.

[83] D. Redig de Campos, "La Madonna di Foligno di Raffaello: Note sulla sua storia e i suoi restauri," *Miscellanea Biblioteca Hertzianae zu Ehren von Leo Bruhns, Franz Graf Wolff Metternich, Ludwig Schudt*, XVI, 184–197.

[84] Bartsch XIV, No. 47.

[85] Wethey, 1969, 110.

[86] *Ibid*; 107; H. von Einem, "Tizians Madonna mit Sechs Heiligen im Vatikan," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XXXIII, 1971, 99–114.

[87] Von Einem, 106ff, discusses the development of the Madonna in Glory type through the Perugino fresco and the *Madonna di Foligno* to Titian. The *Madonna di Foligno* obviously must relate to the vision of Augustus when he visited the Tiburtine Sybil as this miracle is said traditionally to have taken place on the site of the Aracoeli. Von Einem points out a Venetian prototype of the Madonna and Child in Glory with Augustus and the Sybil of ca. 1400 that Titian could easily have known. For a further discussion of the iconography of the *Madonna di Foligno*, see L. Partridge and R. Starn, *The Likeness of a Renaissance Pope: Raphael's Portrait of Julius II*, forthcoming.

Child removing her veil from his head. There is a rich tradition for the use of the veil in Christian iconography, both in connection with the Virgin[88] and the Christ Child.[89] To try to give a unilateral interpretation here would give it a narrowness not necessarily intended. The connection between the Madonna in the Pesaro Altarpiece and the epithets of her litanies in relation to the Immaculate Conception has been treated by Levi d'Ancona.[90] The most obvious allusion is of course to her role as the *thronum dei* and the *sedes sapientae*.[91] Titian has in fact presented a double image. From the beginning of the idea of the Immaculate Conception, it is Mary's role as the Godbearer that permits her this exemption; that is, in order to be a fit tabernacle of Christ, she must be pure in every way. On the monumental throne the Immaculate Virgin holds Christ on her lap: she is the Seat of Wisdom for Christ, the new Solomon.[92] Behind her, the cloudy pillar, throne of Divine Wisdom (the speaker of Ecclesiasticus 24:5–31), supports the Cross on which Christ crucified is the ultimate manifestation of the Divine Wisdom of God (I Corinthians 1:23). Titian's imaginative use of these columns is a brilliant and fitting climax to what is perhaps the greatest altarpiece of the Immaculate Conception.

Berkeley, California

[88] W. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two Symbols in Art and Literature*, trans. L. Chadcayne and P. Gottwald, New York, 1970, 30f. See also von Einem, *Wallraf-Richartz*, 197, and Dussler, *Raphael*, 25.

[89] For further references see R. Hatfield, *Botticelli's Uffizi "Adoration": A Study in Pictorial Content*, Princeton, 1976, 38, n. 11 and 44f.

[90] Levi d'Ancona, 70, n. 162.

[91] For the Virgin and the Throne of Wisdom, see I. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom*, Princeton, 1972, 22ff., for a bibliography.

[92] *Ibid.; passim.*

Bibliography of Frequently Cited Works

Alva y Astorga, P., *Monumenta Antiqua Seraphica pro Immaculata Conceptione Virginis Mariae*, Louvain, 1655.

Brady, I., "The Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in the Fourteenth Century," *Second Franciscan National Marian Congress, 1954*, San Francisco, 1957, 70–110.

Braña Arrese, A., *De Immaculata Conceptione B. V. Mariae Secundum Theologos Hispanos Saeculi XIV*, Rome, 1950.

Carmichael, M., *Francia's Masterpiece*, London, 1909.

Dalla Santa, G., *Di alcune manifestazioni del culto all'Immacolata Concezione in Venezia dal 1480 alla meta del secolo XVI*, Venice, 1904.

Davies, M., *The Earlier Italian Schools*, 2nd ed., London, 1961.

Dictionnaire de théologie catholique, Paris, 1922, VII, s.v. "Immaculée Conception."

Dussler, L., *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Pictures, Wall-Paintings, and Tapestries*, London, 1971, 31.

Ettlinger, L. D., "Pollaiuolo's Tomb of Sixtus IV," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVI, 1953, 239–274.

Lépicier, A. M., *L'Immaculée Conception dans l'art et l'iconographie*, Spa, 1956.

Levi d'Ancona, M., *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance*, New York, 1957.

O'Connor, E., ed., *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception*, Notre Dame, Ind., 1958.

Rosand, D., "Titian in the Frari," *Art Bulletin*, June, 1971, 196–213.

Segovia, Ioannis de, *Septem Allegationes et Totidem Avisamenta pro Informatione Patrum Concilii Basileensis. . .Circa Sacratissimae Virginis Mariae Immaculatam Conceptionem* (1436), ed. Alva y Astorga, Brussels, 1664.

Sericoli, C., *Immaculata B. M. Virginis Conceptio Iuxta Xysti IV Constitutiones*, Rome, 1945.

Sinding-Larsen, S., "Titian's Madonna di Ca' Pesaro and Its Historical Significance," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia*, Oslo, 1962, I, 139–169.

Tietze-Conrat, E., "The *Pesaro Madonna*, A Footnote on Titian," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, Oct., 1953, 177–182.

Wethey, H., 1969, *Titian: I: The Religious Paintings*, London.

_____, 1975, *Titian: III: The Mythological and Historical Paintings*, London.

Wolter, A. B., "The Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in the Early Franciscan School," *Second Franciscan National Marian Congress, 1954*, San Francisco, 1957, 26–69.

The Structure of Henry Hoare's Stourhead*

James Turner

The garden at Stourhead, Wiltshire, is regarded as "the one total and authoritative masterwork" of English landscape gardening still in existence.[1] It is a paradigm of the reaction against formality and the growth of picturesque sensibility, a harmonious composition of hanging woods, undulating lakeside paths, and irregularly placed temples, grottoes, and ruins. It is also now recognized as a serious work of art, an important piece of evidence in the study of visual meaning in the eighteenth century. Stourhead is the subject of two major analyses, by Kenneth Woodbridge[2] and Ronald Paulson,[3] as well as innumerable passing references. All of these have confused the garden's chronological development, misrepresented its allusions, and underestimated its unity.

Woodbridge's account is so richly documented that it seems presumptuous to emend it; no study of Stourhead would be possible without his research. His dating of individual features is particularly detailed, but he does not distinguish between the various stages of the garden's development and thus imposes upon it a false unity.[4] The standard view, hitherto unchallenged, is that Stourhead was "conceived and undertaken by the banker Henry Hoare in the 1740s."[5] The garden that C. W. Bampfylde painted in 1753 (Fig. 1) was, however, utterly different from the one under construction in 1754[6] and developed over the next twenty years into what is seen now. In the 1740's version of the garden, a terrace on the level of the house led northwards to an obelisk; this terrace (known as the Fir Walk) still exists, though it is now screened off by undergrowth. In the valley below, several large ponds were improved into a semi-formal water garden on different levels—Bampfylde shows a rectangular *pièce d'eau*, with a grotto at its head, in the mouth of which a river-god reclined. The old Paradise spring flowed around this statue and made a formal cascade, and the Doric temple of Ceres (now "Flora") was placed directly above. This was Henry Flitcroft's work, as his letter of August 25, 1744 shows: "My next shall bring you [Hoare] . . . the Temple of Ceres, with the Rocky Arch in which I propose to place the River God and a sketch of how I conceive the head of the lake should be formed. Twill make a most agreeable scene, with the solemn shade about it and the variety of other agreeable circumstances."[7] Flitcroft proposes a coherent visual unit; Figure 1 could hardly be closer to this "scene." A second and more elaborate grotto was completed in 1748, at the head of a smaller pool. The contemporary traveler Richard Pococke speaks of "two large pieces of water," and several smaller pools can be seen in maps of 1722 and 1792, though it is not known exactly how they were combined.[8] The valley-bottom was thus formalized in much the same way as the garden at Barn Elms, a Hoare property in Surrey, plans of which are preserved at Stourhead. This consisted of two pools, one geometrical and one irregular, each surmounted by a building; they were divided by a bridge with railings, similar to that erected at Stourhead in 1749 across one of the pools. Barn Elms was flat, but at Stourhead, as at Studley Royal in Yorkshire, walks on higher ground enabled the visitor to appreciate the arrangement from above. This design is complete in itself and contains no anticipation of the great lake with its correspondingly large temple that are visible today. Indeed, it would have been a considerable waste of resources to con-

* For their assistance in my research, I should like to thank Mavis Batey of the Garden History Society, David Brown of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, John Dixon Hunt of Bedford College, London, Edward Malins, John Sales of the National Trust, Andrew Wilton of the Yale Center for British Art, Kenneth Woodbridge, the Prints and Drawings Departments of the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and the Garden Librarian at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

[1] See, e.g., Edward Hyams, *The English Garden*, London, 1964, 48.

[2] Kenneth Woodbridge, *Landscape and Antiquity: Aspects of English Culture at Stourhead 1718 to 1838*, Oxford, 1970, 1–70. Woodbridge has also contributed a Jungian analysis to Edward Malins's *English Landscaping and Literature 1660–1840*, Oxford, 1966, 54, and written "Henry Hoare's Paradise," *Art Bulletin*, XLVII, 1965, 83–116; "The Sacred Landscape," *Apollo*, LXXXVIII, 1968, 210–14; *Stourhead* and *The Stourhead Landscape*, n.p., both published by the National Trust, 1971; "The Dream of Aeneas: A Rosa Source for Cheere's River God at Stourhead," *Burlington Magazine*, CXVI, 1974, 756; and with other members of the Stourhead Advisory Committee, "Conservation of Grounds at Stourhead: Draft Report," a typescript kindly lent to me by John Sales (The National Trust, 1977), and quoted with his permission.

[3] Ronald Paulson, *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, Mass., 1975, esp. 28–33. Unless otherwise specified, references to Paulson are to this book.

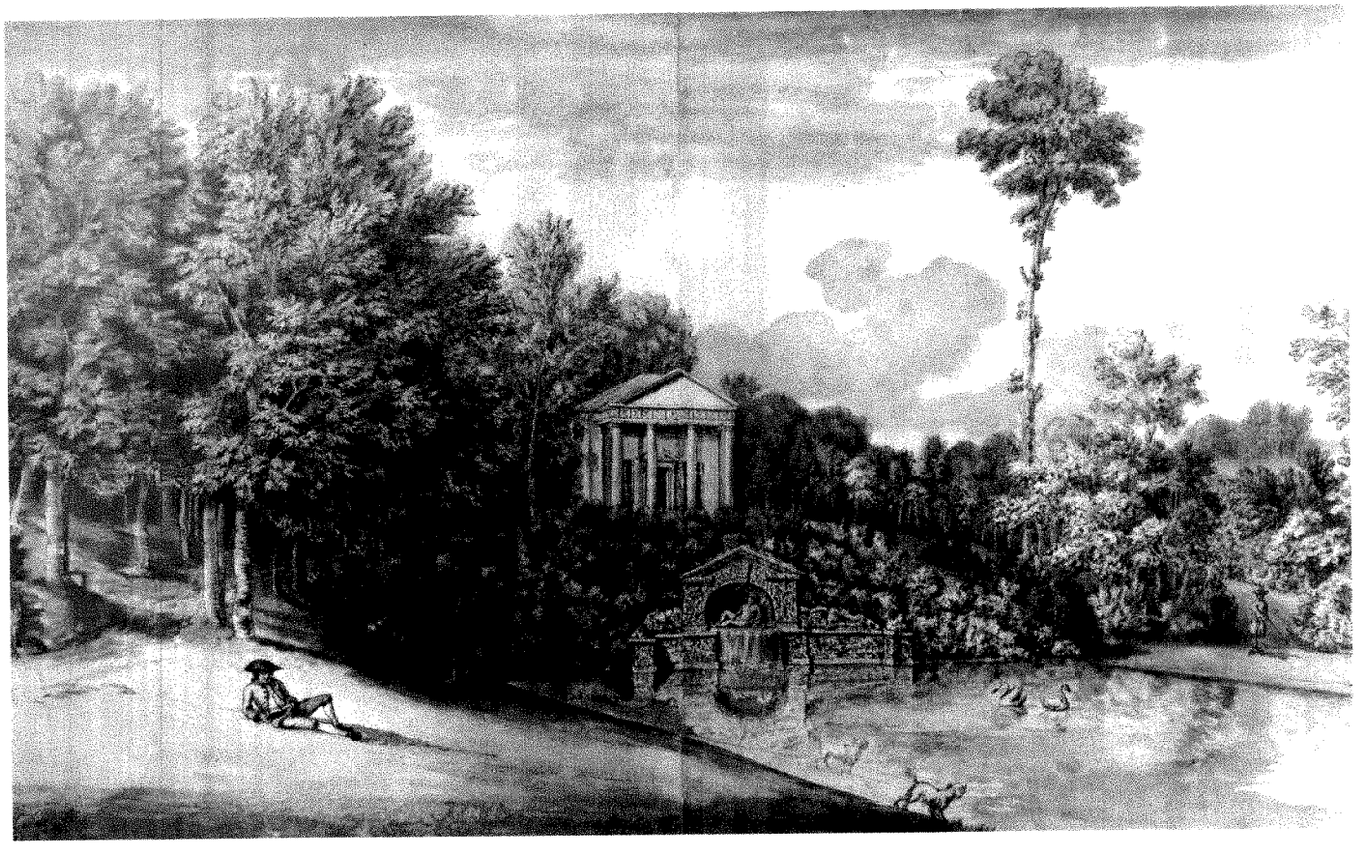
[4] In the "Draft Report," for example, the whole period from 1741 to 1770 is treated as homogenous.

[5] Paulson, 28.

[6] Richard Pococke, *Travels Through England*, ed. J. H. Cartwright II, London, 1889, 43, notes that "a head is making at great expense" to convert "two large pieces of water" into one. Pococke's description (July 2, 1754) is most confused; Stourhead must have resembled a building site.

[7] Woodbridge, 28; the temple was partly built from the stone of an older classical building (*ibid.*, 29). We should distinguish the "head of the lake" in this letter from the "head" in Pococke cited above. One means *top end*, the other *dam*.

[8] Woodbridge, 1965, figs. 3 and 4. I have traced the outlines of fig. 3 onto my map (Fig. 3).



1 C. W. Bampfylde, *Stourhead*, 1753. London, British Museum (photo: Museum)

2 C. W. Bampfylde, *View from the Pantheon at Stourhead*, 1770 (detail). From E. Hyams, *The English Garden*, London, 1964, fig. 24 (photo: University of Liverpool)

struct the cascade and the pool knowing that they would soon be destroyed by rising water. The broken fragments of the rusticated façade, now lying at the bottom of the lake, testify to that waste.

There is no actual evidence of Hoare's interest in this garden of the 1740's; his earliest recorded reference to garden design dates from around 1752,[9] and his earliest mention of the Stourhead garden was made in January, 1755, when he refers to it as "in creation."[10] This does not indicate much respect for the garden created ten years earlier—indeed, the new scheme makes it redundant. Hoare's letters show a burst of pride and affection for Stourhead in 1755, but his involvement in the creation of the landscape is far fuller in the next decade; then one hears something of his intentions and his emotions on seeing them carried out. Between 1762 and 1765, he conceived the village (improved by the Bristol Cross and stone bridge into "a charming Gaspard picture"), the Temple of Apollo, the statue of "Neptune and his 4 Naggs" before the Temple of Flora where the old river-god had been, the cascade, and "one Scheme more which will Crown or Top all," Alfred's Tower.[11] This, broadly speaking, is Stourhead as it now exists.

Hoare's original problem was to combine magnificence with coherence. Flitcroft's garden was an orderly combination of elegant architecture and rustic stonework, extensive landscape and eye-catching statuary, still water and agitated cascade. The scale and feeling of the garden were completely changed in the 1750's—compare the dramatic energy of the new river-god (Fig. 4) with the Claudean languor of the old one (Fig. 1)—but this resulted in blankness and redundancy in the whole southeast side of the lake. In the 1760's, Hoare attempted to reconstitute the balance of the original garden without its insipidity; he thus created the rock arch and the cascade, and placed a dramatic group of sculpture to enliven the redundant area where the original cascade had been. The village and the Temple of Apollo lend more weight to the southern and eastern lakeside. Peter's Pump and Alfred's Tower give the walks and rides through the northern and western woods, vaguely planned in 1755,[12] a proper culmination, and so help to fuse separate areas of the estate into one design. Peter's Pump, a Bristol monument like the village cross, could have been visible from the northwest shore of the lake at the center of the landscape and from Alfred's Tower at its outermost point, and the niche on its northern side (seen from the carriage road) may once have contained the old reclining river-god.[13] There are therefore two stages in Hoare's evolving plan: the sweeping gestures of the 1750's (the dam, the lake, and the Pantheon or Temple of Hercules) suggest dissatisfaction with the old water-garden, but the mature improvements of the 1760's show that he pondered the implications of this dramatic change and evolved a balanced and unified conception of the landscape.

In January, 1755, Hoare referred to the garden then in creation as a "Paradise" of "Temples, Grottos, Bridges, Rocks, Exotick Pines and Ice in Summer,"[14] a multiplicity of pleasurable objects. The letters of the 1760's present the garden more coherently. The eastern valley is composed as a "picture" (Fig. 2), the southern hill becomes a single spatial entity from the cascade via the rock arch to the temple and down through the *souterrain;* and Alfred's Tower is a "Scheme . . . which will Crown or Top all." This phrase implies a single structure, but one wonders of what kind. The task of the garden historian is like that of the linguist, who studies the structural principles that generate *all* and *only* the sentences of a language; he must account for Hoare's entire creation, and not dismiss parts of it as irrelevant; but he must not confuse it with the work of succeeding planters, or the products of his own ingenuity.

The structure of a garden is determined in two ways. First of all there is its physical structure, as experienced by a visitor walking through it—its planes, textures, and masses combining and recombining in time. Second, there is what I would call its textual structure, its allusions and inscriptions, each one in a more or less significant place, and given more or less emphasis in accompanying commentaries—guides' speeches, owners' declarations, and the descriptions of previous visitors. This textual structure is as much part of the garden as hills and temples.

The eighteenth-century visitor to Stourhead began not at the village but at the house;[15] the map of Figure 3

[9] Woodbridge, 1970, 31. Flitcroft refers to Hoare's "other works" in 1744 (p. 29), but this probably refers to the interior decoration mentioned in a previous letter (p. 27).

[10] *Ibid.*, 48. Hoare did contract directly with the stonemason for the obelisk in 1746 (*ibid.*, 29), but the wording of this document ("the setting up of an Obelisk in or near the Garden of the said Henry Hoare") suggests that he conceived the garden to be a narrow area around the house.

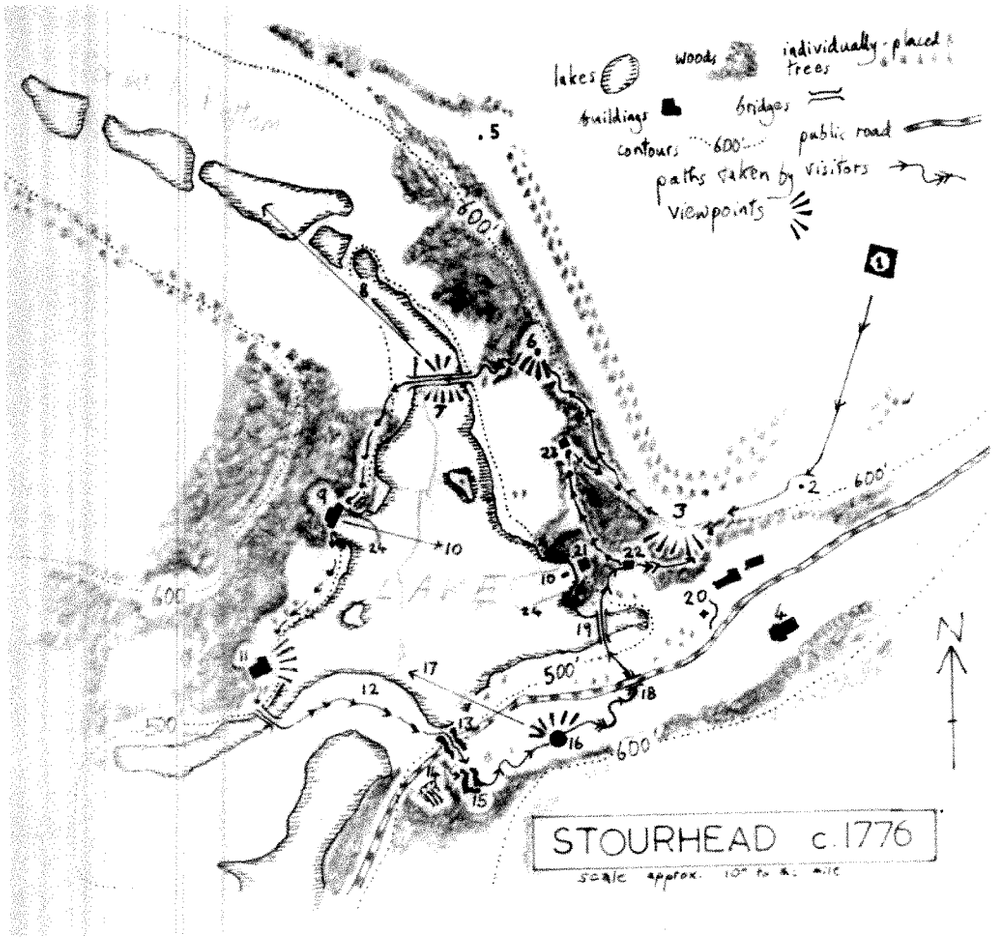
[11] *Ibid.*, 52–53, 58–61.

[12] Jonas Hanway, "A Journal of Eight Days Journey from *Portsmouth* to *Kingston upon Thames* . . . August 1755," serialized in the *London Chronicle*, 1757, 579.

[13] Its shape is compatible with that of the old "Rocky Arch," and it is deep enough to accommodate a life-size figure. This may be an explanation of Caroline Lybbe Powys (*Passages from the Diaries*, ed. E. J. Climenson, London, 1889, 170), who tells us that the Pump *and* "Neptune" were visible from the Tower. See Figure 3 and Woodbridge, 1970, fig. 9b, for the planting in Six Wells Bottom, clearly designed to facilitate the view up the valley.

[14] *Ibid.*, 30 and 42.

[15] As Woodbridge makes clear in *Stourhead Landscape*, 15 and 18, and in the "Draft Report." Some visitors, however, entered the landscape garden via the obelisk (*The New Bath Guide*, Bath, 1784 ed., 56). The National Trust is now proposing to reestablish the high point of entry and to restore the Temple of Flora to seclusion. Paulson confuses the present garden with Hoare's, though claiming to represent "Hoare's original meaning" (p. 28). He therefore fails to see the continuity of upper and lower gardens, and he describes them as "very far off" from one another, connected only by the obelisk (pp. 233–34).



3 Author's map of Stourhead in the 18th century. *1* House *2* Apollo statue* *3* first viewpoint, a curved terrace leading to the Fir Walk and obelisk *4* Stourton Church *5* obelisk *6* Turkish Tent* *7* wooden bridge* *8* Peter's Pump (direction) *9* Grotto *10* statue of Neptune* *11* Pantheon *12* dam *13* ruined arch *14* cascade *15* Hermitage* *16* Temple of Apollo *17* Alfred's Tower (direction) *18* underpass *19* stone bridge *20* Bristol Cross and Stourton village *21* Temple of Ceres or Flora *22* Gothic orangery* *23* Chinese alcove* *24* outline of old pools (*features now vanished but verifiable from several sources)

shows the route. The present scheme, a circuit beginning at the Temple of Flora, level except where it approaches the Temple of Apollo, was introduced by Hoare's grandson. An undistinguished parterre adjoined the house, terminating in a large statue of Apollo. The path then led to the first viewpoint; the Temple of Apollo reared up unexpectedly in front and Stourton Church appeared almost immediately to the left, far below, giving the visitor a curious feeling of disembodied height. The Gothic and the Classical are dramatically juxtaposed. This contrast was inherent in the garden from the first. The view of the church was probably a feature of the earliest garden, enlivening the southern end of the terrace and contrasting with the obelisk at its northern end. It was the first prominent feature to receive comment by discerning tourists: "The Prospect of [the] Steeple, tho' in Repair, has almost as good an Effect as a Ruin."[16] Stourton Church was thus promoted to the "Gothick." Another visitor speaks at this point of the "humble Merit" of the "Modest Spire" in its "concave Vale," contrasting it with the "Immensity" of the lake view itself, a vast "Amphitheatre" where

> Extended Mountains guard the sacred Streams,
> Till they descend where Neptune rides in State.[17]

This suggests that the statue of Neptune, now lost, was sited so as to be glimpsed from the terrace above as well as from the lakeside and from Apollo's temple (Fig. 5). The path then slanted down through woods to the Turkish Tent, where the lake prospect appeared in its fullest form,[18] and reached the lakeside in a series of dramatic

[16] Hanway, 578; see note 12 above. In the National Trust "Draft Report" it is claimed that a view of the church made in the 20th century from a position just below 3 (see Fig. 3) is discordant and should be closed up (pp. 20–21), "if we are interpreting the path to the Pantheon in the allegorical spirit in which it was made." I suggest, however, that we should reduce the importance of this allegory.

[17] Author unknown, *A Ride and A Walk Through Stourhead*, London, 1779, 4. These lines could not refer to the sea, because the River Stour is not guarded by mountains for all its length; neither would mountains be visible from the garden.

[18] C. C. L. Hirschfeld, *Theorie der Gartenkunst*, Leipzig, 1775, v. 41, emphasizes the importance of the Tent; not only does it provide "einen reizenden Prospect über den See, das Pantheon, den Sonnentempel, einen herabhängenden Wald, usw," but it is the focal point of the view from the Pantheon (p. 42).

bends. The water could be crossed by boat[19] or bridge; the wooden bridge curtailed the circuit of the lake and made it more compact, without the long, indecisive detour now forced on visitors.[20] From the considerable height of the bridge two views extended: on the left, the lake and Apollo's hill framed by coulisses of hanging wood (which concealed Neptune, the grotto, and the village for later enjoyment);[21] on the right, the U-shaped valley of Six Wells Bottom and Peter's Pump (with no hint of the splendor of Alfred's Tower beyond). (These views can no longer be seen, since the bridge has vanished and trees have encroached on formerly open spaces.) Then came the Grotto, where the curious visitor could open a curtain and see, through a frame of rough stone-work, the statue of Neptune emerging from the opposite shore.[22] The "soft and pleasing Scenary"[23] of the approaches to the Pantheon, enhanced by the vigorous figure of Neptune in his chariot, contrasted with the roughness of the Grotto, overgrown with ferns and ivy[24] and dominated by the crouching god of the Stour. The poet felt a sense of comfort and protection walking "o'er the shaven Lawn" toward the Pantheon,

> Guarded on this Side by an hanging Wood;
> On that see NEPTUNE's Wheels the liquid Road
> Divide, exulting in his fair Domain.[25]

From the Pantheon a composite scene is revealed—the Temple of Ceres/Flora[26] close to the English village with its Gothic cross (Fig. 2),[27] the Temple of Apollo, the Hermitage, ruin, and cascade. The counterpoint of Gothic and Classical[28] is thus maintained, and continues throughout the journey—the "ruined" arch, the Hermitage and the Temple of the Sun, the horizon dominated by the two eminences of Alfred's Tower and the obelisk,[29] the rugged *sousterrain*, the stone bridge and the medieval cross, the Temple of Ceres and the Gothic orangery,[30] the Convent, the summit of Alfred's Tower, and the house itself. This was Hoare's completed plan.

The textual structure of Stourhead is based on five inscriptions, which the visitor would have encountered

[19] Visible in a print of ca. 1765, fig. 15 in Woodbridge, 1965.

[20] Paulson does not take this bridge into account, and he is therefore puzzled at Horace Walpole's speedy passage across the lake to the Grotto (p. 233). Paulson confuses the modern garden with the original one when he allegorizes the frequent loss of the Temple of Apollo from view (pp. 29–30). He seems to contradict himself when he recognizes that "at one time" the whole "journey" round the lake was visible from Apollo's temple, after describing that journey as a trail through "the wilderness . . . without any idea of when you will again glimpse the destination with which you have now lost touch"—Apollo's temple.

[21] My map shows the pattern of trees in Bampfylde's panoramas of ca. 1770. William Gilpin was impressed by these "woody skreens" (*Observations on the Western Parts of England, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty*, 1798, 122).

[22] Joseph Spence noted the curtain in a letter of September 17, 1765, in J. D. Hunt and P. Willis, eds., *The Genius of the Place*, London, 1975, 273–74. My siting of the Neptune statue (Fig. 3) is arrived at by collating the two Bampfylde drawings in which it appears (Woodbridge, 1970, figs. 10b and 10c). Their points of view can be determined with great accuracy; my Figure 5, for example, is drawn from the eastern side of the Apollo temple.

[23] Hunt and Willis.

[24] *Ibid.*; Hirschfeld, v, 42.

[25] *A Ride and A Walk*, 20.

[26] Originally called the Temple of Ceres by Flitcroft (Woodbridge, 1970, 28), it was called "a temple of Flora" in 1773 (Maria Rishton [1773] in A. R. Ellis, ed., *The Early Diary of Frances Burney*, London, 1913, II, 322) and "Floras Tempel" in Piper's "General-Plan" of 1779; either Hoare changed the name himself, or he was quite indifferent to the matter—*pace* Paulson, who dates the change to "some point before 1800" and claims that it obscures "Hoare's original meaning" (p. 28).

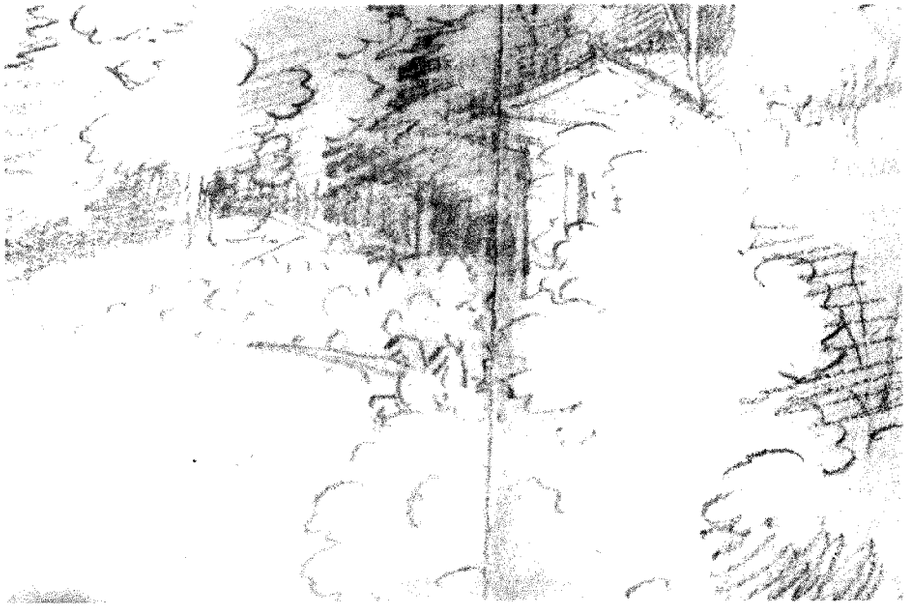
[27] This juxtaposition, like that of church and temple (see note 16 above) is condemned in the National Trust's "Draft Report" as discordant: "the two scenes, Classical and English, clashed" (p. 24).

[28] Paulson refers to "irrelevant Gothic elements" added "in the 1770s" (p. 28), though his source, Woodbridge's *Stourhead Landscape*, very clearly dates them in the 1760's. His sketch map either omits these Gothic elements or distorts them—the Rock Arch, for example, is presented as a grotto with a path going under it, whereas it is a mock ruin which leads the path over a public road (inaccessible from the grounds). The conjunction of Gothic and Classical is expressed in a drawing by Kent (Hunt and Willis, fig. 27) where the old buildings of Hampton Court are embellished by a marine statue of Neptune; the patriotic and antiquarian significance of this is enhanced by marginal quotation from Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612). I am grateful to Kenneth Woodbridge for this allusion.

[29] Piper's drawing (Woodbridge, 1970, fig. 11b) shows this clearly, though its topography is not very accurate. The left-hand side of the drawing shows the view from the Sun Temple, but on the right the alignments suggest a position nearer to the Hermitage. Hirschfeld also noted the view of Alfred's Tower from the Sun Temple.

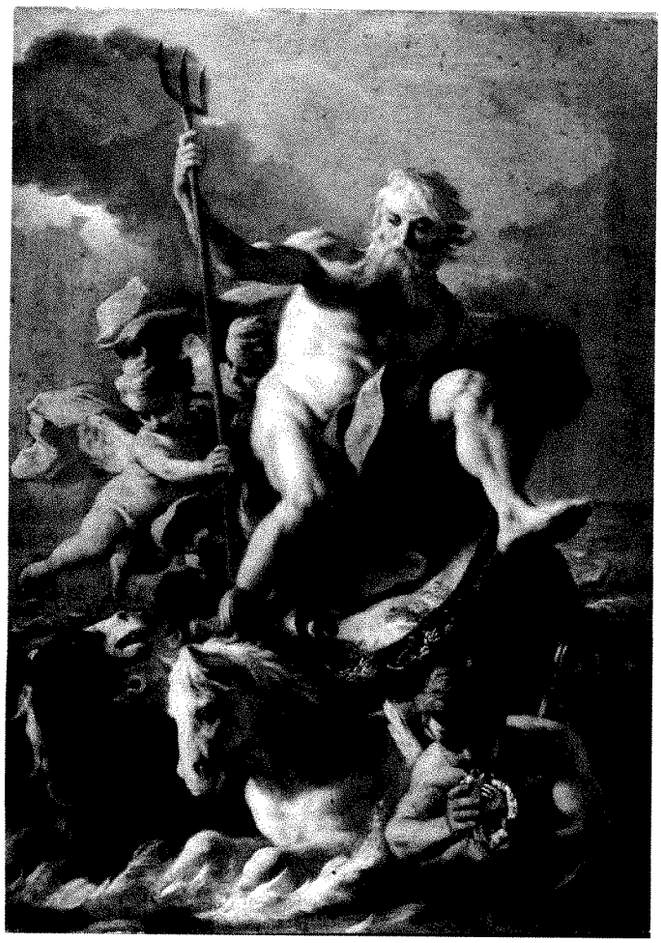
[30] Hirschfeld went *past* the wood that shrouded the Temple of Ceres ("am Rande des Gehölzes bey dem Tempel der Ceres . . . vorbey," v, 43) and visited the "Orangeriehaus" or Gothic greenhouse on his way back up the hill. The Chinese Alcove may have been intended to break this final climb as well.

4 John Cheere, *River Stour*, 1751. Stourhead Grotto (photo: author)



5 C. Bampfylde, *View of the Lake at Stourhead from the Temple of Apollo*, ca. 1770 (detail). London, Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: author)

6 Entrance to Grotto, Stourhead (photo: author)



7 Francesco de Mura, *Neptune*, 1741–42. Sold by Christie's, London, present location unknown (photo: A. C. Cooper)

in the following order:

First, over the main entrance to the Grotto (Fig. 6) is "Intus aquae dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo, Nympharum domus" (Aeneid I. 167–68). (Inside are sweet waters and seats of living rock—the house of the nymphs.) This was probably inscribed in the early 1760's.[31]

Second, on the rim of the nymph's pool in the center of the Grotto is Pope's English quatrain on the sleeping nymph, recorded in 1755.

Third, beneath the river-god were Latin verses on the River Stour, now lost, based perhaps on the notion that the river's urn was as inexhaustible as Time itself.[32] These also were recorded in 1755.

Fourth, over the door of the Temple of Ceres/Flora is "Procul, procul o este profani" (Aeneid VI.258) (Away, away ye uninitiate!) This inscription is identical in lettering with that over the Grotto's main entrance.

Fifth, over the door of Alfred's Tower is a memorial to King Alfred in English prose; it was drafted in 1762 and installed in a modified form on the completed Tower in 1772.

Each of these inscriptions is aptly chosen. The second refers to the sleeping nymph and was intended to induce a sense of calm at the heart of the Grotto. The fourth inscription, though not related to the building it adorns, is appropriate to the spot, the most secluded part of the garden, cut off by woods and fences from the circuit-walk and only glimpsed by visitors.[33] The fifth is inseparable from Alfred's Tower; both were conceived at the same moment. Of all the inscriptions, however, the first is the most apt. Hoare's Grotto has a nymph, clear fountains, and stone seats that seem carved out of rock, as Virgil described. The Grotto lies on the edge of a sheet of calm water at the foot of a thickly wooded hill, an exact counterpart to the harbor and the hanging wood described in the passage from which the first Grotto inscription is taken. A phrase from this most famous of all Classical descriptions, *silvis scaena*, provided Milton with the "Silvan Scene" of Paradise, in the same section of *Paradise Lost* that Hoare himself applied to Stourhead.[34] The whole lake-landscape is topographically far closer to Virgil's harbor than to any of the sources in Pliny or Claude put forward by modern critics: it is a long calm stretch of water between steep headlands, closed off at its mouth by another protective land mass. Sailboats rest in these waters without need of rope or anchor, as Virgil says; both scenes combine grandeur with profound and mysterious repose. Virgil's description cannot have been the source of Hoare's design, but it influenced its progress towards maturity.

What relative weight did Hoare and his contemporaries assign to these texts? The fifth was conceived and elaborated by Hoare himself, and it was the only inscription he mentioned in writing. One visitor was so impressed that she quoted it from memory days later.[35] The author of *A Ride and A Walk Through*

[31] It was probably not there in 1755, when the *London Chronicle* visit was made; Hanway described the second and third inscriptions and would surely have noted this one. The poet of *A Ride and A Walk* incorporates it into his poem ("Waters sweet and Seat of living Rock," p. 19). Walpole speaks of "Lines of Virgil" under the river-god, but we know that these lines alluded to the River Stour; I would suggest that he confused them with the Virgilian quotation, which would therefore have been in place by 1762 ("Journals of Visits to Country Seats, etc.," ed. P. Toynbee, *Walpole Society*, XVI, 1928, 43).

[32] Hanway describes the connection of these lines to the Stour, but does not quote them. Walpole suggested that they be replaced by an English couplet comparing the flow of the urn to Time, and the poet of *A Ride and A Walk* refers to "Stour's Urn which Time shall ne'er exhaust" (p. 19). Walpole's journal was not published until 1928, so the similarity must be ascribed to coincidence or to a common source in the lost inscription. Richard Colt Hoare describes a tablet with lines from Ovid placed above the river-god, but there is no evidence to link it to Hoare's lifetime (*The Hundred of Mere*, London, 1822, 66).

[33] Cf. Bampfylde's drawing (Woodbridge, 1970, fig. 10b) and Hirschfeld.

[34] Woodbridge, 1970, 30; cf. "Amphitheatre," p. 71 above.

[35] Maria Rishton; as cited in n. 26.

Stourhead gives it the greatest possible prominence, expanding it into an enthusiastic eulogy of King Alfred. In Hoare's words, this text is designed to "Crown or Top all." The second inscription is the most frequently quoted;[36] its language, position, and authorship guaranteed it prominence. The fourth, on the other hand, is never mentioned.[37] Not even Richard Colt Hoare sees fit to mention it, though he gave the Temple of Flora its present emphasis, and though he gives elaborate details of all other inscriptions. An allusion to the sixth book of the Aeneid may be intended at Stourhead, but it is as faint and nonchalant as Hoare's "facilis descensus Averno" (line 126), an amusing *ad hoc* parallel between the Zeals road underpass (a minor feature of the garden) and the descent to Hades.[38] To take the fourth inscription as a key, and to interpret the lake circuit as a sibylline voyage, is to distort the garden's sequence and emphasis; to assert that the allusions of Stourhead are "almost exclusively to Book VI [of the Aeneid]"[39] is patently wrong. A far more cogent and plausible program is provided by the *first* book of the Aeneid, the immediate context of the first inscription.

I have already shown how the topography of Stourhead matches Virgil's description. It may be objected that Virgil describes a sea, not an inland lake. Marine imagery was, however, expected in large gardens: the Bassin de Neptune at Versailles contains a sculptured fountain of the sea-god in his chariot; Stephen Switzer recommended that "*Neptune* should possess the Centre of the great body of Water" in the garden;[40] the lake of the Petit Trianon was to have its lighthouse and rocks; visitors to Stourhead in 1755 "made a coasting Voyage on the little enchanting Ocean, where we discovered several little islands."[41] Maria Rishton described the river-god at Stourhead (Fig. 4) as "Neptune reclining in his grotto;"[42] the God's hand once held a trident,[43] and the position of his legs resembles that of Neptune in his shell-chariot, when riding to quell the storm in Aeneid I (Fig. 7). The statue of "Neptune and His 4 Naggs," which Hoare "had the satisfaction of seeing . . . landed on his Pedestal before the Arch under the Dorick Temple" in December, 1765,[44] is a logical extension of the garden's imagery, and binds it even more closely to the sequence of events at the opening of the Aeneid. First, there is a catastrophic storm; then Neptune intervenes to calm the waves, skimming across the smooth water in his horse-drawn chariot. This is the subject of Hoare's statue, set (presumably with considerable effort) in the lake itself; the heads of the leading horses, "very fine and full of Spirit" as Hoare remarks,[45] can be seen emerging from behind a wooded promontory in Figure 5. Aeneas's fleet then enters the harbor.

Two of the elements in this sequence are now clearly identified—Neptune and the nymphaeum, on opposite sides of the lake, joined by a curtained viewing hole; the grotto was indeed celebrated for its "Works of Genius hinted by the Muse."[46] The third element, the storm, seems at first to have no relevance to this calm scene, but circumstantial evidence shows that this too was associated in Hoare's mind with Stourhead. Storms at sea were a common image in the literature of rural retirement, which supplied the framework of most landscape garden allusions and inscriptions.[47] The Urtext is the opening of the second book of Lucretius's *De*

[36] E.g., in the *London Chronicle*, Walpole's "Journals," *A Ride and A Walk*, Gilpin, *Observations on the Western Parts of England*, 120, and R. C. Hoare's *Hundred of Mere*, 66.

[37] The poet of *A Ride and A Walk*, always ready to elaborate on the inscriptions, was taken on a special detour to see the Temple of Flora (p. 15), but he still did not mention the line from Virgil. Kenneth Woodbridge informs me, however, that it is mentioned in 1807 by Fenton.

[38] Woodbridge, 1970, 65, where he hesitates between identifying the "Sousterrain" of Hoare's letter as the underpass or as the Grotto. There is no reason to believe it refers to the Grotto, except to "confirm the analogy with Aeneas's journey" *(ibid.)*, an analogy which barely exists. The context of Hoare's letter shows that he is thinking of the area between the village and Apollo's temple; the steps at the end of the Grotto are not serpentine but tightly coiled; and the Grotto is not build under the earth, so it cannot be called a "sousterrain"—the term Piper uses for the underpass in his "General-Plan." This "General-Plan" shows the serpentine path very clearly.

[39] Ronald Paulson, "Toward the Constable Bicentenary: Thoughts on Landscape Theory," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, x, 76–77, 245; his entire argument in *Emblem and Expression* is also based on the supposedly continuous and deliberate reference to Aeneas's journey, "begun" at the Temple of Ceres. The first inscription is demoted in a curious way; we are told in corroboration that the grotto was "originally" linked to Aeneid I by this quotation (p. 29), as if no trace of it now remained.

[40] *Ichnographia Rustica*, London, 1718, I, 313.

[41] *London Chronicle*, 578.

[42] Maria Rishton; Horace Walpole called it "Neptune-like" (see note 31 above). As Woodbridge has shown (*Burlington Magazine*, 1974), the statue is derived very closely from Rosa's *Dream of Aeneas*; it bore nevertheless a strong resemblance to Neptune.

[43] R. C. Hoare, *Hundred of Mere*, 66. Woodbridge, 1974, claims that the hand was never designed to hold anything and in fact points out the symbolic path to the Temple of Hercules. But Piper clearly shows an oar in the hand, and Colt Hoare is unlikely to have invented the trident (presumably a late allusion to the "Neptune" tradition). The statue's hand has concave grooves on the inside of its forefinger and thumb, compatible with a rod held in the position that Piper shows. The hand seems merely to point when this rod is missing.

[44] Woodbridge, 1970, 60–61.

[45] *Ibid.*, 60; he comments in a footnote that "there is no other record or trace of this statue," though verbal and visual evidence is fairly plentiful. My Figure 5, for example, is enlarged from the original of his fig. 10c (Victoria and Albert Museum, Acc. No. E. 387–1949) and the horses are visible even in his reproduction. The blurred object in the water in front of the arch in 10b (E.382–1949) also reveals, on examination, the figure of Neptune. The statue is probably still at the bottom of the lake; I have dived to a depth of six feet and found nothing, but the water is unusually deep at this point since it covers Flitcroft's original *pièce d'eau*.

[46] *A Ride and A Walk*, 17.

[47] Cf. M.-S. Røstvig, *The Happy Man*, 2nd ed., Oslo, 1969, I, 263ff. and *passim*, II, 131, and Jacob Tonson, ed., *The Fourth Part of Miscellany Poems*, London, 1716, 292 and 366.

Rerum Natura, where the philosopher is compared to one standing on a sea-cliff watching in a mood of calm detachment the storm-tossed vessels below. James Hervey applied Lucretius's lines to the pleasures of reclining in a bower and gazing at the vistas and parterres of a garden;[48] Frederick Hervey restored the metaphor to life when he inscribed the same lines on his garden temple at Downhill, on the edge of a real sea-cliff. If the troubles of the world are storms, then conversely, "a good conscience is a port which is landlock'd on every side: and where no winds can possibly invade, no tempests can arise. There a man may stand upon the shore, and not only see his own image, but that of his Maker, clearly reflected from the undisturb'd and silent waters."[49] These words could describe Stourhead. Virgil's harbor is thus associated with moral integrity, and this in turn with rural retirement; in the landscape garden these metaphors are restored to concrete reality. William Shenstone is clearly not eccentric to inscribe a seat in his grotto at the Leasowes with the same words that Hoare chose for his: "Intus aquae dulces, vivoque sedilia saxo, nympharum domus."[50]

Calm water in a private garden was usually associated, by contrast, with the storms of public immorality. Hoare himself made the association. Storms seem to have affected him intensely. He shared a taste for "Storm at Sea" paintings with his friend Bampfylde, and several times he hinted at a political or moral interpretation of them; of his own *Shipwreck of Jonah* he said, "I wish we had no storms but in that picture,"[51] and a *Naufrage* by Vernet moved him to unusual heights of utterance: "I never saw that storm without I think of those fine lines in the Pleasures of the Imagination,

> . . . Hence when lightning fires
> The arch of Heav'n and thunders rock the ground
> Then furious whirlwinds rend the howling airs
> And ocean groaning from his lowest bed
> Heaves his tempestuous billows to the sky

. . . Salvator Rosa never showd more Spirit than he has excited in that Uproar of Elemental War."[52] In the passage of Mark Akenside's *Pleasures of Imagination* from which Hoare quotes, Shakespeare is compared to a Lucretian philosopher gazing down in titanic calm at the "elemental war" which makes "the nations tremble"; his vision is contrasted with the soft and pastoral landscape of Waller.[53] The quotation was influential; Richard Graves used "Elemental war" in a poem to Bampfylde in praise of his paintings of a storm at sea,[54] and Hoare used it to describe an actual storm at Stourhead, a "Dreadfull Storm when Lightning fired the Arch of Heaven and Thunder rock'd the Ground." It passed off to the east of the house, where "We had the finest Rainbow . . . that ever mortals beheld and the round Hill and prospect appeared under it beautifull beyond description."[55] In this letter, significantly, a violent storm, associated with poetic descriptions of a storm at sea, gives way to a calm whose most moving effect is to display the landscape, a balanced composition of rounded hills and prospects, "beautifull beyond description." Considered temporally, this sequence matches the narrative of Aeneid I; translated into spatial terms, it corresponds to the central axis of Stourhead proceeding from east to west, an open landscape associated with storms, a "little enchanting Ocean" calmed and protected by Neptune and presided over by the Sun, and a "Silvan Scene" with its nymphaeum, sweet waters, and seats of living rock. The garden thus has a double structure; it is axial as well as circuitous. Visitors delight in each stage of the path, with its continually changing juxtapositions and its evocations of rustic peace or Herculean choice, as Paulson has impressively demonstrated. Certain inscriptions and images, however, remind them of a larger plan. The controlling text in this process is the first one to be encountered, the lines from the first book of the Aeneid.

Alfred's Tower, Hoare insisted, was to "Crown or Top all." It crowns the western escarpment physically, and so marks the culmination of the tour of Stourhead, but it is clear from the letters in which Hoare broached his scheme that something more was meant. He conceived Alfred's Tower in response to current conditions of political violence and uncertainty. The Seven Years War intervened between the two main periods of Stourhead's growth. Hoare's letters show that the tower

[48] James Hervey, *Reflections On a Flower-Garden,* London, 1746, 107.

[49] Dryden quoted in Røstvig, I, 237–38.

[50] Shenstone, *Works,* ed. R. Dodsley, London, II, 368; these lines are described as "the definition of a grotto."

[51] Woodbridge, 1970, 66. The painting, by Taverner after Dughet, is still at Stourhead.

[52] *Ibid.,* 63.

[53] *The Pleasures of Imagination,* London, 1744, III, ll. 547ff.

[54] Richard Graves, *Euphrosyne,* London, 1776, 128; Graves concludes, as Hoare did, by comparing Bampfylde favorably with Salvator Rosa, and by showing the close connection between marine and landscape imagery: "Hence rocks and waves a pleasing landskip form: / We're charm'd with whirlwinds, and enjoy the storm" (p. 129).

[55] Woodbridge, 1970, 63. Hoare goes on to refer to his role as "Pilot" of Lady Bruce, perhaps further evidence for the marine associations of storms in his mind.

and its inscription were a gesture of solidarity with those political forces working for peace; the earliest letter to describe the scene ends on a note of political anxiety: "It is said yesterday the Council sat on a general peace or War—nothing transpires. I hope in God it will be the former."[56] He feared the shipwreck of the state. The storm, as noted earlier, was an accepted metaphor for public violence; Virgil in that most influential of texts, Aeneid I, compares Neptune to a great patrician silencing a revolutionary mob. Political violence was on Hoare's mind continually in 1762–63, when his conception of Stourhead reached maturity. He was not a pacifist—indeed he welcomed glorious national victories—but he regarded this particular war as a social and economic menace. Great financiers like himself were threatened: "They could as soon have raised from the Devil all our Heroes that have fallen in Battle as have raised £2 millions more this year."[57] Profiteers of a lower kind thrived, however: "Such Estates have been raised out of this consuming war that contractors . . . and all that tribe of Traders do not chuse to end it but wish it eternal." Their thirst for profit was expressed as violent insubordination, "insolent Clamours and abuse of the Superior powers." This brought the war "into our Bowells."[58] Stourhead represented a place of peace, where Hoare could "gallop procul discordibus armis as the Poet says and talk of Hats and Politicks no more."[59] The garden is not, however, intended for the escapist. Alfred's Tower was meant to make the visitor conscious both of the arrangement of the landscape and of the political condition of the land. The guide expounded the view with the aid of a telescope, and reminded visitors of the figure of Neptune in the valley below;[60] the inscription, according to Hoare's plan, would meanwhile encourage the patriotic reader to draw parallels between Alfred's Britain and that of George III:

> By a determined courage and unwearied attention to the increase of our Naval Force [Alfred] protected us from Foreign Invasions and extended our Trade to the remote parts of the Globe. [Reading this inscription,] Britons will revere the Ashes of that Monarch by whose Lessons They have (under the protection of Divine Providence) subdued Their Enemys this year with invincible Force by Land and Sea, in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, stopd the Effusion of human blood and given peace and rest to the Earth.[61]

Alfred, at the far western point of the garden's axis, acts historically as Neptune does mythically: he quells violence, "gives peace and rest to the Earth," and protects the good land. The twin guardians of the estate are representatives of two elements that had already been embodied in the Elysian Fields at Stowe, Ancient Virtue and the British Worthies. The interweaving of the Gothic and Classical modes is thus brought to a significant conclusion.

It would be a mistake to regard Stourhead as an embodiment of simple retirement and retreat from the world of politics and finance. Hoare was an active businessman; the pleasures of Stourhead "are the fruits of industry and application to Business and shows what great things may be done by it, the envy of the indolent." They are won by "perseverance in well-doing and constant cautious watchfulness over the main Chance. Without it proud Versailles thy Glory falls and Nero's terrasses dessert their walls."[62] Hoare seems to misapply Pope's *Epistle to Burlington* deliberately, flouting the sacred text of "indolent" philosophical landscape designers. Stourhead embodies Hoare's values, and invites the visitor to use "application," "perseverance," and "constant watchfulness" to uncover its political program.

Hoare grew to conceive Stourhead as a refuge from political catastrophe. He "had formed a Beautiful Place," but "had seen for some time past the Progress of this Nations Ruin, and could not tell how soon it might happen"; he therefore left the house to his grandson on condition that he did not enter banking, securing him "an estate of £6,000 p.a., with a Fine House and Place, let any Public Calamity Happen."[63] This does not represent a disillusionment with the political program embodied in Stourhead, but a confirmation of its power to withstand disaster. Hoare believed in a world order based on peace, patriotism, virtue, social heirarchy, naval supremacy, and a powerful monarch; in the decades of the American war and the Gordon riots he could find this world only at Stourhead.

University of Virginia

[56] *Ibid.*, 53.

[57] *Ibid.*, 56.

[58] *Ibid.*, 54.

[59] *Ibid.*, 57.

[60] Hirschfeld mentions the telescope; C. L. Powys gives a garbled account of the guide's narration in 1776: "One [vista from the Tower] looks down an immense valley, where is the head of the river Stour. It rises in six different springs at a piece of rockwork where the figure of Neptune is striking, and the river gushing out" (*Passages from the Diaries*, 170).

[61] Woodbridge, 1970, 55. *A Ride and A Walk* is heavily laced with political comment (e.g., pp. 2, 5, 16), perhaps reflecting Hoare's known preoccupations.

[62] Woodbridge, 1970, 42.

[63] *Ibid.*, 69.

Washington Allston's *Dead Man Revived**

Elizabeth Johns

Washington Allston's *Dead Man Revived by Touching the Bones of the Prophet Elisha,* 1811–14 (Fig. 1), has long been neglected for a number of reasons. It was executed in England fairly early in Allston's career and apparently was only rarely discussed by Allston himself. Indeed, most critical attention has been given to Allston's uncompleted *Belshazzar's Feast,* 1817–1843 (Detroit Institute of Arts). The latter painting has aroused interest because it testifies to Allston's "romantic" temperament and to the unsympathetic environment he found for history painting in America.[1] It is the *Dead Man Revived,*[2] however, that is crucial for Allston's entire later career, for his approach to painting and his aesthetic theories.[3] In the scope of its ambition, the *Dead Man Revived* stands as one of the few significant history paintings by an American.

Many assumptions have been made about the situation of history painting in England during the years when Allston, Samuel F. B. Morse, and C. R. Leslie were in London and when Benjamin West was completing his presidency of the Royal Academy. A close examination of the milieu these artists actually experienced and one that explains the paths their careers took, has not yet been undertaken. A study of Allston's *Dead Man Revived* tells us not only about Allston but about England in 1811–18. It points to trends in English history painting and patronage during the complex period when the influence of Reynolds was waning, English collectors were buying large numbers of Old Master paintings, and the controversy was raging about the Elgin marbles. Furthermore, an examination of the circumstances of Allston's exhibition of his painting in 1814, its prize from the British Institution, and its ultimate purchase by the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1816 reveals why he left England. Study of Allston's long period of work on the painting shows that the characteristics of his temperament that have been attributed to the American milieu to which he returned in 1818 were in fact already apparent early in his career. Most important, although Allston's achievement seems today to lie in the landscapes and ideal figure subjects painted later in his career, his response to historical tradition was highly intelligent in this early painting, and it is a work that enables us to evaluate his success in the branch of art with which he always identified himself.

Allston's period of study before he launched his career with the *Dead Man Revived* included a variety of experiences which can be summarized briefly. From the time of his graduation from Harvard in 1800 until he began the painting in 1811, he worked to achieve the skills and culture necessary for history painting. During his studies at the Royal Academy in London from 1801 to 1803, his visit to Paris in 1803–04, and his years in Rome from 1805 to 1808,[4] he enlarged his capabilities, and his associates warmly encouraged him in his ultimate goal of becoming a history painter. In Rome he began his first large history painting, *Jason Returning to Demand His Father's Kingdom,* 1807–08 (Lowe Art Museum, Coral Gables), which he apparently saw as the culmination of his studies. He left it unfinished, however, when he departed Italy before the arrival of Napoleon's armies.

Allston spent the years 1808–1811 in Boston. In 1809 he married Ann Channing, who had been his fiancée through his seven years of study. Because he had a limited patrimony, Allston's marriage after a delay of many years seems to point to the conviction also implicit in his *Jason:* he must have felt by 1809 that his apprentice-

N.B. A bibliography of frequently cited sources follows the footnotes.

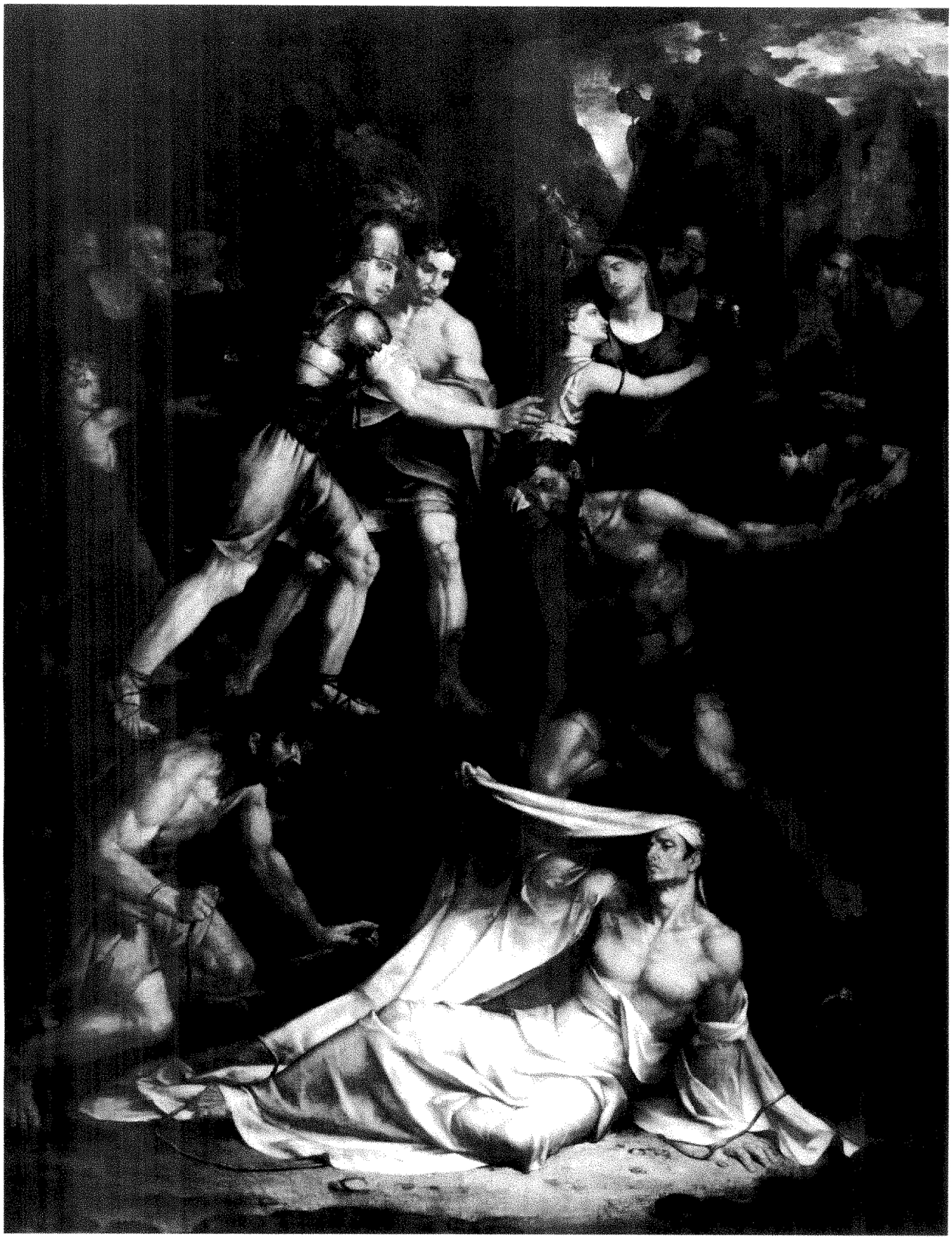
* A grant from the General Research Board of the University of Maryland assisted me in my research for this article. I wish to express my appreciation to the Board for their support.

[1] See esp. W. H. Gerdts, "Allston's *Belshazzar's Feast,*" *Art in America,* LXI, March, 1973, 59–66, and "*Belshazzar's Feast* II: That Is His Shroud," *Art in America,* LXI, May, 1973, 58–65. Without exception, surveys of American art discuss Allston's dilemma in *Belshazzar's Feast,* but their reference to the *Dead Man Revived,* if at all, is brief and usually in the context of the purported "Gothick horror" of its subject.

[2] Richardson gives the fullest treatment of the painting thus far on pp. 103–07. All pages cited from Richardson refer to the Apollo edition.

[3] Since his aesthetic theories were written in lecture form in the 1830's during Allston's years of little artistic production, they have previously been seen as his retreat from the world of painting; actually, they took early shape in his mind through his association with S. T. Coleridge in Rome in 1806, and some found written expression in poetry that Allston published in 1813 in London, *Sylphs of the Seasons.* See E. Johns, "Washington Allston: Method, Imagination, and Reality," *Winterthur Portfolio,* XII, 1977, 1–18. The lectures were published in Boston in 1850 as *Lectures on Art and Poems,* ed. Richard H. Dana, Jr.

[4] Aspects of Allston's years in Rome are studied in detail in W. H. Gerdts, "Washington Allston and the German Romantic Classicists in Rome," *Art Quarterly,* XXXII, 2, 1969, 166–196.



1 Washington Allston, *The Dead Man Revived by Touching the Bones of the Prophet Elisha*, 156 x 120". Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (photo: Academy)

ship was behind him and that, in the right environment, he would be able to earn at least a modest living. After a three-year period during which his ambitions as a history painter received no encouragement from Boston patrons—his undertakings were restricted to landscapes and portraits—he sailed for England to establish himself in what he felt certain would be a receptive environment.[5]

Soon after his arrival in London in August, 1811, Allston began to paint the *Dead Man Revived.* At this critical time of his life, Allston made decisions about the subject, sources, composition, painting technique, and place of exhibition that he felt would give his new career the most attractive beginning. In many of these choices and in his working methods on the *Dead Man Revived,* Allston combined approaches that he had learned in London, Paris, and Rome, but that he believed would be fully appreciated in an English context. In doing so, Allston was moving away from his training as a Neoclassicist to embrace the potential of the "organic" aesthetic to which Coleridge had introduced him in Rome in 1806. (In his aesthetic theories Coleridge defined the essence of man's imaginative act as origination rather than reflection; regardless of the specific sources of the creative act, according to Coleridge, the very process of the artist's thought transformed their meaning.)

Allston's choice of a scriptural subject for the *Dead Man Revived* was made after several years during which classical and literary themes had dominated his narrative interests.[6] In turning to a biblical text in 1811, Allston appraised several influences current in history painting in England: the respect given to religious themes, the patronage policies of the British Institution to encourage modern masters, and the continuing popularity of the aesthetic of the sublime.

For those who shaped English taste during this period, history painting with a religious subject was in the purest tradition of the Old Masters. As early as 1771 Sir Joshua Reynolds had advised students—and readers of his *Discourses*—to paint scriptural subjects because they were so familiar to spectators.[7] Throughout the next four decades many artists chose scriptural themes for their Diploma piece on election to the Royal Academy.[8] The first scriptural Diploma work was Copley's *Tribute Money* of 1782, and thereafter even portrait and genre specialists such as J. F. Rigaud and Edward Bird submitted history paintings with a scriptural text.[9] From 1810 these works were on view in the Council Room of the Royal Academy and were remarkable in their cumulative impact.[10] The large number of Renaissance and Baroque paintings with religious subjects entering British collections in the aftermath of the French Revolution also heightened the English interest in religious subjects. Nationalistic arbiters of taste, like the Marquis of Stafford, Sir George Beaumont, and John Julius Angerstein, hoped for the rise of a British school of history painting that would continue, and perhaps actually rival, this tradition.

To foster this development, the most influential patrons and connoisseurs of London chartered the British Institution in 1805. With the avowed purpose of encouraging British artists, the Institution planned annual exhibitions[11] where artists could sell their works, and it provided temporary exhibition space for Old Master paintings lent by private collectors so that young artists would have them accessible for study. Soon the Directors of the Institution began to offer prizes for history paintings (and later landscapes), and they announced their intentions to make direct purchases of outstanding works by British artists. With this last step they hoped to help bring into being a national collection, a dream that had been cherished by artists and patrons as early as the founding of the Academy in 1768.[12] The potential role of the Directors of the British Institution as patrons went considerably beyond that of the Academy. The Academy offered prizes only to students, not to established artists;

[5] Bostonians apparently recognized the barrenness of their patronage. In August of 1810 the Bostonian Anna Cabot Lowell wrote Mrs. Anne Grant in Scotland that "as we have few or no purchasers for such pictures as his [Allston's] he will soon go to England, where I hope the sunshine of patronage may await his labors." *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings,* XVIII, 2nd ser., 1904, 314. Quoted in Richardson, 96.

[6] Paintings in addition to the *Jason* are *Cupid Playing with the Helmet of Mars,* 1804 (Vassar College Art Gallery); *Dido and Anna,* 1805–08, two paintings (Lowe Art Museum, Coral Gables); *Casket Scene,* 1807 (Boston Athenaeum); *Falstaff Playing the Part of the King,* 1806–08 (now lost); *Falstaff Enlisting His Ragged Regulars,* 1808 (Wadsworth Atheneum); and *Cupid and Psyche,* 1808 (now lost).

[7] Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art,* London, 1966, 56. Allston took Reynolds's attitude as his own in 1816 in discussing a projected history painting with his friend in Philadelphia, James McMurtrie. Allston to McMurtrie, June 13, 1816, in William Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the U.S.* (1834), New York, 1969, II, i, 178.

[8] G. Reynolds, "British Paintings from the Foundation to 1837," *Apollo,* LXXXVIX, January, 1969, 32–39.

[9] G. Reynolds, *Apollo,* 1969, 34, 35.

[10] *Ibid.,* 32, quoting S. C. Hutchison, *Treasures of the Royal Academy,* London, 1963, vii.

[11] The British Institution exhibitions ran from late January or early February to some time in April so as not to conflict with the annual exhibition of the Academy held in May and June.

[12] Although Reynolds in his first Discourse spoke hopefully of the Academy as a "repository for the great examples of the Art" (*Discourses,* 20), the National Gallery was not established until 1824. Information about the founding and early objectives of the British Institution can be found in Sandby, 272–73, 278–280; Gregory Martin, "Birth of the British Institution," *Country Life,* CLI, January 27, 1972, 186–188; and R. C. Hoare, "On the Conduct of the Directors of the British Institution," *Annals of the Fine Arts,* II, 1817, 1–19. The Institution passed out of existence in 1867.

exhibitors were not helped to sell their works,[13] and there were no funds to purchase works for a permanent collection. Thus Allston's hopes for institutional as well as individual patronage logically were tied to the British Institution and its Directors.

A factor that strongly influenced the patronage of the British Institution was the lack of paintings in English churches and public buildings. This phenomenon had severely troubled artists and patrons since Reynolds's early encouragement of their hopes for a school of English history painting and the aborted plan to ornament St. Paul's with scriptural paintings in 1773.[14] Early in the history of the British Institution it was agreed that the decoration of churches with scriptural paintings and of public buildings with paintings from English history would be a logical outgrowth of the Directors' patronage. The influential dramatic writer and artist Prince Hoare advocated public patronage for works to decorate churches as well as government buildings in his *Inquiry into the Requisite Cultivation of the Arts of Design in England* of 1806, and he made another, more strongly stated plea in his *Epochs of the Arts*, 1813.[15] The editor of the *Examiner* consistently supported such hopes, as exemplified by his statement of 1808: "St. Stephen's, Walbrook, is the only sacred building in London containing a grand picture by a British artist, while none should be without one. The Arts cannot be employed to a more noble purpose than in the Divine service, in heightening the fervour of devotion by displaying those beautiful incidents in the Gospel which animate from the Saviour's example to the practice of every virtue that renders man happy in himself and valuable to society."[16] The *Examiner* tied such hopes for patronage to the British Institution in their "New Plan for the Promotion of Historical Painting" published at the opening of the British Institution exhibition of 1813. The journal proposed that the Directors guarantee a continuing exhibition of the paintings purchased from modern artists by presenting them to churches and "other public edifices."[17] In their preface to the catalogue of the British Institution exhibition of 1814, the Directors themselves argued the case: "The admission of proper scriptural subjects into our churches would surely, while it promoted the art, advance the purposes of religion."[18] A very limited patronage for altarpieces had in fact existed from the late eighteenth century, but most of it came from churches outside of London, where the fear of "Popery" was less an issue, and most of it was for paintings by West. His *Saint Paul Shaking Off the Viper* for Greenwich Chapel in 1787 (now in the Tate Gallery) and the *Raising of Lazarus* for Winchester Cathedral in 1780 (now in the Wadsworth Atheneum) were among these commissions.

From 1807 until after Allston left England, paintings entered in the history premium competitions of the British Institution and those which received the most critical notice in the journals and newspapers were predominantly of religious subjects.[19] In the years before Allston committed himself to a subject in 1811, paintings that caused much comment included *Saint Peter* by Martin Archer Shee and *Christ Appearing to Mary* by Richard Westall in 1807;[20] William Hilton's *Judgment of Solomon* and Samuel Drummond's *Pharoah's Daughter Pleading for Moses* in 1808;[21] the *Woman with an Issue of Blood* by J. S. Agar and *Samson Breaking His Bonds* by G. F. Joseph in 1810;[22] the *Tribute Money* by J. S. Agar and the *Entombing of Christ* by William Hilton in 1811.[23] In some years this pattern had been reinforced at the Academy exhibitions. Landscape and portraiture were in the majority,[24] but the works that were noticed first in the press tended to have a scriptural subject: J. B. Lane's *Altar Piece*, Richard Westall's *Holy Family*, and William Hilton's *Good Samaritan* in 1808;[25] Henry Howard's *Christ Blessing Little Children* in 1809;[26] and J. B. Lane's *Christ Derided* and Benjamin West's *Lot and His Daughter Conducted by Two Angels* in 1811.[27]

[13] Between 1811 and 1814 the Academy attempted unsuccessfully to imitate the British Institution in providing this service to artists. Whitley, 290.

[14] Reynolds' wry explanation for the absence of religious painting in Protestant countries can be found in his *Tour to Flanders and the Low Countries*, London, 1801, II, 338–340. G. F. Waagen lamented the English attitude toward religious art in churches in *Art and Artists In England*, London, 1838, III, 28–32. For a discussion of the St. Paul's project, see Sandby, 145–48.

[15] *Inquiry*, 10; *Epochs of the Arts*, 252 and Pt. III, chap. 2.

[16] The painting in St. Stephen's, Walbrook was West's *Stoning of Saint Stephen*. *Examiner*, January 10, 1808, 29. Another supportive article was published in the *Examiner* on May 1, 1808, 285.

[17] *Examiner*, January 31, 1813, 72.

[18] "Preface to the Exhibition in the Year 1814," in *An Account of All the Pictures Exhibited in the Rooms of the British Institution from 1813 to 1823, Belonging to the Nobility and Gentry of England*, London, 1824. The "Preface" was not written for the late winter-early spring exhibition of modern artists but for the second Old Masters exhibition undertaken by the British Institution and held in the summer months. The Old Masters exhibition of 1814 featured the work of Gainsborough, Wilson, Hogarth, and Zoffany; the first, that of 1813, had been devoted to the work of Reynolds.

[19] The year 1816 is an exception, when the Directors specified that the subject for the competition was Waterloo.

[20] Whitley, 117.

[21] For Hilton, see *Examiner*, March 13, 1808, 174; for Drummond, see *Examiner*, February 24, 1808, 110.

[22] For Agar, see *Examiner*, March 18, 1810, 175; for Joseph, *Examiner*, April 1, 1810, 208.

[23] On Agar, see *Examiner*, March 13, 1811, 141, and *Repository of the Arts*, March, 1811, 159; on Hilton, whose painting won the first premium, see *Examiner*, February 17, 1811, 107, *Examiner*, June 23, 1811, 395, and *Repository of the Arts*, March, 1811, 156.

[24] From its inception portraits were excluded from the British Institution exhibitions.

[25] For Lane, see *Examiner*, May 15, 1808, 316; for Westall, *Examiner*, May 29, 1808, 347; and for Hilton, *Examiner*, June 12, 1808, 380.

[26] *Repository of the Arts*, June, 1809, 486.

[27] For Lane, see *Examiner*, May 12, 1811, 300; for West, *Examiner*, May 12, 1811, 300.

The most promising evidence of the Directors' intentions to foster scriptural painting was their purchase, a few months before Allston's return to London, of Benjamin West's *Christ Healing the Sick* (Fig. 2). West had just finished the work and was exhibiting it independently. It was lavishly praised; the consensus was that the painting belonged in the company of "the Communion of St. Jerome by Domenichino, the Crucifixion of Poussin, and other celebrated works of the same scale."[28] The Directors paid West the enormous sum of 3,000 guineas for the painting and, simultaneously, commissioned an engraving of it. They announced that the purchase was the first step in the formation of a national collection of modern and Old Masters.[29]

Allston recognized the respect given scriptural subjects in England and the potential patronage for them. He was particularly interested in themes of reanimation, themes that were indeed popular in London. Such subjects had been popular since the mid-eighteenth century. Two of the four subjects proposed for the St. Paul's decoration embodied it: the Raising of Lazarus and Christ Raising the Widow's Son.[30] West had painted several variations of it, including *Elisha Raising the Shunamite's Son*, 1766 (J. B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Kentucky), the *Raising of Lazarus* in versions of 1776 (Swarthmore College) and 1780 (Wadsworth Atheneum), and *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, 1777 (Tate Gallery). In his most recent popular painting, *Christ Healing the Sick* (Fig. 2), West had emphasized a type of resurrection, the moment of transformation from disease to health. In this subject as in the others, he drew on the associations such themes had with the most dramatic works of the Old Masters, such as the *Raising of Lazarus* by Sebastiano del Piombo (Fig. 3). In 1798 the banker and collector John Julius Angerstein had acquired Sebastiano's painting for 7,000 guineas from the Orleans estate, a purchase that created awe owing to the size of both the price and the painting. Angerstein made his collection accessible, so the painting and its subject continued to dominate the consciousness of artists and patrons well into the nineteenth century.[31] Paintings with a theme of resurrection appeared regularly both at the British Institution and at the Academy, the most popular subject being the Raising of Lazarus.[32]

The appeal of the resurrection theme was related to the popular aesthetic tradition of the sublime, a tradition to which Allston had been sympathetic from his earliest student years. First defined by Edmund Burke in his essay of 1756[33] as the effect of awe induced by an experience illustrating the intrusion of mysterious forces into a rational flow of events, the sublime was important in British academic theory from Reynolds to West. The idea of the sublime was basic to the appearance of many paintings by the older generation of West, Fuseli, and Barry, and by the younger generation of history painters who are nearly unknown today but who exhibited in the Academy and the British Institution in the first two decades of the century.[34] Sebastiano's painting appealed to the taste for the sublime; West's *Christ Healing the Sick* aroused the same sensibility.

Allston could hope that his choice of a scriptural source and a resurrection theme for his painting would attract a patron. He chose a specific text that was also appropriate to the inception of an artist's career,[35] although his choice was inspired by events of his past rather than the immediate situation in London. In fact, the Dead Man Revived is one of the few subjects Allston painted that was not common in the English repertory of history painting themes. The reviewers in the *London Morning Chronicle* and *New Monthly Magazine* remarked in their appraisals of the British Institution exhibition in 1814 that Allston's was an original—even an obscure—subject.[36] Actually, the possibility is strong that the subject came to Allston's attention

[28] Whitley, 189.

[29] Farington, VI, 248, March 15, 1811.

[30] Sandby, 146.

[31] Christopher Lloyd, "John Julius Angerstein," *History Today*, XVI, June, 1966, 373–79, studies Angerstein as a businessman and collector.

[32] At the British Institution, the *Raising of Lazarus* by S. Drummond, 1813, William Hilton, 1817, and Joseph Barney, 1819; *Elijah Restoring to Life the Widow's Son*, Richard Westall, 1813; *Christ Raising the Widow's Son at Nain*, William Brockedon, 1818; *Eutychus Restored to Life by Saint Paul*, J. B. Lane, 1814; and Allston's own subject exhibited by William Findlater in 1814 as *Revival of an Israelite in the Sepulchre of Elisha*. The Drummond, Hilton, and Lane paintings were each exhibited one year earlier at the Academy. See Algerson Graves, *The British Institution 1806–1867*, London, 1908; and *idem*, *The Royal Academy of Arts*, 8 vols., London, 1905–06.

[33] *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, London, 1756.

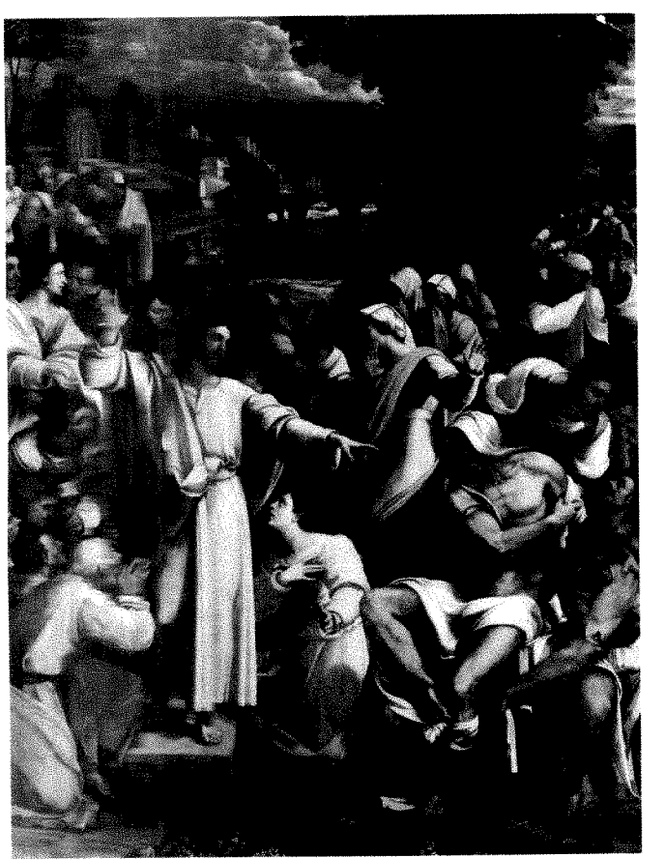
[34] Many of these names appear in this essay; the industry of these artists, and of others who are mentioned frequently in newspaper accounts of the period, is attested by the exhibition records compiled by Graves. In 1816 the *Annals of the Fine Arts* (I, 421–436) listed the following artists as the principal history painters in London: W. Allan, W. Allston, J. Barney, W. Brockedon, R. Cook, S. Drummond, W. Findlater, H. Fuseli, B. Haydon, W. Hilton, H. Howard, Miss H. A. E. Jackson, S. Lane, A. Perigal, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Benjamin West, J. Lonsdale.

[35] The text is II Kings, 13:20–21: "And the bands of the Moabites invaded the land at the coming in of the year. And it came to pass as they were burying a man, that behold, they spied a band of men, and they cast the man into the Sepulchre of Elisha: and when the man was let down, and touched the bones of Elisha, he revived" (King James version).

[36] *London Morning Chronicle*, February 6, 1814; *New Monthly Magazine*, April 1, 1814, 279. The *New Monthly Magazine* commented, "With a subject not the most promising, or even intelligible without a written commentary, he has produced a picture of extraordinary merits." As indicated in note 32 above, W. Findlater exhibited a painting with this subject in the exhibition of 1814. I suspect that he got the idea from Allston, and during Allston's delay with his own painting (discussed below, in the text) he had time to finish a work for the same exhibition.

2 West, *Christ Healing the Sick*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Hospital

4 Taillasson, *Tomb of Elisha*, engraving by P. Lacour (from *Le Journal du Musée d'Aquitaine*, I, 1823, 265)



3 Sebastiano del Piombo, *Raising of Lazarus*. London, National Gallery

through his association during 1805–08 with French artists studying in Rome. He may have chosen the theme for his debut because of its significance in that Italian setting as well as in response to the prevailing taste in London in 1811 for the sublime and for themes of resurrection.

The subject of Allston's painting had been offered in 1749 by the French Academy school for the painting prize, and again in 1783 for the sculpture prize.[39] The theme of revival and Elisha had also appeared in the competition in 1757 with the subject Elisha Raising the Shunamite's Son.[38] Such competition subjects frequently served as a source of unusual themes for reception pieces, as did the Dead Man Revived for the young historical painter Jean-Joseph Taillasson (1747–1809), a student at the French Academy in Rome from 1772 to 1775. In 1774, while in Rome, Taillasson painted the *Tomb of Elisha* (1.31 x 1.59m, Museum of Blaye) to send to the Academy of Arts of Bordeaux as a reception piece;[39] the painting was engraved by Taillasson's friend and fellow student in Rome, Pierre Lacour (1745–1814) (Fig. 4).[40] Allston may well have seen the engraving while he was in Rome; conceivably he even met Taillasson in Paris during 1803–04 or at least saw some of his work. The American had at least an indirect relationship with

[37] A. Duvivier, "Liste des élèves de l'ancien école academique et de l'École des Beaux-Arts qui ont remporté les grands prix," *Archives de l'art français*, Paris, 1857–58, V, 295, 305.

[38] *Ibid.*, 297. This subject was painted in England by Benjamin West in 1766.

[39] See Abbé J.-L. Charles, "Un Peintre Blayais, Jean-Joseph Taillasson (1745–1809)," *Revue historique de Bordeaux*, XIV, 1921, 129–144, 208–222, for an account of Taillasson's career; on this specific painting, see "Le Tombeau d'Élysée, d'après le tableau de J. J. Taillasson," *Le Journal du Musée d'Aquitaine*, I, 1823, 265–68.

[40] The engraving was later published in *Le Journal du Musée d'Aquitaine*, 1823, I, opp. 265.

Taillasson, and he could have heard the subject and this particular work discussed, through John Vanderlyn, whose teacher, Françoise-André Vincent, and Taillasson had studied with Joseph-Marie Vien at the same time.[41] Another close connection was Allston's association in Rome with Gottlieb Schick, who had studied with David, also a pupil of Vien, from 1798 to 1802.[42] After he left Rome, Allston continued to be interested in the work and ideas of his French associates, as is attested by the references to mutual French friends in his correspondence with Vanderlyn in 1813, 1814, and 1815.[43]

Whether he saw the engraving or merely heard references to the subject, Allston made a design, to be discussed below, considerably more complex than that of Taillasson, for his references to visual precedents called for a different organization. But the weight of the associations in this French subject, associations with competitions as well as with a reception piece, would have made it a particularly meaningful choice for Allston at this crucial time in his career. For his English audience, too, Allston's choice was promising: a subject that combined a fresh, unusual text with the familiar associations of a popular theme.

Influenced by his English training as well as by his relationships with French artists in Rome, Allston naturally turned to Raphael for the principles of dramatic expression for his projected history painting. Students and experienced artists working at the Royal Academy had been explicitly encouraged to imitate Raphael's techniques of dramatic expression by the Academy's display after 1800 of Sir James Thornhill's copies of the cartoons at Hampton Court.[44] Students drew from the cartoons and lecturers at the Academy referred to them for illustrations of their talks; as a matter of course the excellence or failure of history paintings currently being exhibited in London was judged by the artist's reference to Raphael. The most frequently discussed contemporary examples of the fulfillment of Raphael's principles during the years Allston worked on the *Dead Man Revived* were West's *Christ Healing the Sick* (Fig. 2), still the current topic of conversation when Allston arrived in August, and his *Christ Rejected by the Jews*, 1814 (Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts), which was worked on throughout the years 1811–14 to continuing comment by visitors to West's studio.[45]

Much as Raphael was on his mind, however, Allston was catalyzed in developing his design by the *Illyssus* of the Parthenon sculptures (Figs. 5, 6). These sculptures, brought to England by Lord Elgin, had first been seen by English artists in 1807 or 1808,[46] and within the next two years the artists Benjamin West and Benjamin R. Haydon were among those who were enthusiastically drawing from the carvings. The two painters played major roles in bringing the beauty of the sculptures to public attention, although they as other artists were somewhat clumsy in trying to adjust their devotion for later antique sculpture to what they saw before them in the Parthenon fragments.[47] The authenticity and value of the marbles were questioned publicly by such influential taste-makers as Richard Payne Knight,[48] and the controversy over whether the government should purchase them was not resolved until 1816, after the influential testimony in their favor by Ennio Visconti and Canova in 1814 and 1815. Thus artists in 1810 and 1811 who praised the sculptures as powerfully naturalistic challenged not only the English academic allegiance to the idealism of later antique figures but the current conservatism of educated taste.

The artists West and Haydon, both of whom influenced Allston strongly,[49] interpreted the value of the sculptures in different terms. West, resistant to the pervasive influence of Reynolds's advocacy of colorism and indirect painting techniques, held to Neoclassical principles in his emphasis on contour.[50] He identified the sculptures as illustrating the academic ideal of the union of "appropriateness of character" with "correctness of outline."[51] Having thoroughly assimilated these concepts into his aesthetic by 1811, West not only claimed to fellow-artists that his sensational painting of

[41] Allston and Vanderlyn were in Rome together in 1807 and 1808.

[42] Richardson, 58.

[43] Cited in Gerdts, *Art Quarterly*, 1969, 177.

[44] Whitley, 14.

[45] Allston and Morse saw West's sketch for *Christ Rejected* in August, 1811. Morse, 44. In contrast to West's claim that he used Raphael's principles to build his own design, Haydon relied directly on the design of Raphael's *Blinding of Elymas* for his painting, the *Judgement of Solomon*, which he worked on from 1812 until its highly praised exhibition in the summer of 1814 concurrent with West's *Christ Rejected*. See F. Cummings, "Poussin, Haydon, and the *Judgement of Solomon*," *Burlington Magazine*, April, 1962, 141–152.

[46] William St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, London, 1967, 166, claims June, 1807; Whitley, 259, states 1808.

[47] See R. W. Liscombe, "The Commencement of Real Art," *Apollo*, CIII, January, 1976, 34–39, for a discussion of the failures of many of the sculptors and painters until nearly mid-century to break away from their academic idealism.

[48] For a full discussion of the controversy and the part Knight played in it, see St. Clair, *Lord Elgin*, *passim*.

[49] Allston wrote J. McMurtrie that on leaving England in 1818 he considered Haydon, and "still do, as ranking among the very first of living artists"; May 27, 1831, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Coleridge wrote Allston on June 13, 1823 that "one of the very few disagreements in matters of taste between you and me was our appreciation of his [Haydon's] genius"; Dana, 25–26. Haydon did not refer to Allston in his journals or autobiography but wrote very highly of his talents in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, III, 1818, 514–15; IV, 1819, 302; and IV, 1819, 314.

[50] Reynolds, however, also held a firm allegiance to the power of outline, as in his advice to students that a "firm and determined outline is one of the characteristics of the great style in painting"; *Discourses*, 52.

[51] John Galt, *The Life, Studies, and Works of Benjamin West*, 2 vols., London, 1820, II, 148.

that year, *Christ Healing the Sick* (Fig. 2), exemplified the passions found in the Elgin marbles[52] (as well as the outlines of Raphael, of course), but also mentioned the sculptures extensively in his Academy discourse on December 10. In this lecture West campaigned for the acceptance of the marbles into the academic canon: as sculpture he ranked them in quality with the "Hercules Apollo, Venus, Laocoön, and the Gladiator"; and as models for the artist who would unite character and outline in painting, West placed them in the category with the greatest sources of inspiration for English history painters, which included Raphael's *Paul Preaching at Athens*, the *Death of Ananias*, and the *Transfiguration*.[53]

Haydon, with his strong interest in drawing and form, as opposed to the outline that so dominated West's thinking, saw the sculptures as instructive in the most profound principles of anatomy. He published extensively from 1811 advocating their value, and offered what was probably the most influential argument for their excellence during the hearings of the Select Committee of the Parliament in 1816.[54] Creating something of a stir in making early casts of the sculptures,[55] Haydon later used drawing from them as an important part of the course of study in the school he established in 1815.[56] His obsession as a history painter was to use naturalistic anatomy rather than the academic repertory of gestures to convey emotion, and he claimed that his painting, the *Assassination of Dentatus*, 1809 (Marquess of Normandy Mulgrave Castle, Whitby), was the very first picture to exemplify this principle as found in the marbles.[57]

West's interest in the sculptures was an extension of the Neoclassical emphasis on significant gesture, and Haydon's was a repudiation of academic idealization; both of these approaches were integral to Allston's practice in the *Dead Man Revived*. Allston's deepest fascination with the sculptures, however, seems to have been with their fragmentary condition. He had been drawn to the marbles as soon as he resettled in London in 1811, for Morse, who was under Allston's tutelage, tells in his letter of September 17 to his parents of having already visited the sculptures.[58] The close association of Morse, Allston, and West during that autumn[59] would have given Allston ample exposure to West's excitement about the marbles before West expressed it to the Academy audience in his December lecture, as well as the opportunity to develop his own assessment of the marbles' significance.

In the context of the frequent academic reference to the Belvedere Torso which had inspired Michelangelo, Allston's own discovery in 1811 of the two torsos, *Illyssus* (Fig. 5) and *Dionysus* (Fig. 8), thus far "unused" in such a creative process, was propitious. Undoubtedly a topic of conversation during Allston's early acquaintance with the sculptures was the controversy (which erupted in print a few years later) over the *Illyssus*, the torso that was most closely Allston's source for the reviving man (see Fig. 6). In his pamphlet of 1816,[60] Visconti ascribed incipient, rapid movement to the figure, stating that the tension of the skin indicated internal actions of the muscles; Haydon, on the other hand, relying on the evidence of the thighs and abdomen, felt that the figure was in "the *most complete repose*" (Haydon's italics), and wrote several pages of detailed anatomical analysis to support his position.[61] Thus Allston's sense that the torso implied slow but inevitable upward movement—and therefore was ideal for his subject—was a response to the sculpture that penetrated considerably beyond that of at least two of his contemporaries and is in fact the sensibility with which we view the work today. His recognition of the implications of the torso is responsible for the most significant difference between his and Taillasson's designs, Allston's rendering of the figure of the reviving man as fully visible. The double implications of Allston's use of the marble undoubtedly reflect his philosophical bent: the cold stone of the sculpture paralleled the condition of the body of the central figure, and the fragment was restored to wholeness in his painting and transformed into a unified conception. Both the sculpture and the dead man were quickened, one imaginatively, the other miraculously, from inertness into life.

Once his subject and major source were locked into place, Allston gave great importance to the method of creation of this painting which he hoped would be so influential for his career. First, the large scale announced the ambition of the project. C. R. Leslie, who wrote to R. H. Dana in 1844 that Allston "took unusual pains" with his preparation for the work, reported that he painted a small sketch "which he carried much beyond a sketch," modeled in small size in clay the prin-

[52] Haydon, 181; G. Evans, *Benjamin West and the Taste of His Times*, Carbondale, 1959, 125, n. 17.

[53] Galt, II, 151, 176.

[54] Haydon, 143, tells of the first essay he presented to Leigh Hunt for the *Examiner*; St. Clair, *Lord Elgin*, 257, discusses the impact of Haydon's open letter of 1816.

[55] Haydon, 242.

[56] F. Cummings, "B. R. Haydon and His School," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVI, 1963, 367–380.

[57] Haydon, 104. See F. Cummings, "Nature and the Antique in B. R. Haydon's *Assassination of Dentatus*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXV, 1962, 147–157.

[58] Morse, 47.

[59] Although no letters from Allston during this period have been found, Morse's letters to his family document their activities.

[60] Ennio Visconti, *A Letter from the Chevalier Antonio Canova and Two Memoirs on the Sculptures in the Collection of the Earl of Elgin*, trans. from French and Italian, London, 1816.

[61] Haydon, "On M. Visconti's Error Relative to the Action of the Ilissus in the Elgin Collection," *Annals of the Fine Arts*, IV, 1819, 49–59.

cipal figure and put wet drapery over it, and also modeled a life-size head of the main figure.[62] Although the sketch is now lost, Allston painted color studies for important paintings during the following several years, studies that do survive and can be seen to establish the masses, tonality, and even specific color of his works early in the creative process.[63] A preparation traditional in the best English academic process, the painted rather than drawn preliminary sketch enabled Allston to conceive his design from the very beginning with respect to masses of tone and color rather than outline. In the initial sketch, he expressed his conception of the whole before its parts, establishing what he later called the painting's "intellectual boundary,"[64] and then he materialized it by the process of modeling and building up through detail the individual parts of the composition.

Allston's interest in sculptural studies as preparation for painting stemmed from his years in Rome, where he had contact with the sculptors Thorwaldsen and Canova, the latter of whom admired his clay studies,[65] and where he was most exposed to the Neoclassical emphasis on form of his French, German, and Italian contemporaries. Yet, where Canova had used clay studies to work toward idealization, Allston found that the modeling process helped him to achieve particularity, as can be seen by his use of the wet drapery in his preparations as well as by the very specific head in his completed painting. It was also in Rome that Allston worked on his drawing intensively for one year, painting nothing until he was satisfied with his improvement in draftsmanship.[66] The discipline had been included in Allston's training at the Academy, but drawing from the Academy's antique casts was heavily emphasized. In Rome Allston worked largely on drawing from life, thus shifting emphasis from the outlines and idealized form of the antique to the detailed and specific anatomy of the individual body. Thus his very methods of preparation—the unifying, pictorial approach of a painted sketch and the articulating, particularizing approach of anatomically correct studies in sculpture and drawing—show Allston's fidelity in practice to the synthesis he found so intellectually compelling.

Soon after Allston began the *Dead Man Revived,* Coleridge wrote Sir George Beaumont that he modeled every figure,[67] but Allston's possible arrangements for models during this period are unknown. Because studentship at the Academy at this time lasted ten years,[68] Allston's original admission as a student in late December of 1801 may have qualified him to work there in the fall of 1811, both from casts and from life, during the first stages of his work on the *Dead Man Revived.*[69] Unfortunately, very few of his drawings for the *Dead Man Revived* survive.[70] Among studies for hands, drapery, and facial expressions that can be identified with the painting, the drawing that is most significant is a sheet containing studies of a shoulder, arms, and part of a torso (Fig. 7).[71] This drawing shows the right arm and left hand of the figure in the left foreground of the painting and a model posed in the position of *Dionysus.* The drawing was obviously made after Allston's decision to use the *Dionysus* as one of the two fragments from which he would make his central figure of the reviving man. Only part of the body to be undraped is included in Allston's sketch. Certainly if Allston was sensitive to an early disagreement about the specific communication of movement by the muscles of the *Illyssus,* he avoided the issue in his painting by concealing that part of the reviving man with his shroud.

His ultimate combination of the positions, potential for movement, and drapery of the two torsos in the central figure of his painting was guided by his reference to a third figure, that of Ananias in Raphael's cartoon, the *Death of Ananias* (Fig. 9).[72] In evolving his conception for the *Dead Man Revived* in the context of the pervasive academic reference to Raphael, Allston would have thought immediately of the *Death of Ananias*

[62] Dana, 21; quoted in Flagg, 100.

[63] Specific examples are the sketch for the *Angel Releasing Saint Peter from Prison,* 1814 (private collection), *Belshazzar's Feast,* 1817 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), and *Jeremiah Dictating His Prophecy,* 1920 (Yale).

[64] Allston, 152.

[65] Coleridge wrote Beaumont about Allston's work on his painting in December, 1811, and boasted of Canova's interest in Allston. Coleridge, III, 352.

[66] Count Athanase Raczynski, *Histoire de l'art moderne en Allemagne,* 3 vols., Paris, 1836–1841, III, 556.

[67] Coleridge, III, 352. Beaumont's collection helped to establish the National Gallery; he was also an amateur artist, a Director of the British Institution, and one of Coleridge's patrons.

[68] Sandby, 262.

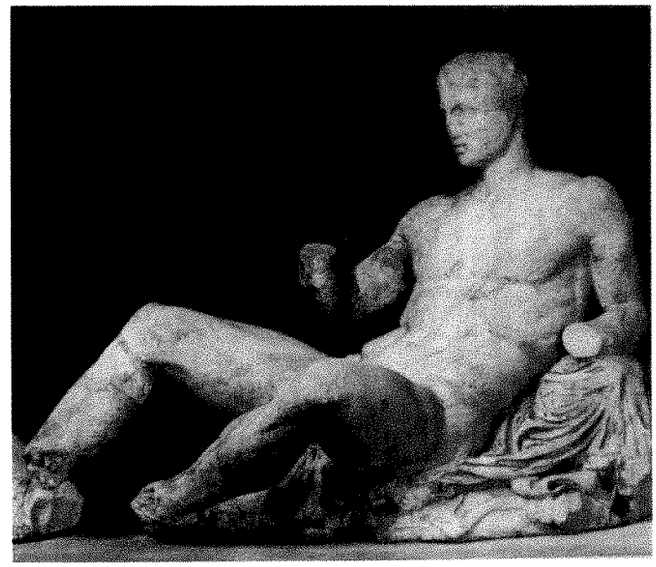
[69] Whitley, 235, records that in 1814, Allston's studentship having expired, he applied for readmission to the Academy life classes. Assuming that Allston did work at the Academy in 1811, presumably in 1812 and early 1813 he had finished his preparatory work and was totally involved in the painting of the *Dead Man Revived.* In late spring of 1813 he became ill and did not work again until nearly the end of that year.

[70] With the exception of a few highly finished drawings that date from the life class he attended in Rome, this is the case with most of Allston's early work.

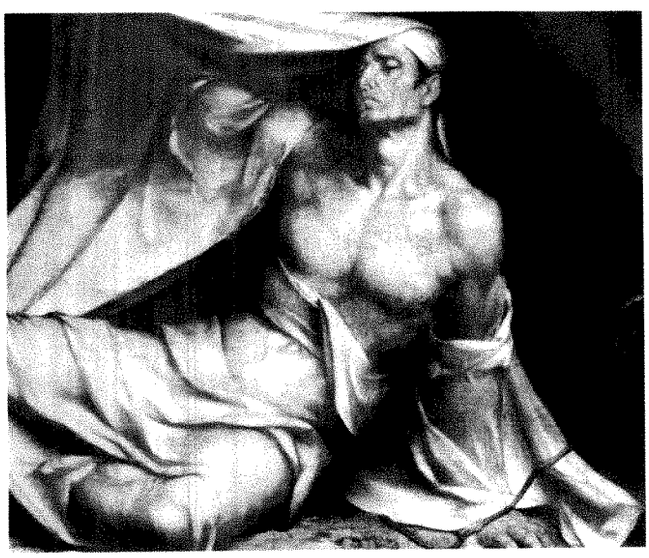
[71] The largest collection of Allston's drawings is at the Fogg Museum, Harvard University. All known Allston drawings have been catalogued and analyzed by Kenyon C. Bolton III in his doctoral dissertation, "The Drawings of Washington Allston," Harvard University, 1977.

[72] Kenneth Clark in *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form,* New York, 1956, 448, has written of the independent discovery by Raphael of the expressive power of this position.

5 *Illyssus*, from the Parthenon freize. London, British Museum

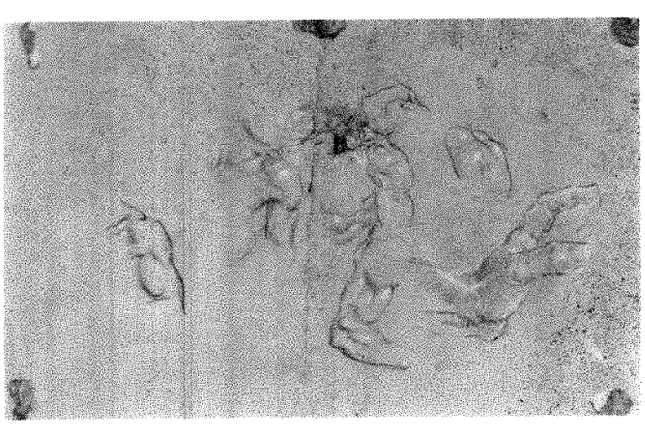


8 *Dionysus*. London, British Museum



6 Allston, *Dead Man Revived*, detail of reviving man made before painting's restoration

9 Raphael, *Death of Ananias*. London, Victoria and Albert Museum



7 Allston, study for *Dead Man Revived*. Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum

because of the applicability of its central group to his subject and the formal similarity to the Greek torso. West's citation of the cartoon in his lecture of 1811 shows the admiration in which the design was held, and Allston's own extensive analysis of it twenty years later in his *Lectures* reveals the depth of study he had given the work.[73] In incident Allston's subject reversed that of Raphael: Ananias experiences the departure of life, the reviving man the return of life; Ananias sinks from a standing position to a recumbent one, the reviv-

[73] Allston, 90–93.

ing man rises. But in both works the central transformation provokes spreading reactions of shock.[74]

In his design, Allston transposed the action in the foreground plane of Raphael's horizontal *Ananias* onto a vertical axis. As in the *Ananias*, Allston's metamorphosed figure occupies the center of the plane. Raphael's placement of Ananias's feet on the central axis to emphasize his falling away from life is imitated by Allston in his central placement of the reviving man's right hand in the act of removing the shroud, initiating the upward movement and return to life. The bodies of both figures are in similar positions with their weight carried on their left arm and leg, although the body of Ananias extends into depth and that of the reviving man stretches on a line parallel to the plane of the canvas. The involvement of the audience in the drama is similar in both works: Ananias falls toward the spectator's space; the reviving man unveils himself directly to us. Throughout the rest of his design, Allston's figures react to the event in the central foreground with postures and relationships to the main figure that echo those of Raphael's figures.[75] Allston's design has the careful balance of Raphael's and even the same relieving area of limitless space in the upper right. Although the soldier in the left middle ground of the painting is a reference to the Borghese Warrior, Allston's is a design that owes both its architecture of space and its figural gestures to Raphael's conception. In uniting Raphael's expressive content with the implications of a specific Parthenon sculpture, Allston attempted to yoke a stylization of gestures that was well known with a new naturalism that suggested the figure's development. Thus, although he followed West's advice to use Raphael and the Parthenon sculptures, Allston felt he had brought into being a conception that was considerably more than a mere union of "appropriateness of character" and "correctness of outline."

Of English history paintings of the period, the *Dead Man Revived* was the most ambitious in its palette. Neither West nor Allston's lesser-known contemporaries saw the possibilities for color that Allston found to be the logical extension of what he had been taught about glazing and about using the work of the past.[76] In fact, throughout this period the coloring of Raphael's cartoons, the very antithesis of a coloristic approach, was held up as a model to students at the Academy.

Allston's reliance on tonal masses with glazing to unify the work and create mysterious effects stemmed not only from his English training and interest in the sublime, but from his own sensitivity to the Venetians he had seen at the Louvre. There in 1804 he discovered what his friend William Hazlitt called Titian's "twiddling" of his colors, that is, his catching them up together in the brush rather than grinding them together with the palette knife, and Allston made basic to his technique thereafter this use of pure rather than premixed color.[77] Among his French and German contemporaries in Rome, Allston was well known for his possession of glazing techniques, and he had freely im-

[74] The relationship between Allston's painting and Raphael's cartoon was noted briefly as common knowledge by Oliver W. Holmes in "Exhibition of Pictures Painted by Washington Allston," *North American Review*, L, 1840, 371.

[75] The description Allston wrote to accompany the exhibition of his painting emphasizes its dramatic quality:

> The Sepulchre of Elisha is supposed to be in a cavern among the mountains; such places in those early ages being used for the interment of the dead. In the foreground is the Man at the moment of reanimation, in which the Artist has attempted, both in the action and the colour, to express the gradual recoiling of life upon death; behind him, in a dark recess, are the bones of the Prophet, the skull of which is *peculiarised* by a preternatural light; at his head and feet are two Slaves, bearers of the body, the ropes still in their hands, by which they have let it down, indicating the act that moment performed: the emotion attempted in the figure at the feet is that of astonishment and fear, modified by doubt, as if still requiring further confirmation of the miracle before him, while in the figure at the head is that of unqualified, immoveable terror. In the most prominent group above, is a Soldier, in the act of rushing from the scene: the violent and terrified action of this figure was chosen to illustrate the miracle by the contrast which it exhibits to that habitual firmness, supposed to belong to the military character, shewing his emotion to proceed from no *mortal* cause. The Figure grasping the Soldier's arm, and pressing forward to look at the body, is expressive of terror overcome by curiosity. The group on the left, or rather behind the Soldier, is composed of two Men of different ages, earnestly listening to the explanation of a Priest, who is directing their thoughts to Heaven, as the source of the miraculous change; the boy clinging to the old man is too young to comprehend the nature of the miracle, but, like children of his age, unconsciously partakes of the general impulse. The group on the right forms an episode, consisting of the Wife and Daughter of the Reviving Man. The Wife, unable to withstand the conflicting emotions of the past and the present, has fainted; and whatever joy and astonishment may have been excited in the Daughter by the sudden revival of her Father, they are wholly absorbed in distress and solicitude for her Mother. The Young Man with outstretched arms, actuated by impulse, *(not motive,)* announces to the Wife by a sudden exclamation the revival of her Husband; the other Youth, of a mild and devotional character, is still in the attitude of one conversing—the conversation being abruptly broken off by his impetuous companion. The Sentinels in the distance, at the entrance of the cavern, mark the depth of the Picture, and indicate the alarm which had occasioned this tumultuary burial.

Although the comment by the *New Monthly Magazine* in April 14 (see note 36 above) would suggest that Allston prepared this commentary for the British Institution exhibition, the earliest extant copy of it accompanied his exhibition of the painting in Bristol in July, 1814, in *Catalogue of W. Allston's Pictures Exhibited at Merchant Tailors' Hall, Broad Street, Bristol*, July 25, 1814.

[76] The inconsistencies between West's theories of color and actual painting are noted by Evans in his appendix to *West*, 105–07.

[77] Allston mentions this experience in a notebook referred to as his Colorbook at the Massachusetts Historical Society; it is quoted in Richardson, 77.

parted his skills.[78] The *Dead Man Revived* is the first painting, however, in which Allston so completely unified local colors throughout the entire painting with layers of glazing. Painted on the traditional umber ground, his basic tonal scheme grades downward in value from the predominance of the brilliantly lit shroud of the reviving man to an increasingly darker atmosphere as the distance from the figure increases. The primary colors most heavily emphasized are red and gold, the hues nearest in value to the white of the shroud, and they are found on the drapery of the corpse-bearers as well as in small accents throughout the painting. Noticeable touches in blue, green, and cool grays balance the warm browns which decrease in intensity in the depth of the pictorial space. Although nineteenth-century restorations removed many of Allston's glazing layers, one can still see evidence of his use of pure colors in glazes of red over blue, blue over gold, and blue over red, which pulled his tonalities into a unity based on the primary colors.[79] In his painting, the materials as well as the ideas reinforced one another. In addition, his coloring placed his painting in continuity with the Venetian Old Masters, which was certainly a special link to the past for an artist in England at this time, and an attempted continuity with the best of the past that his use of Greek sculpture and Raphael also projected.

Despite the altered state of the work, the breadth of the intellectual dimensions of Allston's painting, once understood in the context of the early nineteenth century, remains undiminished. The painting represents more than a union of sources and methods that Allston felt were significant beyond themselves. In Allston's adaptation of the theory of the sublime, his painting evokes the unfathomable relationship between the material and the spiritual worlds, and in his use of the Parthenon fragment he communicates metaphorically the equally undecipherable process of the creative imagination.[80] Such inclusive ambitions by far surpass those of other Americans who tried history painting—Copley, Trumbull, Peale, Morse, and even West, for example—with the possible exception of Vanderlyn. Allston never again attempted to realize ambitions of such scope in a single painting.

Not only was it his most ambitious undertaking, but the *Dead Man Revived* was also Allston's first consistent translation into practice of many tenets he advanced considerably later in his *Lectures on Art*. His synthesis of Reynolds's Neoclassical theories, which he had absorbed in his early reading and training, and Coleridge's organic theories, to which he had been introduced during their time together in Rome, thus took place right before or during the years he worked on this painting.[81]

These tenets may be summarized briefly. First, his responses in the *Dead Man Revived* to the values of artists and patrons in his immediate environment illustrate his definition of the artist many years later as a "wide liker" who is sensitive to the forms around him and who transforms them into his own work of art.[82] Secondly, in his definition of sublimity in his *Lectures*, Allston associated it with the resurrection theme, citing Lievens's *Raising of Lazarus* as its perfect illustration.[83] Thirdly, Allston claimed in his *Lectures* that the essence of the aesthetic experience was in the moment that the power of a subject with familiar associations evokes an intuitive response from the viewer. This was the potential experience that Allston planned for the viewer of the *Dead Man Revived;* that he achieved this in his later paintings was felt by Margaret Fuller, O. W. Holmes, and others in his New England audience in the 1830's.[84] Perhaps most interesting is that in his later discussion of the Parthenon sculptures, he identified the initiating or suggestive power of the images as their most valuable characteristic. He wrote of the task of the artist as carrying to "its full, consistent developement [*sic*] . . . the natural individual predominant *fragment*"[85] found everywhere in nature, and he cited as an analogy for this process of fulfillment the restoration of a statue "from a single fragment . . . to its unknown Form . . . so that the parts added are in perfect unity with the suggestive fragment."[86] His purpose in the *Dead Man*

[78] In the Louvre while copying a Rubens, Allston was ridiculed by French artists who saw his application of local color in preparation for glazing as a total misunderstanding of coloring; later, however, when they saw the effect of the glazing, they apologized for their rudeness. Richardson, 57–58. In Rome Allston was most generous to Gottlieb Schick, for which he was remembered long afterward. Richardson, 58–59.

[79] Allston's use of megilp and mastic in his glazing had the unfortunate result of darkening the painting considerably, necessitating the cleanings later in the century which destroyed his carefully wrought effects. He had the occasion to experience the change in one of his paintings during his lifetime: in 1839, on seeing his heavily glazed *Diana in the Chase, or Swiss Scenery*, 1805 (Fogg Art Museum), after a lapse of twenty-four years, he disclaimed real authorship of the work, saying that the picture cleaner had totally destroyed his conception. Dana, 30.

[80] If, as has been suggested (Richardson, 104), Allston felt that his painting was an explicit challenge to that of Sebastiano, he constructed his work on his own terms—or rather, in the terms of his milieu, with no reference to Sebastiano's devices. Ironically, of course, Allston's terms, apart from color and his sculptural source, were largely those of Raphael, whom Sebastiano had set up as his rival.

[81] Johns, *Winterthur Portfolio*, 1977, 1–18.

[82] Allston, 36, 155, and *passim*.

[83] Allston, 146.

[84] Margaret Fuller, "A Record of Impressions, Produced by Mr. Allston's Pictures," *Dial*, I, 1840, 73–84; O. W. Holmes, "Exhibition of Pictures Painted by Washington Allston," *North American Review*, L, 1840, 358–381. Both Emerson and Hawthorne commented on Allston in their journals.

[85] Allston, 131.

[86] *Ibid.*

Revived had been to accomplish this imaginative restoration to wholeness.[87]

One departure from the understandings he first reached in the *Dead Man Revived* involved the dramatic quality of the painting, which owed so much to his emulation of Raphael; Allston later saw this as incompatible with his aesthetic. Influenced by the patronage for reflective paintings that he found after 1818 in Boston, he came to feel that art's implications should be timeless rather than immediate.[88] In 1839, on seeing the painting again for the first time since it had left London in 1815, he told John Cogdell that were he to paint the work again, he would omit the fainting wife, as that was a "dramatic" episode and the painting should have been "epic" in its content.[89] In the context of English expectations in 1811, however, the drama was a crucial part of the painting's attractiveness.

Certainly of epic rather than dramatic implication was Allston's use of color in the *Dead Man Revived.* Just as he had unified his design with glazes of the three primary colors, he came to define primary colors as the only physical manifestation of the metaphysical harmony in the universe.[90]

Thus the visual synthesis that Allston tried to render in the *Dead Man Revived*—in design between discrete parts and pictorial unity, and in incident between the immediate and the potential—was verbalized in his later *Lectures* as a balance between Neoclassical eclecticism in source and organic growth in the creative process.

Commentators and historians have blamed the unreceptive atmosphere of America for the unending changes Allston made in his *Belshazzar's Feast,*[91] but there is evidence in Allston's work on the *Dead Man Revived* and in his experiences in exhibiting the painting in England that from an early point in his career he consistently underestimated his working time, made changes in his work in response to criticism that he later lamented, and in his high aspirations somewhat misjudged the possibilities for patronage.[92] The details of Allston's progress on the painting and his exhibition of it, as reported by his friends and by contemporary newspapers, point not only to Allston's temperament as established very early in his career, but to important characteristics of his patrons.

The ambition toward its exhibition with which Allston began his painting was recorded by Coleridge in his letter to Beaumont on December 7, 1811. (Allston had been reestablished in London since August.) Coleridge mentioned that Allston was "hard at work" on the painting and that he planned an exhibition of "two, or at the most three pictures, all poetical or history painting."[93] Coleridge indicated that it was at least partially on his advice that Allston did not plan to include other subjects in his exhibition, to avoid giving the impression that he was still experimenting in several directions. Yet with only one history painting behind him (the *Jason*), and that one incomplete after eighteen months of continuous labor, Allston proposed for himself an ambitious goal in bringing to completion not only the huge *Dead Man Revived* but one or two additional history paintings within the fairly immediate future.

Approximately one year after he began the work, the painting received its first recorded critical evaluation. Benjamin West's highly favorable reaction to it was reported by C. R. Leslie in a letter of August 6, 1812 to his sister:

> I believe I mentioned to you that Allston was about a large picture (the Dead Man Revived . . .) Mr. West called on him the other day to see it, and was quite astonished. "Why, sir," he exclaimed, "this reminds me of the fifteenth century; you have been studying in the highest schools of art." He added, "There are eyes in this country that will be able to see so much excellence;" and then, turning round, he saw a head Allston had modelled in clay for one of his figures, and asked what it was, taking it to be an antique. Allston told him it was one of his, at which, after examining it carefully, he said there was not a sculptor in England could do anything like it. He did not find fault with any part of the picture, but merely suggested the introduction of another figure. I never was more delighted in my life than when I heard this praise coming from Mr. West, and so perfectly agreeing with my own opinion of Allston. He has been in high spirits ever since, and his picture has advanced amazingly rapid for these two or three days. He intends sending it to the exhibition of the British Gallery [Institution], where it will no doubt obtain the

[87] *Ibid.*, 139. See Allston, 128, for one of his many general passages explaining his view of material reality as the beginning of an intellectual movement toward unity of form.

[88] Allston comments on such a quality in Michelangelo's work, 139, and suggests that quiet reverie is necessary for the viewer's enjoyment of the work of art, 152.

[89] Flagg, 211.

[90] Allston, miscellaneous notes, Dana Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[91] The putative stultifying effect of Cambridgeport on Allston was expressed most strongly—and most influentially—by Van Wyck Brooks, *The Flowering of New England, 1815–1865,* New York, 1936, 159–165.

[92] The two major exceptions to Allston's slow process are *Uriel in the Sun,* 1817 (Boston University, Mugar Memorial Library), painted in five weeks, and *Elijah in the Desert,* 1818 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), painted in three weeks. Flagg, 129. In several accounts of Allston, the date of the British Institution exhibition in which he entered the *Dead Man Revived* is incorrectly given as one year earlier, changing the character of Allston's working time considerably.

[93] Coleridge, III, 352.

> prize of 400 guineas, beside which he will have an opportunity of selling it.[94]

It is particularly noteworthy that Leslie's mention of Allston's exhibition plans shows a revision of the plans he made eight months earlier (reported by Coleridge) for a one-man exhibition of two to three works. Allston seemed to have reassessed his earlier conviction that he could finish more than one work within a foreseeable period. Also, with the encouragement of West's comments, Allston perhaps felt the painting could bring him better recognition through its potential to compete at the British Institution. Moreover, Allston had known Beaumont, an influential Director of the British Institution, at least since April of 1812, and perhaps felt the warmth of Beaumont to be typical of the Directors as a group. In the early spring of 1812 the Directors had announced greatly increased premiums for the exhibition of 1813; 300 guineas was to be the top prize for the best historical painting.[95] Leslie's mention of a large amount, although inaccurate, reflects the general pleasure of artists at the increase. It also seems apparent in Leslie's letter that it was the upcoming exhibition of 1813 that Allston planned to enter.

Beaumont also visited Allston's studio during August, 1812; his enthusiastic reaction surely further increased Allston's confidence in his future. Beaumont had heard much of Allston's capabilities from Coleridge and knew Allston socially as early as an evening he spent with Allston and Coleridge on April 21, 1812.[96] After seeing both the sketch and the large work in progress in Allston's studio, Beaumont wrote Allston,

> Your picture gave me so much satisfaction and so fully answered all the expectations which had been raised in my mind respecting your power, that I cannot refrain from troubling you with a line or two of congratulation if you accomplish the work with the same happiness with which it is conceived (and I have no doubt upon the subject), I think I may venture to promise you the approbation of all those whose judgments are deserving of your consideration. I could not well judge the effect of light and shadow in the state in which I saw it; but I take it for granted you intend to make it very powerful. . . .[97]

Beaumont closed his letter to Allston with a request that he paint a scriptural piece for a chapel he was building at Ashby-de-la-Zouch. Thus Allston had the great encouragement of receiving a commission before the painting that was to establish his reputation was even completed.

Although Leslie wrote to his sister on September 14, 1812 that Allston was "advancing very rapidly with his large picture,"[98] soon thereafter the pace on the work slowed considerably. A letter from Coleridge indicates that the painting was still uncompleted in March, 1813, and therefore had not been entered in the British Institution exhibition of that year. Coleridge registered his exasperation with Allston's delays in his letter to Mrs. Morgan in London of March 14, 1813. Coleridge, on a trip to Bexhill for a few days, asked her, "Pray, tell Allston that my anxious Wishes go after him where ever I am, and that I hope to hear *Progress reported* and to see it on my return" (italics those of Coleridge).[99] That Allston worked on two small pictures along with the *Dead Man Revived* is indicated in his autobiographical letters to Dunlap, and his practice of turning aside from a work at a difficult time persisted into his later career. Both in 1831, when he justified this habit to an impatient patron, and in his work on the *Dead Man Revived*, the practice may have had the ultimate effect of impeding reasonable progress on the crucial work at hand.[100]

The effects of psychological strain that were so notable in Allston years later during his involvement with *Belshazzar's Feast* were first in evidence at this time. During April, 1813, Leslie persuaded Allston to take a respite from his work with a journey up to Hampton Court, and a little later they made a trip to Windsor, Oxford, and Blenheim.[101] Finally, however, Allston's health failed from the unremitting exertion and psychological strain, and during the summer and fall of

[94] C. R. Leslie, *Autobiographical Recollections*, ed. Tom Taylor, Boston, 1830, 179. Whether West's advice that Allston add a figure to the painting was followed cannot be determined. Coleridge implied (see below) that West had criticized Allston's coloring.

[95] *Examiner*, February 10, 1812, 89.

[96] Beaumont had followed Coleridge's career with interest since 1804; during 1812 he was a patron of Coleridge's Shakespeare lectures in May and June. Coleridge, III, 389. On Beaumont as a patron, see Margaret Greaves, *Regency Patron: Sir George Beaumont*, London, 1966, and Felicity Owen, "Sir George Beaumont and the Contemporary Artist," *Apollo*, CXXXIX, February, 1969, 106–111. The social evening Beaumont spent with Allston and Coleridge is mentioned in Coleridge, III, 386.

[97] Flagg, 90. Richardson, 108, suggests that it was the color sketch that Beaumont saw, but Leslie's reference on August 6 to Allston's "large picture" and Beaumont's phrases, "the happiness with which it is conceived" and "the state in which I saw it," in addition to the fact that Allston had been working on the painting for nearly one year, indicate that both the sketch and the large painting existed at this time.

[98] Leslie, *Autobiographical Recollections*, 184.

[99] Coleridge, III, 440. Coleridge's own habits indicate that he knew the psychology of delay intimately.

[100] Dunlap, *History*, 168. The two small pictures remain unidentified; except for their size and Allston's almost careless reference to them in his letter to Dunlap, we might assume them to be the historical or poetical pictures that were to accompany the *Dead Man Revived* in Allston's projected private exhibition. Richardson assumes that Allston worked on the sketch for Beaumont's commission during this period, but Beaumont's letter to Allston on January 6, 1814 (Flagg, 103) indicates that Allston had just recently proposed the subject and had not yet executed a sketch. Allston's patron was Mr. Ball of South Carolina, for whom he painted *Spalatro's Vision of the Bloody Hand* (now lost). Allston to unknown addressee, January 4, 1831, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[101] Leslie, *Autobiographical Recollections*, 190; Richardson, 109.

1813 he stayed in Clifton, a suburb of Bristol, to recover his strength.[102]

It was not until after November 22 that Allston was able to leave the care of his doctor and return to London where the *Dead Man Revived* awaited completion. By early January, 1814, he had finished the painting.[103]

Although Leslie had referred in 1812 to Allston's ambition that the *Dead Man Revived* win the premium at the British Institution, by the time of his completion of the painting one year later than the exhibition he had aimed for, he had changed his mind. In his letter to R. H. Dana after Allston's death, Leslie remembered that Allston rented a gallery in Pall Mall to exhibit the painting independently, encouraged by the success of West in such exhibitions.[104] In this decision, however, Allston may have been more strongly affected by the patronage record of the British Institution in their exhibitions of 1812 and 1813. In the exhibition of 1812, the Directors had angered many artists and art supporters by their refusal to award any of the announced premiums and by their purchase instead of a work exhibited at the annual Water Colour Society show, *Christ Restoring the Sight of the Blind* by Henry Richter. The Directors were accused of withholding the premium because of their personal animosity to Haydon, whose painting *Macbeth* was generally conceded to outshine all other entries, and in a conciliatory gesture after the uproar the Directors awarded 100 guineas to F. Joseph for his "attempt" in his painting *Procession to Mount Calvary.*[105] The painting that had received the most attention in the exhibition of 1813 was Edward Bird's *Death of Eli*, a scriptural subject, but despite its popularity, no prizes seem to have been awarded at all in 1813. Instead, the painting exhibited by Richard Westall, *Elijah Restoring to Life the Widow's Son*, was bought for 420 guineas.[106] In the newspaper commentary on the season, the artist William Hilton was congratulated for exhibiting his well-received *Mary Anointing the Feet of Jesus* at the later exhibition of the Academy rather than submitting it to the capriciousness of the judges of the British Institution.[107] With the Directors' two-year record of withholding prizes, Allston could have decided with much reason that his chances at the British Institution were uncertain. And if his painting, exhibited independently, succeeded in creating a powerful interest among the Directors, he could hope they would purchase it as they had West's *Christ Healing the Sick* in 1811, Richter's *Christ Restoring the Sight of the Blind* in 1812 (both of which had been exhibited independently of the British Institution), and Westall's *Elijah Restoring to Life the Widow's Son* in 1813.

Allston changed his mind again, however, and entered the painting in the exhibition of 1814. At least two accounts exist of what caused Allston's change of plans, typically neither of them directly from Allston: one is from Leslie, the other from Coleridge. Presumably in late December or early January, Allston wrote Beaumont of his completion of the painting; Beaumont lamented in his response of January 16 that he had not been able to be in London when "the arrangement of the British Gallery took place" and that he expected to be confined at Dunnow for some time longer because of the health of his mother.[108] In this, Leslie's memory years later that "it was by the advice of Sir George Beaumont that Allston gave up his intention of exhibiting the picture himself" and sent it to the British Institution[109] seems to have been a distortion, but the substance is that an important patron or patrons in the British Institution convinced Allston that his work need not be privately exhibited, with all the probable expense and uncertainty of such a procedure.

Coleridge's understanding of the events of December and early January of 1813 and 1814 was based on many discussions with Allston after the conclusion of the exhibition.[110] In great sympathy for Allston, and in language typical of his frequent outrages at inequity, he wrote his editor Daniel Stuart of the conduct of the Directors of the British Institution in persuading Allston to close his independent exhibition:

> Mr. Allston has been cruelly used. Good God! what did I not hear Sir G. Beaumont say with my own ears! Nay, he wrote to me after repeated examination of Allston's great picture, declaring himself a compleat Convert to all my opinions of Allston's paramount Genius, as an Historical Painter. What did I not hear Mr. West say—after a *full Hour's* examination of the Picture he pointed out *one* thing he thought out of harmony, (& which against my urgent advice Allston altered—& had reason to repent

[102] The location had the advantages of being near Dr. John King, recommended by Coleridge, and Allston's uncle, Mr. Vanderhorst, the American consul.

[103] Coleridge, III, 459; Flagg, 103.

[104] Dana, 21; quoted in Flagg, 100.

[105] For a report on the withdrawal of the premiums, see *Examiner*, June 14, 1813, 380; on the purchase of Richter's painting, *Examiner*, June 21, 1812, and the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, II, 1817, 18; on the award to Joseph, *Examiner*, June 21, 1812, 399.

[106] Whitley, 205–06; *Examiner*, February 13, 1813, 90. In his heated defense of the patronage record of the Directors of the British Institution in 1817, R. C. Hoare lists award totals of £252.10 in 1812 and £525 in 1813 along with totals for the years 1808 through 1817; however, he does not list any specific recipients. *Annals of the Fine Arts*, II, 1817, 18. In contrast to information to be found about the awards in London newspapers in 1808–1811 and 1814–17, their silence in 1812 and 1813 and Hoare's inaccuracies in other details of his supporting evidence in his article lead one to conclude that he shifted money spent for purchases to the awards column.

[107] *Examiner*, May 16, 1813, 316.

[108] Flagg, 103.

[109] *Ibid.*, 101.

[110] Coleridge, III, 509.

> sorely)[111] and then said—I have shot my Bolt! It is as near Perfect [ion] as a Picture can be.—What did not Mr. Carr, what did not the Marquis of Stafford both say & promise after repeated Visits! They absolutely forced him to stop his exhibition after all the heavy expences of the Room &c &c—and made him *such* promises that West said—You *must* comply with their wishes—they have bound themselves down to buy your Picture.[112]

What Allston seems to have told Coleridge was that Carr and Stafford promised him that the British Institution would buy his painting, a purchase for which precedents had been established in each of the three preceding years.[113] Such an assurance would have turned the expense-conscious Allston from plans to exhibit independently.

The Directors, however, did not buy Allston's painting. Instead, at the very opening of the exhibition, they announced their purchase for 566 guineas of William Hilton's *Mary Anointing the Feet of Jesus*, the painting that had so favorably excited comment the previous year at the Academy.[114] Coleridge felt that a factor that strongly influenced the Directors' decision was an anti-American prejudice which Allston always refused to acknowledge had existed. With reference to the Directors' reversal before the exhibition opened, Coleridge wrote: "With what shameless Cruelty, partly because he was an American, tho' in his Principles as deep an Abhorrer of Madison, the Congress, & the War as any Englishman of us all—& partly, from the intrigues and envy of West himself—did they skulk out of their Engagements.—And Allston just rescued from Death with a constitution shattered by almost unheard of Pains—his little property lost by a London Bankruptcy—&c &c—and he himself the most quiet, inoffending, unenvious Being in existence."[115]

Allston was discreet about the blow, especially as his only patron thus far, Beaumont, was one of the Directors.[116] In fact, he was so uncomplaining that historians have not suspected that it happened, even though in the correspondence of other of Allston's friends, such as Morse and J. J. Morgan, there are several references to the cruelty with which he was treated.[117] In the context of this disappointment, the Directors' subsequent award of the premium to Allston near the end of the exhibition must have seemed like the conferring of a consolation prize. Even the premium of 200 guineas was less than the 300 guineas that had been announced for the competition of 1813.[118]

Once the exhibition opened, however, some of the reactions of the press and of friends were encouraging. The painting, the largest in the exhibition, was hung prominently[119] and attracted at least two enthusiastic press notices. Among the reviews favorable to the *Dead Man Revived* were those in the *Examiner*, which described it as a "large and rich picture . . . animated by an uncommon share of feeling and science,"[120] and in the *New Monthly Magazine*, which assessed it as a "picture of extraordinary merits."[121] Coleridge admired the

[111] Rather than the addition of a figure which Leslie remembers that West suggested, Coleridge's use of the term "harmony" suggests that West found fault in Allston's coloring. Also, see passages footnoted 131, 133.

[112] Coleridge to Stuart, September 12, 1814, in Coleridge, III, 534. In the next sentence in the letter, Coleridge claims that West had mentioned to him what the price of Allston's painting ought to be, as though it were a price for the sale to the British Institution. Because Coleridge could not have witnessed this occurrence, this entire passage seems to be another example of the condensation that occurs frequently in Coleridge's correspondence and notebooks. In high feeling Coleridge conflated the events of two separate years into a catalogue of the indignities Allston had suffered from patrons and from West. These indignities can be separated into two periods. The first is that of events that occurred in 1812 and/or very early 1813, in which Coleridge directly participated—the visit to Allston from Beaumont, the letter to Coleridge from Beaumont, the visit to Allston from West in which he gave advice, and West's naming to Coleridge of a possible price that the painting would command when finished. The second period is that of events of December, 1813 and/or January, 1814, of which Coleridge was afterwards told by Allston. At this time Allston had hired the Pall Mall gallery, but Coleridge, desperately ill in Bristol, could not possibly have personally witnessed his difficulties. (Between sieges of his illness Coleridge was in London briefly on business on November 25–30, but that was too early to have seen Allston at work. Coleridge, III, 460–62.) These events included the repeated visits of Mr. Carr and the Marquis of Stafford and West's insistence to Allston that he close his exhibition because "they" had promised to buy his picture, presumably for the British Institution.

[113] William Howell Carr and the Marquis of Stafford were active as patrons, collectors, and Directors of the British Institution. Farington and newspapers of the period frequently refer to various pairs of the Directors acting in the name of the whole Institution.

[114] *Examiner*, February 6, 1814, 88.

[115] Coleridge, III, 534. If Coleridge refers by "little property" to what remained of Allston's patrimony, then we can assume it was at this time and not later, as has been speculated, that Allston began to depend totally on the income he could earn from his painting. The loss of his last capital through unfortunate investment would have slowed considerably the recovery from grave physical illness of even the hardiest person. Coleridge's resentment of West is expressed fully in his letter of June 16 to his friend J. J. Morgan; see III, 510. His accusation that West was deceitful and petty is consistent with the explanation for West's forced temporary retirement from his Academy presidency in 1805 that is found in J. E. Hodgson and F. A. Eaton, *The Royal Academy and Its Members*, London, 1905, 193.

[116] Beaumont's absence from London would have prevented him from exercising influence in Allston's behalf. His phrase "the arrangement of the British Gallery," quoted above, certainly suggests the spoken understanding to which Coleridge refers. At any rate, his absence also excused him from Allston's direct blame, as Allston always spoke highly of Beaumont in later years.

[117] For instance, the letter of J. J. Morgan to Morse in February, 1815, in Morse, I, 168–9.

[118] For the premium announcement for 1813, see the *Monthly Magazine*, March 1, 1812, 158.

[119] *New Monthly Magazine*, April 1, 1814, 279.

[120] *Examiner*, February 6, 1814, 88.

[121] *New Monthly Magazine*, April 1, 1814, 279.

picture so highly that he wrote later that of all the history paintings said to be worthy of Michelangelo, only Allston's *Dead Man Revived* deserved the analogy.[122]

Some of the reviews, though, were galling. The *Monthly Magazine*, the *London Chronicle*, and the *Repository of the Arts* omitted any mention of the work in discussing the exhibition; the *Times* reviewer, after raving that the exhibition was "the best collection hitherto exhibited" discussed several of his favorite paintings but did not mention Allston's,[123] and the *Morning Chronicle*, although it praised the picture for originality of subject, correct drawing, and the impressive rendering of the reviving figure, criticized the work for an excessively French look. The reviewer continued: "The colouring, too, is without any strongest contrasts or general gradations, and is half-toned and half-tinted away, between reddish brown flesh and wan-red drapery, till all effect, union, and relief, is lost."[124] At the conclusion of the exhibition season, the reviewer in the *Sun* noted that whereas the British Institution's purchase of the Hilton painting for 550 guineas was highly laudable, their award of 200 guineas to Allston was "rather due to the attempt than to the merit of his picture."[125]

Although Allston's sensitivity to these criticisms was to result in some repainting of the *Dead Man Revived*, his injury by the Directors seemed one he could do nothing about. His painting remained unsold after the exhibition; he had gained only the amount of the premium and whatever value the publicity of the award might have. The Directors' announcement of Allston's premium coincided, ironically, with their negotiations and announcement of their gift of the Hilton painting they had just purchased to St. James's Church as an altarpiece,[126] the kind of placement Allston would certainly have wished for his own work.

Neither was Allston supported by the Directors acting as individual patrons, as were many of his fellow artists in the exhibition. The *London Chronicle* reported on March 3, 1814 that more than thirty pictures from the exhibition had already been sold.[127] The Marquis of Stafford, who had heavily patronized artists at the British Institution since his purchase of fifteen works from the exhibition of 1807, including at least two with religious subjects, bought several works from the exhibition, the most prominent being the landscape by Hofland that had won the landscape premium.[128] Current newspapers reported the popularity with many patrons of fancy subjects, yet Allston's *Diana Bathing*, which he also placed in the exhibition of 1814 and which received invariably favorable press notice, remained unsold even though it seems to have been precisely suited to patrons' taste in small pictures.[129]

In early June, 1814, after his great disappointment in London, Allston took his unsold *Dead Man Revived* to Bristol along with several other paintings. There, among the friends he had made the previous year, and among those of Coleridge, who had been in Bristol for some time, Allston hoped to compensate for his London losses with an exhibition from which his paintings could be purchased. He hired the Merchant Tailors' Hall.[130]

So sensitive was Allston to the negative criticism of the *Morning Chronicle* that before opening his exhibition he repainted large portions of the *Dead Man Revived* in response to that newspaper's remarks on its coloring. On July 5 he wrote Morse about his work:

> Perhaps you will be surprised to hear that I have been retouching it. I have just concluded a fortnight's hard work upon it, and have the satisfaction to add that I have been seldom better satisfied than with my present labor. I have repainted the greater part of the draperies—indeed, those of all the principal figures, excepting the Dead Man—with powerful and positive colors, and added double strength to the shadows of every figure, so that for force and distinctness you would hardly know it for the same picture. The "Morning Chronicle" would have no reason now to complain of its "wan red."[131]

Earlier in this letter Allston had indicated his intention to open his exhibition within the next week, but the exhibition catalogue's date of July 25 suggests that in this instance, as in the earlier preparation of the painting for the British Institution exhibition, Allston underestimated the time he would take to finish the work to his satisfaction.

As has been suggested by Coleridge's letter to Daniel Stuart,[132] Allston's readiness to agree with unfavorable criticism had also occurred considerably earlier in the history of the *Dead Man Revived*. Coleridge, who was in Bristol during Allston's repainting, wrote about it to their friend J. J. Morgan:

[122] Coleridge to Allston, June 18, 1823, in Dana, 25–26.

[123] The *Times*, February 10, 1814.

[124] *Morning Chronicle*, February 6, 1814.

[125] The *Sun*, August 25, 1814. The exact amount of the purchase price of Hilton's painting is variously reported.

[126] Farington, VII, 235, April 6, 1814.

[127] *London Chronicle*, March 3, 1814, 213.

[128] On Stafford's early patronage, see Whitley, 117. On his patronage in 1814, see the *Examiner*, April 3, 1814, 222.

[129] The painting, which is now lost, was still unsold in April of 1816 when James McMurtrie wrote Allston that he could have sold it for him in Philadelphia had he had it with him. McMurtrie to Allston, April 5, 1816, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Another artist who had an unsold painting at the close of the British Institution exhibition was John Constable, who finally took 20 guineas and some books in exchange for his *Lock Scene*. Reported by Farington, VII, 237.

[130] Allston to Morse, July 5, 1814, in Morse, I, 148.

[131] Morse, I, 148.

[132] See note 112.

> I was more than gratified by the wonderful Improvement of the Picture, since he has restored it to his original Conception. I cannot by words convey to you, how much he has improved it within the last Fortnight. Were it not, that I still think (tho' ages *might* pass without the world at large noticing it) that in the figure of the Soldier there is too much motion for the distinct Expression, or rather too little expression for the quantity & vehemence of Motion I should scarcely hesitate to declare it in it's present state a *perfect* work of art. Such Richness with such variety of Colors, all harmonizing, and while they vivify, yet deepen not counteract, the total effect of a grand Solemnity of Tint, I never before contemplated.[133]

The "original conception" that Allston altered must refer to the condition of the painting during 1812, when West criticized the work and Allston made the revision he "lived to repent sorely," one of many delays in the course of his career. Laboratory analysis has revealed no relocation of forms in Allston's painting,[134] so his original conception must have been the coloristic one that Coleridge praises; West, not a strong colorist, may have criticized precisely that aspect of the painting. If the alteration Allston began in response to West's criticism was responsible for the delay of his painting from the 1813 to the 1814 exhibition, the experience would ironically prefigure Allston's inability ever to complete *Belshazzar's Feast* once he had made the changes suggested by Stuart.[135]

Allston's Bristol exhibition opened in late July. The repainted *Dead Man Revived* was the main attraction; to it Allston added seven smaller paintings of varied subjects, all dating from much earlier in his career.[136] To arouse the interest of the Bristol patrons in aesthetic issues in general and Allston's work in particular, Coleridge contributed a series of essays on the arts to *Felix Farley's Bristol Journal.* Called "On the Principles of Genial Criticism concerning the Fine Arts," they appeared on August 13, 20, and 27, and September 10 and 24. In his preliminary essay Coleridge exhorted his readers to "consult their own eyes and judgements" for illustrations of his principles, but he gave Allston as much assistance as he felt integrity allowed by stating that Allston's "great picture [*Dead Man Revived*], with his Hebe, landscape, and sea-piece, would of themselves suffice to elucidate the fundamental doctrines of color, ideal form, and grouping."[137] The essays had no measurable benign effect. In fact, they evoked hostility from at least one reader. In his third essay Coleridge illustrated his principle that ideal form is communicated through lifelike variety with a reference to the circle emerging in the design of Allston's *Dead Man Revived;*[138] his use of the painting as an illustration provoked a series of letters critical of both Coleridge and Allston published in the Bristol *Gazette* on September 1, 15, and 29.[139]

Not only were the essays ineffectual in attracting buyers to Allston's exhibition, but the presence of Allston's uncle and a few Bristol friends seemed to make no difference to the climate in which he was received. A wealthy American merchant residing in Bristol, Harman Visger,[140] whom Allston and Morse had met the previous year and who had bought two pictures from Allston in October, 1813, was a special disappointment to Morse. Morse spent from May until December in Bristol (a period that paralleled Allston's stay) at the special invitation of Visger, who had promised him numerous commissions from widespread sources. Visger had written Morse in London on April 1, 1814, pressuring him to come to Bristol, and had expressed then his pleasure that Allston received the prize at the British Institution.[141] Quite probably

[133] This was the very effect for which Allston had aimed. Coleridge, III, 517.

[134] Conversation of the author with Joseph Amarotico, Conservator of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. One small change is that Allston lowered slightly the index finger of the guard in the background.

[135] That Stuart suggested the changes in perspective has been accepted as fact, although Moses Sweetser first suggested that had been the case in his *Allston* of 1879. Allston himself, describing his alterations in a letter to Leslie of May 20, 1821, does not mention Stuart. Flagg, 166.

[136] They were listed as *Scene in an Eating House*, painted in London in 1803 (Layton Art Gallery Collection, Milwaukee Art Center); *Hebe*, n.d. (now lost); *Raising of a Thunderstorm at Sea*, painted in Paris in 1804 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); *Casket Scene* from the *Merchant of Venice*, painted at Florence in 1807 (Boston Athenaeum); *Rain-at-Sea*, n.d. (now lost); *Diana*, n.d. (now lost), exhibited at the British Institution with *Dead Man Revived:* and *A Landscape: Swiss Scenery* (also known as *Diana in the Chase*), painted in Rome in 1805 and exhibited there to great acclaim. Allston may have painted the undated and since lost works in London during the months of the British Institution exhibition, February to May, 1814; they may date from considerably earlier in his career; or two of them may be the two that he painted concurrently with the *Dead Man Revived.* Coleridge, however, wrote back to London from Bristol in October, 1813, that Allston had just sold "both pictures" to Mr. Visgar (Coleridge, III, 444); as Allston had not yet recovered the strength to paint, these may be the two pictures he had painted during his work on the *Dead Man Revived*, which were known to his London friends and which he had requested to be sent so that they might be sold for needed income.

[137] Coleridge, "On the Principles of Genial Criticism Concerning the Fine Arts," in *Biographia Literaria*, ed. J. Shawcross, 2 vols., London, 1907, II, 222, 223.

[138] *Ibid.*, 234.

[139] *Ibid.*, III, 526.

[140] His name is variously spelled Visgar, Visker, and Visscher in correspondence of the period.

[141] Morse, 124.

Allston also expected support from Visger and his associates during his stay in Bristol.[142] A prominent Bristol collector who had supported West, Stothard, and Troward as modern artists, to "make complete" his collection of Old Masters, was Mr. Hart Davies.[143] He apparently expressed no interest in Allston.

Allston sold only one work from his exhibition, and that, the *Rain-at-Sea*, to his uncle.[144] After he closed his exhibition some time in the fall, he stayed on in Bristol for several weeks, having found some success in portrait commissions, but only from immediate friends.[145] And of course in painting portraits, he was no closer to his goal in achieving patronage for his history painting.

Throughout the next year in London, Allston remained without the support of patronage. In a letter to Wordsworth of May 30, 1815, Coleridge begged Wordsworth to call on Allston, lamenting that Allston had been "most unkindly treated" in his want of patronage. Coleridge contrasted the busy career of the artist George Dawe with the foundering one of Allston: "Good God! to think of such a Grub as *Daw*[e] with more than he can do—and such a Genius as Allston, without a Single Patron!"[146]

The *Dead Man Revived* remained unsold in Allston's London rooms until the Philadelphian James McMurtrie saw it there in the summer of 1815, felt certain that the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts would buy it, and took it to America to be seen by the Academy Board of Directors. Allston wrote McMurtrie on September 6, 1815, requesting that he try to sell the painting for £700, an amount quite respectable in the London market. On the painting's arrival in March, 1816, the Academy directors immediately voted to purchase it, and for the sum Allston had requested.[147] After being reframed and varnished, the painting was exhibited in April, to great fanfare.[148]

The ready patronage of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts gave Allston a very different perspective from which to evaluate his experience in London. The despair that he had felt over the unsold painting is delicately suggested in one of the few comments that Allston made directly during these years: after learning of the painting's purchase, he wrote Morse: "When you recollect that I considered the 'Dead Man' (from the untoward fate he had hitherto experienced) almost literally as a *caput mortuum*, you may easily believe that I was most agreeably surprised to hear of the sale. But, pleased as I was on account of the very seasonably pecuniary supply it would soon afford me, I must say that I was still more gratified at the encouragement it seemed to hold out for my return to America."[149]

It was two more years before Allston did return, and certainly it was not mere homesickness but the very discouraging patronage in England for his own painting and for history painting in general that gave him the impetus.

During these years, the British Institution was the only body with the resources and power, both as an institution and as a group of wealthy individuals with common tastes, to patronize painting. The Academy functioned primarily as a school. The government refused to support painting, although it did commission memorial sculpture and architecture. Church leadership was both conservative and impoverished. But for a variety of reasons, throughout the years of the second decade of the century the patronage of the British Institution was notably unpredictable despite its protestations to the contrary.[150] The encouragement of history painting was so sporadic that Allston's difficulties, although many seem related to nationality, are consistent with the larger context of taste in which all history painters barely survived.[151]

These were the last years when the ideals established by Reynolds in the 1770's and 1780's held sway. Such influential patrons as Sir George Beaumont, the Marquis of Stafford, Thomas Bernard, and Sir Charles

[142] Visger later bought Allston's *Hermia and Helena* (now lost) from the Academy exhibition of 1818.

[143] Farington, VI, 72, 278.

[144] Morse, 171, claims that only Allston's uncle bought anything from the exhibition. Mrs. Anna Jameson, in "Washington Allston," *Athenaeum* (London), 1844, 16, mentions that Allston painted two works at Bristol for his uncle, an Italian landscape and a marine. It seems logical to assume that Vanderhorst bought the marine from the exhibition and then commissioned Allston to paint an accompanying landscape. If such is the case, Cat. Nos. 79 and 86 in Richardson would refer to the same painting.

[145] Leslie to Morse, Nov. 29, 1814, in Morse, I, 156.

[146] Coleridge, IV, 576. Coleridge's earlier enchantment with Dawe had obviously waned; on April 21, 1812 he had expected to learn much from him (Coleridge, III, 386). Constable had a similar initial attachment to Dawe, recorded in Farington, VI, 217.

[147] Allston to McMurtrie, Sept. 6, 1815, Dana, 30. McMurtrie wrote Allston on April 15, 1816 that the duty and freight had reduced his receipts from $3,500 (the American equivalent of £700) to $3,260 (Dana, 30), but the Archives at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts indicate that Allston received interest of approximately $163 for the Academy's delayed payments. The payments were originally scheduled to be made at four, eight, and twelve months (President and Directors to McMurtrie, March 28, 1816, Historical Society of Pennsylvania) but were not actually completed until Sept. 24, 1817. To make that payment, the Directors mortgaged the Academy building. In his usual generous spirit, Allston refused to accept $104.59 in interest on the last payment, stating that he had not been inconvenienced by the delay. Allston to McMurtrie, Nov. 17, 1818, quoted in Dunlap, *History*, 184.

[148] The Archives of the Pennsylvania Academy contain the bill of Marius Pike dated May 13, 1816 for cleaning and repairing the frame, "straning" the canvas, and varnishing it.

[149] Allston to Morse, April (n.d.), 1816, Morse, I, 199.

[150] Hence the defense by Hoare in the *Annals of the Fine Arts*, 1817, was necessary. See note 106, above.

[151] West's success was due to the patronage of George III; such artists as Benjamin Robert Haydon and William Hilton led lives of bitter disappointment.

Long, who were educated under Reynolds's influence and reinforced in their taste by West's conservative presidency of the Academy, carried out Reynolds's hope for the establishment of dignified excellence in English history painting in their exhibition, premium, and purchasing policies at the British Institution. Yet, for several reasons they wavered in their official and private patronage.

One was their concern for quality. In 1808 and again in 1813 Farington recorded Beaumont's worry that "the British Institution might do much harm by exciting hopes in young men of little talent, and that the Directors and others ought to be careful not to give encouragement but to those of manifestly promising talents, in order to prevent an accumulating number of inferior artists."[152] Presumably this concern had motivated their withdrawal of the announced premiums in the years 1812 and 1813. Yet because of their ostensibly capricious purchase policies, many young artists lost confidence in the purity of their judgment and frequently charged the Directors with personal favoritism. Such a factor seems to have motivated the Directors' attempt to purchase Haydon's *Judgement of Solomon* in May, 1814; Beaumont, who had previously alienated Haydon in the widely discussed scandal of his *Macbeth* in 1812, was felt to be attempting a conciliation by means of this official patronage.[153]

In 1816 the confidence of artists in the British Institution had fallen so low that Allston was begged to exhibit his *Angel Releasing Saint Peter from Prison* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), which he was just finishing, to help cover bare walls.[154] More and more frequently, artists exhibited a work at the Academy one year to test its reception and then if it was favorably reviewed entered it the next year in the competition at the British Institution, so that the prizes, when awarded, seemed chosen primarily by the power of earlier publicity.[155]

Another factor that complicated the policies of the Directors for the patronage of history painting was their still frustrated desire for a national collection. Although pledged to encourage living British artists, they found themselves inevitably attracted to the role of collecting works of the Old Masters when they came on the market. Usually such purchases earned them criticism, as that expressed by Farington in 1814 when the Directors were negotiating for the purchase of a Raphael picture for 4,000 guineas: "Such an application of the money of the Society seemed to be wide of its professed purpose 'The encouragement of British Artists.' "[156] In early 1812, in fact, the Directors had purchased Veronese's *Communion of Saint Jerome* for 1,500 guineas specifically for study and for exhibition with the works of young modern artists so they might make fruitful comparisons.[157] As the work was the second in their permanent collection, following their purchase of West's *Christ Healing the Sick* in 1811 and preceding that of the now forgotten Henry Richter's *Christ Restoring the Blind to Sight*, later in 1812, the imbalance of their collection as well as the cross-currents in their patronage were most striking.

Their summer exhibitions of Old Masters, begun in 1813, further detracted from their original emphasis on living British artists. That year they featured the works of Reynolds and in 1814 those of Hogarth, Gainsborough, Wilson, and Zoffany; this attention given to deceased British masters, especially since very few of their works were history paintings, threw the attempts of struggling living history painters into less and less favorable light. During the next several years, the exhibitions of European Old Masters borrowed from famous private collectors among the nobility, including the Prince Regent, gave the Institution an aura of splendor during summer evenings,[158] in contrast to which the spring exhibitions seemed increasingly paltry.

Most damaging to the cause of history painting during this period was the obviously growing excellence of English genre and landscape, a development that divided conservative patrons between their allegiance to academic theory, in which genre and landscape were low in the hierarchy, and their sensitivity to good painting. Some of the awards and purchases of the British Institution reflect this strain. In 1815 the Directors at the instigation of Beaumont bought David Wilkie's *Distress for Rent* for their permanent collection for a price of 600 guineas.[159] Their premium in 1817 was awarded to the portraitist John Jackson, who had entered one fancy piece and two portraits; in the context of the popularity that year of the history painting *Christ's Entrance into Jerusalem* by Hilton, the Directors' award caused an uproar. Ironically, in their announcement the previous year of the forthcoming exhibition

[152] Farington, v, 64, May 17, 1808; vii, 177, June 15, 1813.

[153] Haydon reports his version of the commissioning experience of *Macbeth* in his *Autobiography*, 113–148. His painting, the *Judgement of Solomon*, had already been purchased by two representatives of his hometown of Plymouth. With an irony that calls attention to the usual fate of history paintings, the profitable exhibitions that the citizens of Plymouth had counted on did not materialize; the painting was sold again, to another ultimately disappointed promoter. Farington, viii, 6, June 7, 1815. Finally, the painting disappeared; it has only recently been found. See Cummings, *Burlington Magazine*, 1962, 141–152.

[154] Whitley, 225, 255.

[155] William Hilton did this fairly consistently with his scriptural pieces, and Allston joined in the practice as well; he exhibited his *Morning in Italy* (presently unaccounted for) at the Academy in 1816, at the British Institution in 1817; his *Donna Mencia in the Robbers' Cave* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) was shown at the Academy in 1815, at the British Institution in 1816.

[156] Farington, vii, 223, March 10, 1814. The Directors did not buy this painting.

[157] *Repository of the Arts*, March, 1812, 167.

[158] Haydon's description of such an evening is notable, 240.

[159] Farington, viii, 8, June 9, 1815.

and premiums, they had emphasized their policy not even to exhibit portraits.[160]

Although the Academy had never pledged itself to the exclusive encouragement of history painting, in training and lectures throughout this period Academicians continued to advocate the hierarchy of subjects of Reynolds. Yet the achievements of the artists elected to Associate and Academician from 1808 to 1818 reveal inconsistencies with theory similar to those which plagued the policies of the British Institution: of the six Academicians elected, none was a history painter; of the twenty-one Associates elected, only four had aspirations toward history painting.

Allston's recognition of the uncertain climate in which he was doomed to exist in London was contradicted by the events that occurred as a result of the exhibition of 1818 at the British Institution. He had exhibited at the Institution in 1814, 1816, and 1817, and at the Academy in 1814, 1815, and 1816, but had found no English purchasers. In this exhibition, however, his *Uriel in the Sun* (Boston University, Mugar Memorial Library), which won the second prize, at last inspired the individual patronage that he had been hoping to arouse for several years.[161] The Marquis of Stafford bought the painting from the exhibition; this was his first concrete acknowledgment of Allston's talents.[162] Soon thereafter, Lord Egremont, Turner's patron, saw and admired the *Uriel*, and, since it had been sold, he went to Allston's studio anxious to buy another work; there he purchased his *Jacob's Dream* (Petworth).

Aside from these purchases, Beaumont's commission of the *Angel Releasing Saint Peter*, and Josiah Wade's commission of the portrait of Coleridge that Allston painted in Bristol in 1814 (National Portrait Gallery, London), Allston apparently enjoyed no other English patronage in or out of the exhibitions.[163] Although collections of modern pictures were formed not only by Stafford but by Sir John Leicester, Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Thomas Hope, Alexander Davison, and other patrons whose names occur frequently in Farington and in the newspapers of the decade, these men bought predominantly the less intellectual works, those suitable for private settings as well as those which would not compare unfavorably in ambition to the Old Master paintings in their collections.[164]

When Allston left England, many who had admired him expressed fears that he was leaving the environment and patronage that he could depend on precisely to encourage his primary interest. Advice and warnings came from English artists, patrons, and literary friends.[165] Yet because Allston's seven years in England had not been memorable for any of the patronage and encouragement cited in his friends' warnings, their words are to be interpreted as expressions of affection rather than credible evaluations of Allston's prospects. In a remarkable combination of admiration for the poetical qualities of Allston's art and sympathy for his difficulties with recognition, the *Annals of Fine Arts* in 1818 included this note on his departure: "His countrymen may be sure that his return to America without Academic honour from England, is the most certain proof that he could bring back of his historical talents . . . we sincerely hope that his countrymen the Americans will give him public employment, and not suffer his genius to waste itself, under the capricious harrassings of private patronage. A man of genius, like Alston [*sic*], will feel his powers expand as opportunities are given to him."[166]

In contrast to Allston's failure in England to arouse institutional and private patronage, in America he had had several types of recognition. The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts had bought his *Dead Man Revived* in 1816, and his friend James McMurtrie had encouraged him with the assurance that two other paintings he had been trying to sell would have been bought by the Academy, too. In March, 1818, after having had his name on the list of candidates for Associate at the Royal Academy since 1814 without success, Allston received word of his unsolicited election to the Academy of Arts in New York. It was Americans who had bought his paintings in London.

Whether Allston had gone to England in 1811 with a plan to stay for only a few years, perhaps until potential American patronage caught up with his ambitions, is unclear. By the time of the Pennsylvania Academy's purchase of his painting, however, he clearly planned to

[160] *Ibid.*, 115, March 7, 1817; for the British Institution announcement, see *Annals of the Fine Arts*, I, 1816, 362.

[161] The young history painter William Brockedon, who had arrived in London as a student only in 1811, was awarded the first prize for his *Christ Raising the Widow's Son at Nain*, a painting that was condemned by reviewers. The *New Monthly Magazine* worded its reaction most concisely: the picture is "commonplace in its forms, its colours, and its expression, and is great only in its size." April 1, 1818, 255–256. Allston's *Uriel* was moderately well reviewed.

[162] Years later Stafford's wife, as Duchess of Sutherland, requested another painting from Allston through her brother Lord Morpeth, who visited Boston in 1841, but Allston said he declined the £5,000 commission until he could finish *Belshazzar's Feast*. Flagg, 349.

[163] The American purchasers Harman Visger, Colonel Drayton of South Carolina, Mr. Van Schaick of New York, Mr. Vanderhorst, and Mr. Samuel Williams, his banker, are his known clients.

[164] Leicester's collection was listed in *Annals of the Fine Arts*, II, 1817, 105; Hoare's in *ibid.*, 270–73; Hope's in *ibid.*, IV, 1819, 93–97; and Davison's in *ibid.*, I, 1816, 242–54.

[165] These attitudes are expressed in letters to Allston in 1818 and in letters to Dana after Allston's death which were published in Flagg. The writers include William Collins, W. F. Collard, C. R. Leslie, G. Beaumont, W. Wordsworth, and W. Irving.

[166] *Annals of the Fine Arts*, III, 1818, 515. A sad relationship exists between this tribute and that by Anna Cabot Lowell in 1810 (note 5 above) before Allston left Boston.

return, for he wrote Morse, "I was still more gratified at the encouragement it [the purchase] seemed to hold out for my return to America."[167]

We know that the *Dead Man Revived* was an earnest of American success that was never fulfilled. During the years 1820–1840 in America, when Allston was working in Boston, there was a transition not from the inherited system of aesthetic values that had caused Allston difficulties in England, but one from an uncertainty about art itself to a gradual insistence that art be quickly accessible, local in reference, and edifying. To the uninitiated, Allston's work presented none of these qualities.

As Allston did not leave Boston after his return in 1818, his market for patronage was limited to Bostonians or visitors to Boston. The *Dead Man Revived*, his strongest plea for the kind of patronage he desired, was not seen in Boston until 1839, when it went out to the exhibition of Allston's works at Chester Harding's Gallery in Boston on its only loan from the Pennsylvania Academy. Bostonians preferred the more private, meditative quality of Allston's landscapes and dreaming figures to the context of an intellectual European art evoked in the *Dead Man Revived*. Yet Allston's work of these years, whether of the ambition of the *Dead Man Revived* or not, was marked by habits and methods first clearly traceable in this early work: the multivalence of his subject, the germinal idea that illuminated the meaning of the entire composition and gave it a strong intellectual content, his reference to Raphael for expressive gestures, his reliance on glazing for unity of tone, his uncertainty in response to adverse criticism, and his slow rate of work.

In Philadelphia, the *Dead Man Revived* continued to be a special entry in every exhibition at the Pennsylvania Academy until 1870, after which it received less and less attention. When the stature of Allston's total achievement was reestablished by Edgar P. Richardson in his Allston exhibition of 1947, held at the Detroit Institute of Arts and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (his major study of Allston followed, published in 1948), the exhibition unfortunately could not include the *Dead Man Revived* because of the work's fragility.[168]

In 1976 Joseph Amarotico, conservator at the Pennsylvania Academy, completed a three-year conservation project on the painting. Now, hanging on the first floor of the restored Academy, the *Dead Man Revived* can be seen in a condition as close as possible to its appearance in that hopeful exhibition of 1814.

University of Maryland

[167] Allston to Morse, April, 1816, Morse, I, 199.

[168] A smaller Allston exhibition, held at the Lowe Art Museum in Coral Gables in 1975, did not include the *Dead Man Revived* either.

Bibliography of Frequently Cited Sources

Allston, W., *Lectures on Art and Poems; Monaldi*, ed. N. Wright, Gainesville, Fla., 1967.

Coleridge, S. T., *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. E. L. Griggs, 6 vols., Oxford, 1959.

Dana, R. H., "Notes for a Biography," Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.

Farington, J., *The Farington Diary*, ed. James Greig, 8 vols., New York, 1922–28.

Flagg, J. B., *The Life and Letters of Washington Allston*, New York, 1892.

Haydon, B. R., *Autobiography and Journals*, ed. Malcolm Elwin, London, 1950.

Morse, S. F. B., *Samuel F. B. Morse: His Letters and Journals*, ed. E. L. Morse, New York, 1914.

Richardson, E. P., *Washington Allston: A Study of the Romantic Artist in America*, New York, 1948, and Apollo edition, 1967.

Sandby, W., *The History of the Royal Academy of Arts*, 2 vols. (London, 1862), London, 1970.

Whitley, W. T., *Art in England 1800–1820*, Cambridge, 1928.

Two Letters from Girodet to Flaxman*

Ada Shadmi Banks

John Flaxman's influence on French painting of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is generally acknowledged. Although this influence is most noticeable in the work of Ingres, it has recently been discerned by Pruvost-Auzas and Ternois[1] in the work of Girodet as well. They discuss similarities between Flaxman's *Tragedies of Aeschylus* and Girodet's early Ossianic studies, and note that both artists were in Italy at the same time. They do not, however, show that the two artists actually met.

A personal contact between the two may now be established through the contents of two hitherto unpublished letters from Girodet to Flaxman. The letters are dated May and October, 1814. (The phrase "les heureux événements" mentioned by Girodet in the May letter undoubtedly refers to the abdication of Napoleon one month earlier.)

We learn that the two artists met in Rome,[2] probably in 1790–91 when Girodet was working on the *Sleep of Endymion*,[3] but in any case no later than 1793. The implication in the second letter that the meeting took place during the execution of *Endymion* is reinforced by Girodet's choice of an engraving of this work as a gift for Flaxman. Flaxman apparently returned the compliment, sending Girodet his *Tragedies*, which were also executed in Rome in 1792–73.

The letters are in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library, inserted between the pages of a book by Girodet-Trioson entitled *Anacreon* (Paris, 1825). The letters were in the book when it was purchased from Erwin Rosenthal in 1962.

Further study is needed to trace the history of Flaxman's influence on Girodet's art, to examine the importance of the Roman encounter on Girodet's early works and the possible impact of Flaxman's present of his *Tragedies* on Girodet's work after 1814.

[Rutgers University]

Paris, 17 Mai 1814

Monsieur,

Je me rappelle avec bien du plaisir l'heureux temps où j'ai eu l'honneur de vous voir à Rome, et j'ai éprouvé bien des regrets de n'avoir pas eu l'avantage de renouveller connaissance avec vous lorsque vous vintes à Paris il y a plusieurs années et que vous prites la peine de venir pour me voir au Louvre où je demeurais alors. Les heureux événements qui viennent d'avoir lieu à Paris me font espérer que vous reviendrez peut-être nous visiter une autre fois.

J'en serais bien charmé pour ma part ainsi que notre ami commun l'estimable Mr. Percier qui vous est bien tendrement attaché et avec qui nous parlons souvent de vous. Je serais bien heureux que mes affaires me permissent d'aller un jour vous porter à Londres mon tribut d'admiration pour les chefs d'oeuvre dont vous avez enrichi votre savante école qui s'honorera toujours des productions de votre génie et qui fourniront toujours aux jeunes artistes les plus excellens modèles.

Je charge Mr. Vaudchamps, mon élève, neveu de notre grand poète Mr. Delille qui part pour Londres avec Mme. sa tante de vous transmettre l'expression de tous mes sentiments. Veuillez l'accueillir avec bonté et lui permettre d'admirer vos célèbres ouvrages. Je partagerai la reconnaissance que cette faveur lui inspirera, et dont il sentira tout le prix. Agréez je vous prie Monsieur l'hommage de la haute estime, de l'admiration et du respect avec lesquels je suis

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très dévoué
Serviteur

Girodet Trioson
Professeur de peinture,
Membre des Académies de Rome et de Florence

à Paris rue Neuve St. Augustin
No. 51
près L'Hôtel de Wagram

P.S. Mrs. J. Hayward et Georges Bullock m'ont dit ici que

*I would like to thank Professor Jack Spector for his aid and important suggestions. I am also grateful to Professor André Neveu of the Physics Department of L'École Normale Supérieure, Paris, for his help in deciphering the letters, and to the Curator of the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library for his gracious assistance.

[1] J. Pruvost-Auzas and D. Ternois, "Dessins de Girodet à sujets Ossianiques," *Revue du Louvre*, 1923, 270.

[2] John Flaxman was in Italy from 1787 to 1794. Girodet was there from 1790 to 1795. Girodet came to Rome on May 30, 1790 and stayed until January 13, 1793. From Rome he left for Naples, and later moved on to Venice.

[3] Girodet started to work on the *Sleep of Endymion* in July, 1790 and finished it on October 18, 1791.

vous aviez eu la bonté de leur parler de moi, ils pourront vous dire avec quel plaisir j'ay su de vos nouvelles et reçu les témoignages de votre souvenir. Je charge M. Vauchamps de vous faire hommage pour moi d'une épreuve de la gravure de mon Tableau d'Endymion fait à Rome. Veuillez l'accepter avec indulgence.

Paris, 5 Octobre 1814

Monsieur,

Je suis bien heureux d'apprendre que vous avez reçu avec quelque plaisir la gravure de mon tableau L'Endymion pour lequel vous m'aviez montré de l'indulgence à Rome. Je me rappelle toujours avec plaisir cet heureux temps et la bonne reception que vous eûtes la bonté de me faire ainsi que les leçons que m'ont donné vos compositions admirables. J'ai reçu avec autant de reconnaissance que de plaisir vos tragédies que l'on croirait composées par des artistes grecs tant vous vous êtes pénétré du beau stile de l'antique. aussi monsieur croyez que vous n'avez point de plus sincère admirateur que moi. Je serais bien heureux si je pouvais un jour aller vous dire tout cela de vive voix à Londres ou si vous laissiez l'espoir de vous revoir à Paris. M. Dorré me fait l'amitié de se charger de cette lettre. Il me fait grand plaisir en m'apprenant que vous vous portez bien. Je le désire de tout mon coeur monsieur pour la gloire des arts et le bonheur de vos amis.

Veuillez agréer les sentiments d'admiration et de respect avec lesquels

Je suis

Monsieur
Votre très humble et bien
dévoué serviteur

Girodet Trioson

Discussion

Reflections in a Mirror: Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Depiction of the Trinity

Norman E. Muller

Some twenty years ago, Howard Hibbard wrote a short note on the figure of *Fides* in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Massa Marittima *Maestà* (Fig. 1) in which he analyzed the unusual iconography of the Virtue who holds a mirror depicting two male faces in profile. Hibbard proposed several Pauline sources for the mirror emblem, one of which, the inscription in Hebrews 11:1 ("Now Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen") seemed to fit the image depicted in the mirror: ". . . Faith holds a mirror in which are reflected two faces. This can be interpreted as an image of the two absent members of the Trinity, which is thus the substance of Faith. Faith is, therefore, also a Hope, a reflection in the soul."[1]

This conclusion was reached after a careful examination of the mirror image before the painting was restored. The Alinari photograph of Faith holding the mirror, which accompanied the note, showed an unbearded male head in profile facing left, and a similar looking head joined to it facing to the right, the details of which were unfortunately obscured by accumulated grime, overpaint, and discolored varnish.[2]

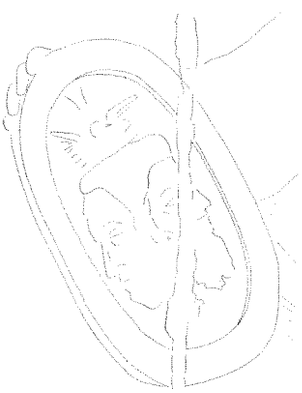
Several years ago I had the opportunity of studying and photographing the recently restored *Maestà* at first hand. The painting is hung rather high up on the wall behind the mayor's desk, and is not readily accessible. At a time that the office was unoccupied, I obtained a ladder and was able to photograph much of the painting in detail, using 35mm color transparency film. The restored painting displayed a freshness and clarity that revealed details not evident in any of the black-and-white photographs of the painting now available.

The two heads on the mirror are painted in monochrome against a red bole ground. Since bole was the usual substratum for metallic leaf, the background area around the faces was probably covered with a silver leaf to simulate the reflecting properties of a mirror, rather than gold. All of the silver has completely oxidized, leaving only the bole. In the painting's present state, one can now clearly see that the right head, as opposed to the left, is bearded. And above them, evident only when one is in close proximity to the surface, are traces of incisions in the bole. A color transparency of the mirror was projected on a piece of paper and the salient details were traced (Fig. 2). The incisions in the bole, lying directly on top of the heads, reveal a bird, undoubtedly a dove, from which lines representing an aura radiate. The dove was probably painted in white over the silver leaf and lines were scratched through the paint with a sharp stylus to delineate certain features.[3] Due to the combined action of

[1] H. Hibbard, "A Representation of *Fides* by Ambrogio Lorenzetti," *Art Bulletin*, XXXIX, 1957, 137–38.

[2] *Ibid.*, fig. 2 facing 137. See also n. 5.

[3] A similar technique is found for the dove in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Annunciation* of 1344 and for the wings of the Archangel. See my article, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Annunciation*. A Re-Examination," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XXI, 1977, 1–12.



1 *Fides*, detail of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Massa Marittima *Maestà* (photo: Alinari)

2 Author's tracing from enlarged color transparency of mirror held by *Fides*

surface abrasion and oxidation of the silver, the support underneath the dove was undermined. In the course of time the white paint flaked off, leaving only the incisions as evidence that a dove once existed on top of the two heads.

Instead of the double Janus-like heads representing the two absent members of the Trinity, as Hibbard thought, they, with the dove, form the complete Trinity. Apart from this new discovery, Hibbard's interpretation of the mirror image seems correct.[4]

Ambrogio's unique iconography, combining medieval and classical motifs, appears somewhat later and in a slightly different guise in mid-trecento Neapolitan miniatures. One, the *Creation*, shows a white-haired and aged Father and a youthful Son fused into a single body to which are attached the wings of the Holy Ghost.[5] The double-headed figure is obviously based on the classical Janus-type which survived into the Middle Ages as a symbol of the month of January, with the youth and age motif substituted for the simple, double-profiled Janus figure. Later the symbolism was modified to show a dove perched on one shoulder of the double-headed figure.[6] Since both of these types postdate Ambrogio's *Maesta*,[7] the iconography Ambrogio devised is thus the earliest example of its type.

Ambrogio's inventiveness and depth of perception reaffirm Lorenzo Ghiberti's view that, of all the Sienese artists before his time, "a me parue molto miglore Ambruogio Lorencetti et altrimenti dotto che nessuno degli altri."[8]

Worcester Art Museum

[4] See n. 1 above.

[5] A. Heimann, "Trinitas Creator Mundi," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938–39, 42–52. See esp. 48 and pl. 6a opp.

[6] *Ibid*, pl. 6b. Also illustrated in E. von Furstenau's "Pittura e miniatura a Napoli nel secolo XIV," *L'Arte*, 1905, 6, fig. 2, and L. M. Ciaccio, "Un Codice Miniato di Scuola Napoletana," *L'Arte*, 1911, 379.

[7] Recent research places the date of this in the middle to late 1330's. See E. Skaug, "Notes on the Chronology of Ambrogio Lorenzetti and a New Painting from His Shop," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XX, 1976, 312. Ambrogio's use of *sgraffito* in this work, which was first introduced in Sienese painting by Simone Martini for his *Annunciation* of 1333, places the *Maestà* after this.

[8] J. von Schlosser, *Lorenzo Ghibertis Denkwurdigkeiten (I Commentarii)*, Berlin, 1912, 42.

Book Reviews

WASSILIKI FELTEN, *Attische Unterweltsdarstellungen des VI. und V. Jahrhunderts vor Christus (Münchener Archäologische Studien*, VI). Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1975. Pp. 95; 31 figs. DM 28

"And dost not thou then tremble," asks Mr. Abraham Adams of an innkeeper in Fielding's *Joseph Andrews*, "at the thought of eternal punishment?" "As for that, master," said he, "I never once thought about it; but what signifies talking about matters so far off? The mug is out, shall I draw another?"[1] One has the distinct impression that the Classical Greeks would for the most part have agreed with the innkeeper. The underworld could be left to poets (not priests) to elaborate as Homer had in the Odyssey, Bk. XI, and even there the interest, for storyteller and listener alike, was in those few whose lives had been the subject of story and in a handful of great criminals who had made themselves enemies of the gods. Around the end of the 5th century B.C. at the latest, however, a change can be detected. The anxiety of old Cephalus, wondering what lies in store for him after death, leads Socrates and company to explore the nature of the human soul in Plato's *Republic*, set in Cephalus's house. It has long been a question how widespread and how deep was this change of attitude toward death and the afterlife; did it go beyond the circles of philosophers and religious mystics? Art, it has been said by some scholars, reflected changing eschatological views; others have firmly denied that this was the case.

In her Munich dissertation, Felten undertakes a detailed examination of the evidence of Attic art in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., that is, for the period before and during which the new attitudes emerged. She offers no summarizing set of conclusions, but her thesis, as I understand it, is that changes can be detected as much in the manner of representation (e.g., in the grouping or isolation of figures and themes, as in the subjects selected, and that though a more realistic and individualistic view of death comes to predominate, no systematic, consistent conception of the afterlife and its relation to this life emerges in art.

The most common underworld subject of 6th-century Attic art, Heracles' capture of Cerberus, the hound of Hell, is shown simply to be an incident in the adventures of that hero and not a sign of interest in the underworld as such. The great criminals, such as Tantalus and Tityus from Homer's land of the dead (*Nekyia*), are also seen to be orthodox mythological subjects. Sisyphus, forever rolling his rock uphill, is a more ambiguous figure. Neither early art nor literature specify his crime, but he shares the panel of a black-figure amphora in the Museum Antiker Kleinkunst, Munich, (No. 1493), with winged figures pouring water into a huge jar, the same activity engaged in by unwinged male and female figures on another black-figure vase in the Museum of Palermo (No. 996), on which an old man with a donkey are also portrayed. Sisyphus, the water-carriers, and the old man with donkey can all be interpreted as examples of futile labor in the afterlife, if the water-carriers are seen as the bearers of leaky vessels, such as those represented in Polygnotus's famous lost painting of the *Nekyia* at Delphi, and the old man is Oknos (also represented at Delphi), whose donkey constantly eats the rope he is forever plaiting. There is reason, however, to associate the water-carriers and the old man with conceptions characteristic of southern Italy and Sicily rather than Athens. The former are explicitly so associated by Plato, and both vases were found in that area though they were manufactured in Athens. Sisyphus remains oddly isolated. Felten sees the general absence of a particularized picture of the underworld as corresponding to the vague, generalized conception of afterlife as a condition that awaited all men, whatever their deeds, so that even the supremely clever Sisyphus was bound to a futile task.

Felten is at her best in a discussion of the friends Theseus and Peirithous, caught in the underworld in the course of an adventure, of whom Heracles was able to rescue only Theseus. Felten sees the farewell of Peirithous and Heracles on a mid-5th-century red-figure lekythos in the Museum of Berlin (No. 30035) as revealing a heightened interest in the gulf between the dead and the living, and she brings her analysis suggestively to bear on a number of three-figure reliefs of the second half of the 5th century. The familiar Orpheus and Eurydice relief in Naples (a Roman copy as are the rest) has the god Hermes in a crucial role he occupies in a number of other mythical scenes and funerary works of the period, where he presides over the separation of the living and the dead. For all the greater poignancy of these scenes, there is still no clear formulation of the nature of the afterlife, or a correlation between the deeds of this life and man's fate in the next.

A long section is devoted to Polygnotus's picture of the underworld, probably painted in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. and described by Pausanias in the 2nd century A.D. (x.28ff.). A grandiose conception, it combined many figures from the Homeric *Nekyia*, both heroes and great criminals, with humbler denizens of Hades such as the water-carriers and Oknos with the donkey, all apparently quite loosely disposed in small groups. Felten draws attention to a number of named, i.e., actually labeled, heroes and heroines represented in situations of daily life, playing dice, resting against each other, sitting in a swing (Phaedra!). Felten sees this as in effect generalizing the figures by showing them in ordinary poses of this life, unrelated to their famous activities or to any punishment. Polygnotus has moved away from traditional mythological scenes to figures with a wider reference. Though there are, to be sure, two generic sinners, as we might call them, the Father-abuser and the Temple-despoiler, each being punished physically by a single figure, Felten does not see the artist as anticipating the anxieties that become manifest later. Indeed, it is difficult to show his influence on other examples of underworld art even though the relationship of his figures and poses to contemporary and later work can be demonstrated.

In the white-ground lekythoi of the later 5th century that were used in burials, Hermes' prominence gives way to Charon's, who ferries the dead over Acheron. Charon, after a mild start, becomes increasingly terrifying and daemonic until the Vases abruptly go out of use at the end of the century, unlike the less unequivocal grave reliefs with the dead shown in their "Lebensbild." The face of death in the form of Charon was no sooner fully conceived than it was

[1] *The History of the Adventures of Joseph Andrews and his Friend Mr. Abraham Adams*. New York: New American Library, 1960, 86.

banished. It is hard to understand why these skillful artists did not employ their white-ground technique to depict funerary subjects more acceptable to 4th-century taste.

We are left by the author on the threshold of the 4th century, not in itself an artificial limit for Athenian history and culture, when there was an awareness of an existing ability and concern in art to express individual loss (to flower in the great 4th-century series of reliefs showing the living and the dead), and an almost total lack of interest in delineating the underworld or specifying the rewards and punishments that await different individuals. Mythology then moved closer to the life of individuals without taking on the burden of a precise eschatology.

The study is modest, careful, and clear, the illustrations are well chosen, and particular observations are subtle, but as a publication it suffers from its self-imposed limitations in time and method. Subsequent developments are only hinted at, and issues raised in the introduction are not explored adequately in the text. Thus, though there are allusions to the mysteries and their growing part in the conception of the afterlife, little is made of the label "uninitiated" attached to the water-carriers in Polygnotus's painting. On them, on Oknos with his donkey, and on the mysteries in Polygnotus's work, one learns much more from Fritz Graf (*Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* [*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, XXXIII] Berlin/New York, 1974, 107–19, 185–94). Graf argues that Polygnotus's decision to show the founder of the mysteries on Thasos in Charon's boat together with his daughter points to ideas proper to the mysteries of his native island rather than to Attica. Oknos, whose name means "delay," is explained as signifying one who hesitates to be initiated. These are but first steps, necessary for the elucidation of the problem. Greek art of this period requires a wider view than Felten has taken, and such a wider view would have led her to remedy a major deficiency of the present study, namely its neglect of the phenomenon of heroization of other than the great dead. The significance of this heroization is not restricted to funerary art. We cannot see Orpheus leaving Eurydice, Heracles and Theseus parting from Peirithous, without asking about the third state that awaits those who do not stay in the underworld. Perhaps in future studies Felten will broaden her focus and our understanding.

MICHAEL H. JAMESON
Stanford University

JOHN HAYES, *Roman Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Royal Ontario Museum, Greek and Roman Department, *Catalogue*, II), Toronto, 1976. Pp. 69; 40 pls., 13 figs. $13.50

Publication of the Royal Ontario Museum's collection of Roman pottery could not have been better entrusted than to a member of that reputable museum's own staff, John W. Hayes, whose keen scholarship and expertise in the vast realm of Roman Imperial pottery[1] have made this second volume of the catalogue of the Greek and Roman Department an exemplary publication, one that bodes well for future volumes of the series.

The present volume treats of more than the title denotes, because specimens of Early Christian (and Byzantine in the case of Palestine) pottery have been included, which expand the chronological range of the catalogued "Roman" pottery from the 1st century B.C. to the 7th century A.D. Although Italian finds (Arretine, etc.) are expectedly well represented, those from Africa (chiefly Egypt) and Palestine are far more numerous. Since the individual wares, shapes, and types of this rather heterogenous collection of Roman pottery are markedly diverse, an informative glimpse is conveniently offered into the creativity and inventiveness of Imperial and post-Imperial ceramic workshops.

With the exception of the pottery (primarily Arretine) in two special collections, which Hayes discusses separately on the basis of provenience (Arezzo and Ventimiglia), the more than 300 catalogued specimens are considered chronologically if representative of coarse wares, or according to fabrics if representative of fine wares. The major wares, fabrics, and shapes presented under a dozen individual headings include: Arretine sherds and molds; Gaulish and Eastern terra sigillata; African Red Slip (plain or with appliqué, incised, or painted decoration); Knidian and Eastern lead-glaze; Italian thin-wall; mold-made high relief or plastic; Palestinian unguentaria, flasks, jugs, and cooking pots; wine amphorae with diverse proveniences; distinctive Menas flasks; and Coptic pottery. Each heading is introduced by references to the most pertinent general bibliography, themselves a source of more extensive bibliography, which are complemented by invaluable references to monographs and articles in the accompanying notes to the text.

The descriptions of the catalogued pieces are concise, accurate, and clear. Especially praiseworthy is the exemplary descriptive vocabulary for details of shape and decoration. Close attention to Hayes's astute and experienced observations can be rewarding: e.g., "sagging profile should indicate a date early in the series," "stands half way between," "a late version of a traditional Palestinian shape," etc. Although the 369 entries (one deletion, No. 145) are admittedly run-of-the-mill Roman pottery, there are nevertheless some noteworthy novelties: a new potter's name for Arretine ware with relief decoration (No. 54; "FELIX/ . . ."); uncommon decoration in relief or appliqué (Nos. 55 and 25); flask-like vases for which no close parallels can be presently cited (Nos. 120–123); a red-glossed ware that defies identification (No. 169); two amphorae, one provocative for its provenience (England; No. 360), the other noteworthy because it contained a coin hoard (surviving undivided in the numismatic collection of the Royal Ontario Museum); and several examples of thin-walled pottery with unexpected provenience (e.g., Nos. 146 and 147, seemingly from Palestine, if the place of purchase, Jerusalem, can be considered reliable for provenience). A welcome clarification, in a sense "concordance," appears in the text for the various classifications of Roman pottery (i.e., the correspondence of the different names in current use for a specific ware): "Pergamene" is equated with Eastern Sigillata A, "Samian" with Eastern Sigillata B (p. 18). African Red Slip (p.22), as identified by Kenyon[2] and studied in detail by

[1] J. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery: A Catalogue of Roman Fine Wares*, British School at Rome, London, 1972; see also *University of Michigan Excavations at Carthage, 1975*, I, American Schools of Oriental Research, 1976.

[2] K. Kenyon, *Samaria-Sebaste*, III, *The Objects from Samaria*, London, 1957, 282.

Hayes,[3] is equated with Waage's "Late Roman A and B"[4] and Lamboglia's "terra sigillata A, C, and D."[5] Furthermore, for Egyptian Red Slip (p. 24), Hayes proposes possible areas of manufacture: Upper Egypt (perhaps Aswan) for Ware "A," Lower Egypt (the Delta and the Fayoum) for Ware "B."

A serviceable two-page "Select Bibliography" (pp. vii–viii) is offered at the outset. Equally worthwhile are the indexes of donors, collections, and sources (Index I) and of provenientes (Index II). Because the Arretine potters' stamps that appear on some of the catalogued pieces are illustrated in clear and sharp, detailed photographic reproductions, assembled on pls. 8 and 9, Hayes rightly judged no need for a third index. The exacting care in planning the book's format and layout is attested by the juxtaposition of pls. 1 and 2, upon which appear the proper correspondence of the fragmentary molds and their plaster casts. The profile drawings (figs. 1–13 on pp. 72–84), which document nearly 150 vases, are precise and informative, and the photographs employed for pls. 1–40 (illustrating more than 300 items) are beyond reproach.

Considering the range and content of the entire holdings of Roman pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum, of which the present volume represents but a small part, the task was not light. Yet the results are commendable. We can look forward to future volumes of the series, which will publish the Museum's impressive Romano-British collection, comprising a large number of Gaulish Samian ware, its considerable quantity of coarse ware, chiefly from the northern provinces of the Empire, and its Meroitic and Nabatean wares, associated with peripheral areas of the eastern Empire.

MARIO A. DEL CHIARO
University of California, Santa Barbara

BEZALEL PORKISS and GABRIELLE SED-RAJNA, eds., *Index of Jewish Art: Iconographical Index of Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts, I*, with Jonathan Benjamin, Christine Evans, Michael Garel, Hava Lazar, Irit Salmon, Nicolas-Jean Sed, Dalia Shahak, and Debbi Sinai, Jerusalem and Paris, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities and Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, C. N. R. S., 1976. 550 cards; 236 ills. $15.

The *Index of Jewish Art*, intended as a comprehensive subject and iconographical index of Jewish art, was inspired by and is meant to complement the Index of Christian Art at Princeton. The project was first proposed at the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies in Jerusalem in 1969, and at the Sixth Congress in 1973, sample cards were presented to the participants. Since the subject field of the editors is illumination in Hebrew manuscripts, the practical program for publication includes only this aspect of Jewish art. The long-range plan for the *Index* proposes also to include the decorations of ancient synagogues such as Dura Europos, and post-medieval synagogues, such as those of Gwoździec and Chodorów, as well as the forms of Jewish ceremonial objects, but there is no immediate plan for their publication. Since the two major supporting institutions are in Israel and France, the manuscripts preserved in the libraries and museums of these two countries will be the first to appear, to be followed by those of England, Italy, and the United States. The manuscripts listed in this, the first volume, are the Birds' Head Haggadah and the Erna Michael Haggadah in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, the Chantilly Haggadah (Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 732), and the Greek Haggadah (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Hébreu 1388). Volume II will include three Haggadahs, the Yahuda Haggadah in the Israel Museum, the Second Nuremberg Haggadah in the Schocken Library, Jerusalem (MS 24 087), and the Haggadah in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Hébreu 1333. Volume III will be devoted to the Rothschild Miscellany in the Israel Museum, a manuscript with over 300 illustrations. Other volumes in preparation will include the Spanish Haggadahs with biblical cycles and Spanish Hebrew Bibles that depict the implements of the Sanctuary.

Although there are dated and non-dated Hebrew manuscripts from the late 9th century that contain ornaments and decorative motifs, there are no illustrations in Hebrew manuscripts until the 13th century. The earliest are from Germany; they are found in a biblical commentary of Rashi, written in 1233 (Munich, Cod. Heb. 5). Therefore, in practical terms, the scope of the *Index of Jewish Art* will reflect only four centuries of manuscript production, but nearly 2,000 manuscripts.

The *Index* is printed on cards measuring 5⅞ x 8¼" (15 x 21cm), a size standard to European files but not suitable to American specifications. Since the cardboard boxes in which the *Index* is shipped were not meant for its permanent storage and indeed tend to break in the mailing, the cards must be housed in a slightly larger standard metal filing cabinet in American libraries (6 x 9"). Although guide rods can be provided for the cabinets, the cards are not punched with holes for them, thus exposing the *Index* to the temptation of unauthorized card-borrowing. A poorly bound pamphlet included in Box 1 briefly explains the use of the *Index* and gives a list of the iconographic subjects and their French and Hebrew equivalents.

The basic arrangement of the *Index* is in two sections, one containing cards for the manuscripts themselves, and one for the iconographic subjects. Section I contains four kinds of cards, with the titles CODEX, DECORATION, ICONOGRAPHY, or BIBLIOGRAPHY. Each card in Section I gives the following bibliographical information: location of the manuscript, library, shelf mark, type of manuscript and name, country of origin and town, date, and the *Index* number and card number to insure correct filing. The Codex card gives all of the codicological data for the manuscript: material, number of folios, measurements for the entire folio and the script space (in millimeters), script type, number of columns and lines of text, ruling, number and composition of quires, catchwords, colophons and/or scribe's name if indicated in another manner (such as by decorated letters or words within the manuscript), and the history of the manuscript given chronologically. A description of the binding is omitted completely for two of the four manuscripts in Volume I. The other two, the 18th-century binding of the Chantilly Haggadah, are described incompletely. According to the editors, "bindings are described if they are ancient, even if not contemporary with the manuscript." The omission of

[3] J. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 8ff.

[4] F. Waage, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* IV, Pt. 1, *Ceramics and Islamic Coins*, Princeton, 1948, 43ff.

[5] N. Lamboglia, see *Rivista di studi liguri*, XXIV, 1958, 257ff., and XXIX, 1963, 145f.

any note on the binding is unfortunate. A short note or illustration of the binding would be as useful to art historians as other codicological data, even if the binding is modern.

The Decor. card gives the number of different types of decoration found in the manuscript (full or half-page, marginal) and where they appear (frontispiece, folio number). The decorations are categorized as: borders, initial words or letter panels, ornamental initial words, ornaments outlined in micrography, and rubrics. The major ornamental motifs and the decorative categories are preceded by a sign ⌂ intended to permit possible computerization of the *Index*.

Each Icon. card reproduces an illustration from the manuscript, and all cards are in the sequence in which they appear in the manuscript itself. If the illustration is only a small detail on the page, unfortunately only that section of the page is shown, so that the user of the *Index* does not see the picture in the total context of the page. The editors hope to correct this in future volumes, so that there will be a picture of the whole page on one card, with an enlargement of the illustration on the next card. The bibliographic information on the manuscript itself (location, library, etc.), which appears at the top of the Codex, Decor., and Bibl. cards of Section I, has been moved to the bottom of the Icon. card. At the top of each Icon. card is the subject, the *Index* number, the folio number and the total number of illustrations on the same page, the technique and situation on the page indicated by standard abbreviations (explained in the pamphlet), and an "in place" sign, a plus sign if the illustration is related to the text that it accompanies, a minus if it is not. A reference number or numbers and letters are also given; these refer to the literary sources and iconographical components listed on the Reference cards in Section II of the *Index*. The meaning and use of these reference numbers and letters are obscure until the user is thoroughly familiar with Section II of the *Index;* thus, it would have been helpful if this aspect of the Icon. card were explained more clearly in the pamphlet. The Icon. card goes on to give a description of the illustration, indicating details that may be useful to art historians but are not major iconographic subjects, such as cities, towers, fingernails, hats, hair-nets, books, tables. These are marked by a circle if there are Reference cards for them in Section II and by a ⌂ if they are secondary subjects for the projected computer. The description includes the transcription and translation of any Hebrew text that may accompany the illustration. Unfortunately there is seldom any indication of the colors of the illustration, although there is enough room on the card to include this information. Notation of color for specific objects is the exception rather than the rule.

The quality of the black-and-white illustrations, printed by offset, is something less than a photograph, something more than a Xerox. A centimeter scale is provided for each illustration.

Section II has two types of cards, Reference and Index. Both of these cards have identical headings in English, French, and Hebrew. There are Reference cards for general subjects, such as *Abraham*, and cards for subdivisions of general subjects, such as *Abraham Saved from the Fiery Furnace* and *Abraham before Nimrod*. The information listed is not consistent from card to card. At times there is a full explanation of an iconographic theme, the title of which is in Hebrew, such as *Afiqoman*, at times the explanation is lacking or unclear, as for *Yaqnehaz* (not *Yaqenhaz*). The Reference cards also give cross-references to other subject headings or to the proper main heading. Cross-referencing should be increased to accommodate the non-Jewish user of the *Index*, e.g., *Ten Commandments* is a desirable cross-reference for *Tables of Testimony, unleavened bread* for *maẓah, bitter hero* for *maror, hunt* for *Yaqnehaz*, and so forth. After the theme's explanation or in place of it and following the cross-reference, the literary references are listed, in order of their chronological appearance in the texts ("Bible, Midrash, liturgical texts, other"). It is this feature of the *Index* which is open to the greatest criticism. Among the iconographic themes for which there are no biblical citations are: Land of Canaan, Mt. Sinai, the Temple of Jerusalem, Nimrod, the plagues, and *maẓah*. No post-biblical sources are given for the customs of *talit, havdalah*, the spice box, benediction of bread, grace after meals (not *meat*). Nowhere are the *tannaim*, the rabbis of the Mishna, identified, except as quotable characters in the Haggadah. How many users of the *Index* would know where to find information on Rabban Gamliel, Ben Zoma, or Rabbi Elazar ben Azariah? How can the user know where to consult such literary references as *Bereshit Rabba, Targum Jerusalem on Deut.*, Davidson A 1871, or *Pirqe de Rabbi Eliezer*, without any bibliographical references to editions of post-biblical and medieval literature? Since the English-speaking scholar has been considered the primary user of the *Index*, English translations of these editions should be cited. At least one standard modern Hebrew edition of the Haggadah itself should have been mentioned for those equipped to use it, such as E. D. Goldschmidt's *The Passover Haggadah, Its Sources and History*. At times the editors have capriciously inserted the secondary source in which they found their information rather than a primary source (M. Kasher's edition of the Haggadah on the *Wine* subject card, rather than *Pesaḥim* 118, for example). All of the standard bibliography could be added to the instruction pamphlet, which will require reprinting as the subject list expands to include other kinds of manuscripts.

After the literary sources on the Reference card, or in place of them, there is a division of the subject into smaller iconographic components where a separate card for them was not deemed necessary. These are numbered, with letters for further subdivision. The numbers and letters correspond to the reference rubric on the Icon. card in Section I. The few inaccuracies that were found in spot-checking are correctable *errata* (e.g., trace *dragon*).

After each Reference card that is not for cross-reference comes the Index card, which lists the manuscripts, with folio numbers, depicting the iconographic theme. The manuscript is listed by its official name, e.g. Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS Hébr. 1388. I would suggest the addition here of the manuscript's nickname, Greek Haggadah, to correspond to the projecting title guide card in Section I. This would facilitate use of the *Index* in the future, when more than two or three Hebrew manuscripts from one museum or library are published.

According to the editors, Volume I will have to be reissued at a future date because of the change in shelf marks of the Israel Museum's manuscripts, to provide full-page reproductions so that the illustrations can be seen in their complete context, and to correct the errors that creep into all printed works and have already been discovered by the compilers and the first practical users of the work. Meanwhile, lists of *errata* will be issued. The delay in publishing the second volume has been caused by two factors. First, the editors wish to perfect the *Index* by considering the reaction of scholars and librarians in Europe and the United States to

the existing format (it has been decided that it will continue to appear on cards of the size now used). Secondly, if the cost of each volume is to remain as attractively low as it is now, the printing must be done by C. N. R. S., which means that each volume must wait its turn in their printing schedule. If the editors turn to a commercial printer for faster production, the price will increase considerably. Although the editors are ready to issue two or three volumes a year, with an average of three manuscripts per volume, if publication continues at its present pace, the manuscript section alone will not be completed until A.D. 3978. It is to be hoped that subsidies can be found to offset the printing costs so that subscription to the *Index* will not be prohibitive.

In addition to the few suggestions for improving the *Index* that I have made in passing, I would like to emphasize certain conceptual changes that would enhance its value. At the moment, the program for publishing decorative motifs includes only those which appear on illustrated pages. Although the number of motifs may seem too vast to cope with, they are nevertheless important for interpreting the symbols of a culture with a relatively small visual vocabulary. A simple motif of one age can become a symbol in another age, as we know from the lesson of the "Jewish star." I would recommend the tabulation therefore of rosettes, stars, and vegetal decoration (e.g., the tree of life, a ritual symbol). I would also urge that the *Index* be expanded to include Jewish art of late antiquity, particularly the mosaics and other archaeological discoveries that have come to light since E. R. Goodenough's *Jewish Symbols of the Greco-Roman Period* (1953-1968), where the Dura synagogue is already well illustrated and indexed. The collaborators of the *Index* should include a specialist in Jewish ritual and literature so that essential sources and consistent citations will appear on the cards, the users of which will include art historians and students with no knowledge of Jewish themes, and students and scholars of Jewish history with no knowledge of art.

In two respects the *Index of Jewish Art* promises to be even more useful in its own field than the Princeton Index is for Christian art: its accessibility to all libraries, and its integral reproduction of manuscripts hitherto unpublished (only one of the four Haggadahs in Volume I has appeared in facsimile). This index will be a monumental contribution to the history of Jewish art, costume, and customs, and to comparative iconography.

LEILA AVRIN
Hebrew University, Jerusalem, and University of Michigan

IRMGARD HUTTER, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturhandschriften*, I: *Oxford, Bodleian Library*, Pt. I (*Denkmäler der Buchkunst*, 2), ed. Otto Demus, Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 1977. Pp. xix + 117; 433 ills. DM. 380

The history of Byzantine manuscript illumination is full of yawning gaps but also of useful and surprising coincidences. The Codex Ebnerianus in the Bodleian Library (No. 39 in the volume under review and probably of the 1130's or 1140's rather than "Anfang 12. Jahrhundert") contains two entries dated in the month of June, 1391, made, as Irmgard Hutter puts it, when the monk Ioasaph and his colleague Gregorios adapted this New Testament for use as a Lectionary. Several hundred yards away in Christ Church College, a Psalter (Wake gr. 61) written by Ioasaph, has a colophon dated almost exactly six months earlier and employing precisely the same formula as the first entry in the Bodleian manuscript. Several thousand miles away, in Baltimore, Cod. W.531 has Evangelist portraits copied from those of the Ebnerianus, added when the Walters manuscript was in Ioasaph's monastery τῶν Ὁδηγῶν where it likewise underwent a liturgical *aggiornamento*. These connections are well known to students of Byzantine manuscripts but neatly exemplify for non-specialists the salient purpose of both the book under review and this notice: the only efficient way of recording and thus retrieving this sort of information is in first-rate library catalogues.

Kitchin's catalogue of the Christ Church manuscripts, published in 1867, is scarcely more than a checklist. That of the Walters Art Gallery is in preparation. But now at hand is the long-awaited first part of the first volume of the *Corpus der byzantischen Miniaturhandschriften (CBM)*. Given the complexity of the title at the head of this notice, the acronym is necessary, as the publishers realize, firmly imprinting it on the spine of the book. *CBM* will be as welcome and become as standard and as natural to use as *CLA* and *MGH*. Would that we had an acronym for the catalogue of the later Byzantine manuscripts in Vienna, until now virtually the only acceptable catalogue of a major library and the editor's confessed model. *CBM* I is in a sense the successor to P. Buberl and H. Gerstinger, *Die Handschriften des X. bis XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1938), and is a lot easier to refer to in a footnote than the latter, which is likewise one part of one volume in a series by different authors. It is by Buberl-Gerstinger's high standard that Hutter's volume must be judged and it must be said at once that it is more than equal to the comparison.

CBM is at once less and more ambitious than Buberl-Gerstinger. It excludes post-Byzantine codices: one will not look here for such interesting manuscripts as Barocci 84 (on which see R. Ljubinković and M. Marković in *Muzeji*, VII, 1952, 66–74). *CBM* includes all the major Greek *fonds* of the Bodleian except theological manuscripts such as the Menologion made for Demetrios Palaeologos Angelos Doukas, despot of Thessaloniki in 1322–1340 (*Greek Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1966, No. 88). Also excluded are manuscripts belonging to other libraries and now on deposit at the Bodleian. Manuscripts still in Oxford colleges are by definition not considered.

None of this is made clear in the foreword or introduction, which together propose a larger program. To translate literally its stated aims, *CBM* intends to make accessible the entire corpus of surviving Byzantine book illumination, with the exception of those manuscripts and collections that are "already fully published." Succeeding volumes are planned to appear on a yearly basis. Much, of course, depends upon the interpretation of the phrase "fully published." If followed literally, the plan will produce some curious volumes: Florence without the Laurenziana Gospel book, plut. VI. 23, Paris without gr. 510 and 139 (or will the incompletely published ornament of these famous books justify, at long last, their full reproduction?). What of the Holy Mountain, some of the manuscripts of whose libraries have appeared, or will do so, in the series *Treasures of Mount Athos* (cf. A. W. Carr in the *Art Bulletin*, LIX, 1977, 126–28)? What of Topkapı Sarayı, some of whose manuscripts Uspenski and Muñoz published in a form that they believed to be *in extenso* but that, in fact, neglected important miniatures? The outlook is perplexing and one about which

specialists in the area are entitled to some enlightenment. One would like a prospectus of research and work in progress as is regularly available for the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*. This is no minor quibble. *CBM* is so important a venture that the future shape and direction of the series could affect the course of research for a long time to come.

In this first part of *CBM*, Hutter acknowledges that the collaboration of other scholars will be necessary if the project is to be completed. She is also fully aware of the subjective factors inherent in acts of description, stylistic analysis, dating, and "localization." She rightly leaves the definitive answers on these matters to later monographic studies, hoping at the same time that her work will supply a trustworthy and stimulating basis for such research. There can be no doubt of this, as a few examples will show. Should one be concerned, say, with Middle Byzantine ornament, figures 22–149 present an almost unbroken series of Canon Tables, headbands, *pylai*, and zoomorphic initials of the 10th and 11th centuries, tentatively assigned to Constantinople, southern Italy, and Asia Minor (as against the more specific "Westliches Kleinasien?" and "Kappadokien?"). Again, the study (and perennial problem) of the relationship between illuminated manuscripts and icons can only be enriched by No. 48, a previously unpublished Liturgikon and Synaxarion (Cromwell 11) signed by the scribe Michael Papadopoulos, son of the priest George of the *theme* of Iannina, on February 13, 1225; its frontispiece is a much-flaked but still impressive framed icon identified by inscription as the Eleousa (fig. 294). Connoisseurs of iconographical variants will be confronted with two Gospel books (E. D. Clarke 5 and Barocci 31) in which Mark and Luke sit before lectern stands adorned halfway up (rather than at the base, which is common) with a large cross. This motif recurs in other Palaeologan books (cf. H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft*, Heidelberg, 1970, figs. 37, 38, 40) but always for Mark alone. The phenomenon seems to have been unnoticed, like the grisaille "statues" set into niches in the chest beside the Evangelist John in the much earlier and better-known Canon. gr. 110; these figures anticipate those used by Pantoleon to decorate sarcophagi depicted in the Menologion of Basil II (C. Mango, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XVII, 1963, 74, figs. 12–14). As a final example, Hutter's catalogue cannot fail to make better known the superb miniatures inserted, she suggests, ca. 1150, into a Lectionary (Auct. T. inf. 2.7) made about a quarter of a century earlier. I believe that she is right in following this suggestion of Demus's, although it is less obvious to me why the book itself is "offenbar das Werk eines Scriptoriums mit Massenproduktion." However that may be, we are indebted to her for a meticulous record of the manuscript's contents. One of the manuscript's later entries introduces into the already crowded ranks of Palaeologan prosopography the otherwise unknown (?) Theodoule Palaeologina Goudelina, who was probably responsible for the binding and who, as a nun, offered the book for the salvation of the soul of her dead husband Nikolaos Goudelas. (Unfortunately Theodoule does not say where or when.)

This random sampling of the rich diversity of material available in (and in most cases only in) *CBM* I already suggests the sort of problems raised by the production of so ambitious a catalogue. Most problems derive from the subjective elements of the process of cataloguing, alluded to above and discussed further below. A few derive from the properly cautious scheme that the author has used to suggest places and dates of origin. When either of these is uncertain (as, of course, is true in the majority of cases), her views are given in parentheses. But since these opinions are simply stated rather than argued, it is difficult to evaluate the shade of difference, for example, between "(Konstantinopel—2. Hälfte 12. Jahrhundert)" and "(Konstantinopel?—2. Hälfte 12. Jahrhundert." If these notions are meant to be interpreted in dictionary fashion, then the attribution for Laud gr. 75 "(Kleinasien? Süditalien?)" should surely indicate a preference for the first alternative. If this is so, the gap between codicologists and art historians as to the origin of this dated Chrysostom manuscript remains unbridged. Weitzmann originally inclined towards Cyprus (*Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, 64–65); Grabar did not claim it for his large group of southern Italian manuscripts; but Devreese (*Les Manuscrits grecs de l'Italie méridionale*, Vatican City, 1955, 29) classed it in his "Tyrrhenian" group, an attribution since accepted by Irigoin. In the absence of stylistic argument, it is impossible to know why Asia Minor should here be preferred.

For the same reason, the same sort of doubt must attach to E. D. Clarke 5, here assigned to "Greece (?)." If this is based on the fact that Clarke bought this Lectionary on Paros in 1801, then surely the same argument should apply *a fortiori* to E. D. Clarke 6, here tentatively ascribed to the capital, since it is known to have been in Verroia in both the 16th and 17th centuries. (It is nonetheless true that this Gospel book appears much more sophisticated than E. D. Clarke 5, with its curious Evangelist types: in the Lectionary Luke sits in front of what looks like a ticker-tape machine). Similarly one wonders why E. D. Clarke 6 is dated ca. 1270/80. This is not impossible, but as Lawrence Nees has pointed out (*Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections*, ed. G. Vikan, Princeton, 1973, 188), the dated manuscripts containing these types of Evangelist range between 1305 and 1330.

Of course questions such as these suggest themselves only when someone has taken a stand for a particular position: Hutter is to be both congratulated and thanked for doing so. Of particular value are the "Besondere Bemerkungen" appended to the entries for many, although not all, manuscripts. Many useful if miscellaneous data are recorded in these entries and all are the fruit of first-hand observation. Thus, for instance, Hutter is able to show that painter and scribe worked side by side on the miniatures of Canon. gr. 112 (No. 69), something that we do not generally expect to find in the 14th century when, for example, the monastery τῶν Ὁδηγῶν farmed out its manuscripts to different, independent illuminators. The conviction that miniatures were inserted into Palaeologan manuscripts has become such a truism of our discipline that it is salutary to have Hutter point out, in her *Bemerkungen* on Laud gr. 3, a little-known Gospel book (dated 1286 by scribal colophon), that its miniatures existed before the text was written by Niketas Mauronas and were cut down to fit the book. The colophon has significance beyond the purely chronological: it gives no indication that the scribe was a monk. Indeed, Niketas says that he worked on the commission and at the expense of Ioannes Pouloumistrinos: the more reason, then, to believe that the miniatures were bought for the occasion or already on hand.

The presentation of "new" material is an obvious contribution of a fine catalogue, but it by no means exhausts its virtues. Hitherto unstudied manuscripts force us to reexamine our neat views of a period and to question the received opinions of our handbooks and histories. The superb minia-

tures of Acct. T. inf. 2.7, already referred to, pose stylistic problems that are not susceptible to simplification. Whereas the himatia of Matthew and Mark are richly drawn, the drapery of Luke, indubitably by the same hand, is almost streamlined. The Evangelists are, in short, painted in different modes although the theory of modes, evolved to account for stylistic discrepancies within a series of contemporary works and constructed upon an iconographical base, is obviously inappropriate here. We need a finer instrument to explain the different manners that coexist within a single manuscript where all the pictures are of the same type. Part of the answer must lie in the choice of models employed. And the role of such miniatures as models in their turn is a part of the historical process. Massive mid-12th-century Evangelists like Matthew and Mark here, make those of the Palaeologan Revival slightly less startling phenomena than they used to appear.

The more manuscripts we know well (and here Hutter's catalogue is an indispensable aid), the more data will be available to confirm or contradict current views. Thus, given its late 14th-century date, Canon. gr. 112 offers yet another example of Byzantium feeding both upon its own immediate past and, as Buchthal has suggested ("Toward a History of Palaeologan Illumination" in *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, Princeton, 1975, 146), upon Latin sources. The crossed legs of Matthew and Mark in this Gospel book occur for Mark in Cod. Barocci 29 (fig. 403) and long before that for Herod, Pilate, and other seated dignitaries in Western books. Equally, the manuscript suggests new areas for investigation. The Evangelist John (fig. 426), here denied his customary rock-girt setting, sits gazing at the spectator, his head inclined and resting on his writing hand much as Mark rests his on his left in Vienna theol. gr. 300 (V. N. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Turin, 1967, fig. 506). The "interchangeability" of late Evangelists' attitudes is a subject that would repay further study.

A catalogue of illuminated manuscripts in a single library invites the user to make his own comparisons with both manuscript and monumental paintings. Hutter assigns Laud gr. 30 A, a collection of Old Testament writings, to early 13th-century Nicaea. The *mouvementé* prophets of this curious codex (figs. 325–341) read as crude versions of the sinuous prophets of H. Chrysostomos on Cyprus. In particular, the pose of Hosea, advancing to the right but looking back to the left, recalls this magnificent and still largely unpublished series. The manuscript's connections with books of the Family 2400 are even closer. Job's hill (fig. 325) is the same dun/olive-green as the topographical features in many miniatures of this group, and both his feet and those of his comforters are drawn in black outline on a red ground like David's feet in the Spencer Psalter (New York Public Library, Spencer Coll. gr. 1). Hutter's account of the state of preservation of the manuscript does not mention that the headpiece to Daniel is missing on fol. 386r. She does note that the prophet in the lion's den, seven pages further on, is shown orans against a black hill, but a note on this extraordinary palette is perhaps beyond what we should expect her to remark upon. Nonetheless, the miniature itself (if not the black-and-white photograph) makes one realize how rarely in Byzantine illumination are large areas of black to be found. They do not occur, for example, in Istanbul, Topkapı 13 with which Demus has properly associated Laud gr. 30 A.

Another Bodleian book sometimes affiliated with the "Nicaea group" shows how heterogeneous is the range of manners within this family. The well-known Gregory manuscript, Roe 6 (No. 53), is a much more careful piece of work than many of its supposed siblings. The faces and other features of the Maccabees (fig. 321) are relatively well-preserved and therefore of considerable importance. The irises are very accurately placed within the eyes, and green shadows within the upraised palms of their parents' hands, and around Solomone's eyes, show an attention to details of anatomy and modeling that one does not expect in the Family 2400. So diverse in fact is this group of manuscripts that such often-neglected evidence as the color of the underpaint might well be invoked as a consideration in grouping or discriminating its members. These have been carefully noted for the Benaki Psalter by Annemarie Carr (*Revue des études byzantines* XXXIV, 1976, 281–323) but are more neglected by Hutter. Roe 6 presents a more complicated situation: the figures in the *Nativity* and *Baptism*, and others, are prepared in brown whereas the author portrait in the frontispiece is painted over a pink outline. The photographs of this manuscript will serve as no more than an *aide-mémoire* and, on occasion, a deceptive one. In the very odd group of martyrs on fol. 103v (fig. 316), the large gold halos of the first row of saints bisect the faces of the middle row vertically and those of the furthest row horizontally. The effect does not look nearly as singular in black-and-white as it does in the original, where the gold nimbi are superimposed without outline upon a background of the same color.

The extent to which the description of miniatures should relate everything visible in the original is always debatable. A rule of thumb might be that where something is obvious in the accompanying illustration, it need not be remarked: thus the failure to record the pseudo-Kufic "inscriptions" on Goliath's shield in Barocci 15 (fig. 205) is perhaps venial. But the user of this catalogue must be careful not to assume that, because some inscriptions are noted, all inscriptions properly so termed have been recorded. On the frontispiece of this Psalter (fig. 204), the legend in white *μή(τηρ) θ(εο)ῦ* may be seen above the icon of the Virgin, if a magnifying glass is used. Higher still, the inscription *ὁ προ(φ)ήτης δα(υὶ)δ* identifies the attendant king. Neither of these legends, apparent in the reproductions, is reported by Hutter. (Incidentally, considering the inclined attitude of the Virgin's head and the Child's position, the icon here identified as a Hodegetria is more likely to be of the Eleousa type.) On the other hand, some of Hutter's observations are wishful thinking. On fol. 343r, she reads *ὁ Δα(υὶδ) θύων Γολίαδ*. If this was so, it would be matched in no other aristocratic Psalter. In fact, what is legible is *δα(υὶ)δ . . . ου τα . . .* The spelling of other inscriptions in the manuscript is needlessly "corrected," e.g., on fol. 343v, *Αἰγυπτίων Βύθισις* is rendered as *Αἰγυπτίων Βύθεσις*.

This sort of correction is of minor significance. But occasionally the omission of an inscription can lead to the neglect of important evidence. Above the headpiece of Ps. 77 (which, according to my records, appears on fol. 195r, not 196r), there is a legend identifying the Psalm as "an injunction of Christ to the Church and concerning the transgression of the earlier people." This inscription refers directly to the sins of the Israelites addressed in the Psalm. It is also a nice textual corroboration for recent observations concerning the substitution of Christ for Moses in Byzantine Psalter illumination. Basing herself on patristic commentary, Der Nersessian thus explained this substitution in the Psalter in Washington (*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XIX, 1965, 173–175) and Belting accounted in like fashion for the "added" miniature

in the Palatina Psalter (*Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, XXI, 1972, 25–32). The currency of this idea is thus further demonstrated and, in the group of manuscripts under consideration, corroborated by the 12th-century entry of the first verse of Psalm 77 on the first page of the 10th-century Epistles, Canon. gr. 110. The insertion is therefore more than a mere "Psalmvers," as Hutter laconically describes it (p. 3).

As regards the codicological aspects of these manuscripts, *CBM* I provides almost all that the art historian may reasonably ask. The analysis of their gatherings predictably and happily follows the system established by Herbert Hunger. The great utility of rulings for the history of Byzantine book illumination has yet to be demonstrated, despite Irigoin's pioneering efforts in this direction (*Scriptorium*, XII, 1958, 208–227; XIII, 1959, 177–209). Hutter often records rulings in some such form as "ähnlich Lake II, 13a," an obviously insufficient measure since the degree of *Ähnlichkeit* can vary enormously. A sketch of the ruling scheme, even a small one, as found, for example, in the catalogue section of J. Folda's *Crusader Manuscripts Illuminated at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton, 1976), would be more satisfactory. Certainly, dependence upon K. and S. Lake's sample of 175 types can no longer be considered an adequate basis for this sort of observation. While *CBM* I was in preparation, Julien Leroy's *Les Types de réglure des manuscrits grecs* (Paris, 1976) appeared. Future volumes will surely employ this much richer repertoire based upon the examination of some 3,000 manuscripts dating before the 13th century.

One aspect of the *Corpus* that unquestionably needs improvement is the color of the plates. A recent opportunity to compare these five reproductions with the books themselves suggested to me that not one of them offers a decent account of the original. The problem goes beyond the familiar one of representing gold-leaf backgrounds. The matte yellow used for this purpose for Canon. gr. 110 (pl. II) not only destroys the refulgent field but almost entirely washes out the tower-like structures (well described in the text) that are incised into the gold behind the portraits. The offset process employed turns the deep red of Saint James's cushion a pinkish orange and makes more "natural" the flush on his face which, in the miniature, is strikingly red. The quality of reproduction is even less happy for the superbly preserved Ebnerianus: the broad and brilliant gamut of 12th-century blues is reduced in plate III to a narrow range of tonal variations which, in turn, affects the colors superimposed on them. The golden "palms," for instance, that decorate the high priest's chlamys here appear as a murky green. In general, colors are too light; gold, particularly in the Saint Basil in Canon. gr. 77 selected as the frontispiece of the book, is too sallow. If offset rather than fine-screen letterpress has to be used (and is this necessary in a book that costs as much as this?), then better results would be achieved by printing on a harder paper. Since the pages on which the color plates are printed are here tipped in, negligible extra expense would be involved.

Against these failings, the crisp, first-rate quality of the black-and-white photography must be noted. The publisher (under the editor's supervision?) has achieved a nice balance between text, image, and ornament. It is no mean feat to make one or the other of these combinations legible in the vast majority of the hundreds of pictures and details reproduced. The bibliographies for each manuscript are treated with similar intelligence. Logically arranged according to a simple system, these are "intended to be complete as regards art historical literature." Indeed, one notes very few omissions. Christopher Walter's plausible suggestion concerning the genesis of Roe 6 (*Revue des études byzantines*, XXIX, 1971, 209) is missing, as are the multiple references to Barocci 230 in P. Mijović, *Menolog. Istorijsko-umetnička istraživanja* (Belgrade, 1973). To the literature on this manuscript one must now add V. D. Lihačeva, *Iskusstvo knigi konstantinopol' XI vek*, (Moscow, 1976), who dates it less precisely than Hutter but attributes it to the Studios Monastery.

There are some orthographical mistakes not all of which can be attributed to typographical error. The name of Bruce Barker-Benfield, a generous host to many visitors to the Bodleian, is misspelled (p. x) and the great Greek palaeographer, Linos Politis, is assigned a Christian name starting with the letter J (p. 60). The Lakes's *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts* is invariably referred to as "Minuscle." I noticed only one seriously misleading mistake, however: the second colophon (that of Ioasaph and Gregorios) in the Ebnerianus is to be found on fol. 424r rather than 124r. This is a small blemish in a tool as rich as that now provided us. One wishes *CBM* well and a long continuance.

ANTHONY CUTLER
Pennsylvania State University

CATHERINE WAEBER-ANTIGLIO, *Hauterive: La Construction d'une abbaye cistercienne au moyen âge (Scrinium Friburgense. Publication de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales de l'Université de Fribourg, 5)*, Fribourg, Switzerland, Editions Universitaires, 1976. Paper, 256 pp.; 183 ills., 50 plans, 4 tables, 3 maps. Sw.F. 75

Detailed monographs on important sites that assemble historical data, provide accurate descriptions, and analyze comparative or related material are the bricks and mortar of cultural evaluation. Catherine Waeber-Antiglio's *Hauterive: La Construction d'une abbaye cistercienne au moyen âge* achieves the first two requirements without attempting the analysis of much of the information that she has so carefully assembled.

This is the second recent monograph on Cistercian foundations in Switzerland, preceded in 1957 by François Bucher's doctoral dissertation entitled *Notre-Dame de Bonmont and the Earliest Cistercian Abbeys of Switzerland*. Since Bucher has also reviewed this volume on Hauterive in *Speculum* (April, 1978, 419–422), my review, to avoid redundancy, will comment only on certain features of the work.

Hauterive, originally Altaripa or Alta Ripa, is located in western Switzerland about five kilometers southwest of Fribourg on the river Sarine, whose high cliffs along the southern bank of a large meander provided the name for the Cistercian abbey founded there between 1127 and 1137. The initial event leading to the monastery's foundation was the assassination in 1127 of the father and brother of Guillaume de Glâne, vassals of the counts of Burgundy. Guillaume decided to call on the Cistercians to establish a community which he would endow with almost all of the family property. Monks, traditionally twelve led by an abbot, were sent from Cherlieu in the Haute Saône, an abbey founded by Clairvaux in 1131. By the 25th of February, 1138, enough progress had been made to dedicate at least part of a church and to record formally Guillaume's donations in a ceremony

performed solemnly *in manu* by Guy, Bishop of Lausanne. Guillaume himself joined the monks as a *convers*, or lay brother, and served until his death in 1143. That his body was transferred to the choir of a new church between 1157 and 1162 proves that the first church must have existed somewhere else. But Waeber-Antiglio's discussion of the location of this first church seems too detailed and somewhat confusing. Cistercian abbeys were quite customarily begun with modest constructions, which were ultimately replaced by more permanent buildings. The earliest chapel, even though in this instance it seems to have been built of stone from the castle of Glâne, presumably would be of minor archaeological interest, but the fact that Guillaume was buried there is unusual. Such burials were normally forbidden in Cistercian churches until much later, a fact overlooked by the author. Following these initial discussions and the presentation of a general plan of the abbey at a scale of 1:400 and of sections and elevations of the church at 1:250, the text begins the detailed description of the monastery.

These descriptions are treated chronologically, embracing four periods of construction: the first buildings of the 12th century including the church, the cloister, and the claustral ensemble; the mid-13th-century Gothic façade added to the church; later 13th-century outbuildings; and major 14th-century transformations of the choir, the cloister, and the conventual constructions. Two summary chapters cover the medieval painted decorations, altars, and tombs in the church, and the further repairs and rebuilding from the 15th to the end of the 18th century, notably the Baroque claustral buildings, which dominate the monastery today. Although the table of contents lists these developments clearly, the reader must often refer to plans and photographs to understand the text. Two important features at Hauterive, the 14th-century stained-glass windows and the elaborate 15th-century choir stalls, are not included in this monograph since they have recently been thoroughly examined by Ellen Beer in the third volume of the Swiss *Corpus Vitraearum Medii Aevi* and by Marcel Strub in his *Stalles fribourgeoises*. As the subtitle of this volume indicates, the focus of the text is the medieval abbey, so that the 12th-century church and the 14th-century transformations in the cloister receive the most attention.

Hauterive is an exemplary Cistercian abbey. Its foundation in direct filiation from Clairvaux, Saint Bernard's own monastery, its location in a secluded area, the disposition of its conventual buildings, and the form of its church define the essence of the first generation of buildings of the great reform Order. Interestingly enough, Hauterive, as Bucher mentions, is today the only active Cistercian community in Switzerland. For all of these reasons, every aspect of the so-called "Bernardine church" is worth exploring.

Chapter 3 is devoted to the original 12th-century constructions. Since medieval scholars today concentrate on the study of proportions and of building methods, the extensive list of measurements of the church at the beginning of the chapter is disappointing. Although the dimensions must be accurate, since they record variations or differences as small as centimeters, there is no indication of exactly where the measurements were taken. Common sense suggests that the interior distances, for instance, must be from one interior wall surface to another, but I, for one, would like to know how a width such as that of the nave with side aisles (15.02m) or without side aisles (7.74m; almost exactly one half of the total width), conforms with the width given later for the side aisles (3.00m). The total width (15.02m) conforms very closely to the height of the nave vault (14.86m). The latter dimension is confusingly reported to have been taken "à la naissance de la voûte." I have always understood that the "naissance" of a vault was the spring point of the curve of the vault, not the crown or summit of the vault. Furthermore, whereas in the section of the nave on fig. 6, p. 32, the dimension of 15m as given on the scale agrees almost exactly with the total interior width of the nave and aisles, the same dimension as given in both fig. 6 and fig. 10, p. 35, almost reaches the crown of the nave vault, which consequently seems a little higher, not lower, than the total width.

The near identity of the two dimensions, height and width, is most provocative with respect to the building of a Cistercian church, especially one that conforms so closely to the "Bernardine plan" as first defined by Esser and Eydoux in 1953. They identified such a plan by the flat or rectilinear eastern apse flanked by two or more rectilinear chapels opening into the arms of the transept. Scholars also believe that this flat chevet adheres closely to Saint Bernard's personal aesthetic. Unfortunately, neither *Carta Charitatis I* nor *Carta Charitatis II* gives the formula for the ideal church, so that careful analysis of specimen examples is particularly desirable.

Another generally accepted assumption is that the Bernardine plan included a square crossing, especially because such a crossing appears in Villard de Honnecourt's supposedly ideal Cistercian plan in his famous notebook. In her text, the author states simply that the five bays of the nave at Hauterive are followed by a square crossing. She qualifies this assertion in a footnote: "presque carrée soit de 7 m. 44: 6 m. 66." Possibly my preoccupation with precision is misguided, but my continuing study of the abbey church at St.-Denis has demonstrated that a master mason of the mid-12th century was capable of, and intent on, very accurate construction. The difference between a square and an "almost square" was thus not due to indifference or inability. Indeed, the width of the bays of the nave at Hauterive proves how accurate these presumably Swiss masons could be. As the author notes, quite correctly, the difference between the width of the two eastern bays of the nave, which vary only one centimeter, 4.68m and 4.67m, and the three western bays, 5.31m, 5.28m, 5.35m, must be due to a change of workmen. Both groups of masons, though, were very accurate in laying out their prescribed plan, which must also have been true for the crossing. For this reason, it is interesting to note that the crossing of Clairvaux II, Saint Bernard's church, as published in Waeber-Antiglio's monograph on p. 68, fig. 56, is noticeably rectangular, not square.

Evidently, squares do exist in the plan of the church at Hauterive in the arms of the transept. The dimension listed for the length of the transept arms, "longeur des croisillons," is 6.66m, which is exactly the measurement given for the length of the crossing. Although it is difficult to check dimensions on the small scale-plan of the abbey on fig. 5, the transept arms not only look square, but seem to be square. Confusion still exists, however, because the "largeur croisillon nord" is listed as 6.93m and "sud" as 6.92m. Obviously, it is futile to speculate further at this time about such exact proportions, which, of course is even truer of Abbé Dimier's *Recueil des plans cisterciens*, but I do hope that someone will attempt a precise definition of Saint Bernard's aesthetic.

Another characteristic of this series of Bernardine structures is the extremely simple elevation of the nave, covered by a broken, or pointed, barrel vault buttressed by trans-

verse barrel vaults over the bays of the side aisles. Both Bucher and Waeber-Antiglio use the term "pseudo-basilical," which I find confusing. The term basilica, or meeting place, has always distinguished for me the axial or longitudinal plan from the central or radiating plan. These Cistercian churches are definitely axial and therefore basilical. The use of a term normally descriptive of a plan to identify an elevation seems unnecessarily complicated.

Among the extensive and evidently complete inventory with profile dimensions and photographs of bases, columns, capitals, and other decorations in the church and the cloister, I was particularly fascinated by the tracery above the simple triple arcade in 19 bays of the cloister. Alternating between what the author identifies as *schéma* A, with an "arc en tiers point," and *schéma* B, with a round arch, or "arc en pleine cintre," the designs of these openings provide an extraordinary repertory of geometric decoration of the first half of the 14th century. Although she indicates in the two *schémas* how the tracery conforms to such basic geometric forms as the triangle, a complete series of such diagrams would provide an unusual opportunity to investigate such forms as the S-curve formed by adjacent arches, so important for the origins of late Gothic Flamboyant art.

SUMNER MCKNIGHT CROSBY
Yale University

GERT KREYTENBERG, *Der Dom zu Florenz*, Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1974. Pp. 105; + 97 figs. DM. 68

Gert Kreytenberg's short, original, and, above all, ambitious monograph reconsiders all of the major problems of the much-disputed history of Florence Cathedral in the trecento.[1] The principal novelty of his approach lies in his study of the little-noticed early side-portals of the Cathedral nave, the Porta dei Cornacchini (on the north aisle wall) and the Porta del Campanile (on the south, near the Campanile; Figs. 1, 2). The two elaborate, polychrome structures are casually disposed of by Paatz, who gives the inner door-framework of both, and the jambs of the south portal as well, to Arnolfo di Cambio, but ascribes their monumental frames to Francesco Talenti, ca. 1357, leaving minor details for completion around 1400.[2] Kreytenberg closely scrutinizes both portals and finds numerous anomalies in their fabric. He asserts that both portals are essentially pastiches erected in several campaigns, three phases in the case of the Porta dei Cornacchini and four at the Porta del Campanile.

This chronology is part and parcel of an altogether new chronology proposed for the Cathedral's construction. Unlike most previous scholars, Kreytenberg admits no hiatus between 1302 and the 1350's but postulates intense activity, especially during the period 1331–1348. He believes that the new "choir," mentioned cryptically in a document of 1334, was just that and was largely built in a campaign of 1331–34. He puts the earliest phase of the two nave portals in the same years. Kreytenberg perceives irregularities in the aisle-wall articulation similar to the anomalies in the portals, and he places the former also in the period 1331–1348 together with part of the supposedly multilayered Duomo façade. The author's new chronology for the portals, aisle walls, and façade leads him to a reconsideration of the more basic problem of the origins of the combination of domed triconch and basilica that underlies the building's plan. He proposes a new reconstruction of Arnolfo's project, reassesses the personalities of the 1350's (in particular Talenti and Orcagna), and even redates the Campanile. The final picture that emerges varies significantly from the generally accepted outline of the Duomo's history.

If all were well with Kreytenberg's theories, if they were at least sound in essence, a simple summary of his evidence and results would give an adequate report of them. Unfortunately, all is not well; far from it. To be sure, the author does direct our attention to certain neglected aspects of the Cathedral, and he discovers a number of archaeological curiosities. But he proceeds to spin an immensely complex, far-reaching web of interpretation around this new evidence, in a manner so methodologically flawed, yet so energetically and intricately argued, as to present nightmarish difficulties for the critical reader. To accept Kreytenberg's proposals is difficult, if only because of their nonsensical visual character. On the other hand, one hesitates to reject them out-of-hand because of the sheer abundance of the evidence the author brings forward. His argumentation is not based on a few major observations, disproof of one of which would controvert the whole thesis. Rather it is "kleinteilig," a mosaic of limited points of evidence and inferences. This unfortunately necessitates a meticulous analysis to determine which of Kreytenberg's observations are correct, how his interpretation of these goes awry, and (perhaps most important) what results a sounder reading of the evidence might offer. Because so much material is involved and so many important questions are raised, the critique must needs be lengthy. Kreytenberg's contribution is of such a density and breadth, however, that all future studies of the Cathedral will have to take it into account, and a careful critique of it will, I hope, simplify the future student's task.

The documentation for the two early Cathedral side-aisle portals, which are the key to Kreytenberg's reading of the fabric, is negligible. The Porta dei Cornacchini is usually identified with a "porta nuova," mentioned in 1357, and the Porta del Campanile is not recorded explicitly until 1367. Kreytenberg, however, interprets the "porta nuova" of 1357 as a portal other than the Porta dei Cornacchini, i.e., the

[1] Research for this review was done while the reviewer was a fellow at I Tatti (the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies in Florence), in 1974–76. For detailed accounts of the state of research see W. and E. Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, Frankfurt, 1940–1953, III, 320f.; H. Saalman, "Santa Maria del Fiore, 1294–1418," *Art Bulletin*, XLIV, 1964, 471f.; Kreytenberg; and now F. Toker, "Florence Cathedral: The Design Stage," *Art Bulletin*, LX, 1978, 214f.

[2] Paatz, 350f, 364f, 367f. Cf. earlier, H. Kauffmann, "Florentiner Domplastik," *Jahrbuch der königlichen-preuszischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLVII, 1926, 141.

Porta del Campanile, claiming that the adjective, "nuova," refers to a "renewed" decoration of the latter. Given our general uncertainty about the state of the Cathedral fabric in those years, and given the absence of corroborating material, the documents of 1357 and 1367 do not really prove anything besides the functional existence of both portals; they say nothing of their decoration. Thus, for the history of the portals, we are thrown back on the evidence of the fabric itself.

As already mentioned, Kreytenberg is the first writer thoroughly to scrutinize the two entrances. In doing so, he pursues a consistent method: numerous irregularities or seeming irregularities are found in the fabric, and every irregularity (or group of them) is explained by a putative change in design or break in construction.

The author perceives seven anomalies at the Porta dei Cornacchini (p. 30f; Fig. 1).

(1) The portal cuts the socle incrustation (his fig. 82a).

(2) The horizontal moldings of the portal and adjacent window bays are discontinuous in the lower part of the portal but continuous in the zones above (figs. 84–86).

(3) A red strip running up the side of the portal on either side of the tympanum zone is abruptly discontinued (fig. 85).

(4) "Consoles" are found atop the superstructure posts where they abut the top edge of the archivolt (fig. 84).

(5) A scalloped frame overlaps the outer edges of the tympanum (fig. 83).

(6) The floor structure of the tabernacle atop the main gable cuts a molding running in from the flanking wall bays (fig. 86).

(7) The niche within this tabernacle is not congruent with the arch of the tabernacle (fig. 86).

Kreytenberg finds that these singularities all bespeak significant changes in the design of the portal. His fundamental supposition is that all elements discontinuous with the adjacent wall-field incrustation (i.e., the discontinuous socle incrustation, discontinuous "bands," etc.) do not belong to the primitive portal. His first phase (fig. 25) eliminates most of the portal decoration, leaving only the inner part of the arched entrance (a recessed structure as opposed to the projecting, later incrustation), a bent band several levels up, the two niches at the top, and the bands, gable, and pinnacle structures in that zone (but not the large tabernacle). He postulates a second campaign (fig. 26), during which most of the elements discontinuous with the adjacent window-fields were added: the projecting jambs and arch, decorated with intarsia bands on their front faces, and with intarsia and spiral colonnettes on their inner faces; the gable, the rear layer of the tympanum; and part of the flanking posts (namely, the short tract above the "consoles"). On the front of the arch, the outermost molding of the archivolt supposedly made a dogleg beneath the so-called consoles and joined the now interrupted red moldings alongside the portal frame. He sees yet a third phase, which enriched the work of the earlier campaigns by adding twisted columns on lion bases, a scalloped framework for the tympanum background, posts connecting the twisted columns to the originally very short posts above (cutting and overlying the original, lateral red moldings on the frontal archivolts), the tabernacle with a connecting block over the main gable, a few miscellaneous console brackets and the like. On the basis of intarsia patterns, crocket details, and other stylistic features, Kreytenberg separates the three campaigns widely. The first he dates ca. 1341–48, the second during the Talentian period, 1359–1363, and the third, ca. 1380.

The author envisions an even more complex history for the Porta del Campanile (Fig. 2). Unlike the Porta dei Cornacchini, in which the lower part of the decoration is set into the wall and the parts above form only a single layer, the Porta del Campanile is built up in front of the wall in several layers. Kreytenberg perceives the following anomalies (p. 28f.).

(1) The portal piers overlap the incrustation of the wall-field that begins just inside the buttresses, in the slot remaining between buttresses and portal piers (fig. 79).

(2) The leaf frieze of the portal architrave is set in a plane in front of the green strip above it (fig. 72).

(3) Arched niches within the lateral tabernacles do not correspond in curvature to the tabernacle arches (figs. 74f, scarcely visible).

(4) Incrustation fields behind the tabernacles lack intarsia and are only half as high as corresponding fields in other bays (figs. 76, 80; poorly visible).

(5) The gable is applied to an intermediate layer of construction, itself set in front of the wall; this intermediate layer extends laterally to the tabernacles and upward to the top wall-field (figs. 74, 75, 80).

(6) Incrustation fields alongside the upper tabernacle are each wider than the plain white fields found in corresponding positions above the windows. The field to the right of the tabernacle is attached to the still-visible, original, narrow white vertical strip normally seen behind the window frontispiece pinnacles. Also, in the decoration of the wall-field here, the panel is reused from a smaller field, indicated by the fact that the central motif is displaced downwards from the center. Moreover, at this level, the green horizontal strip is interrupted (fig. 71).

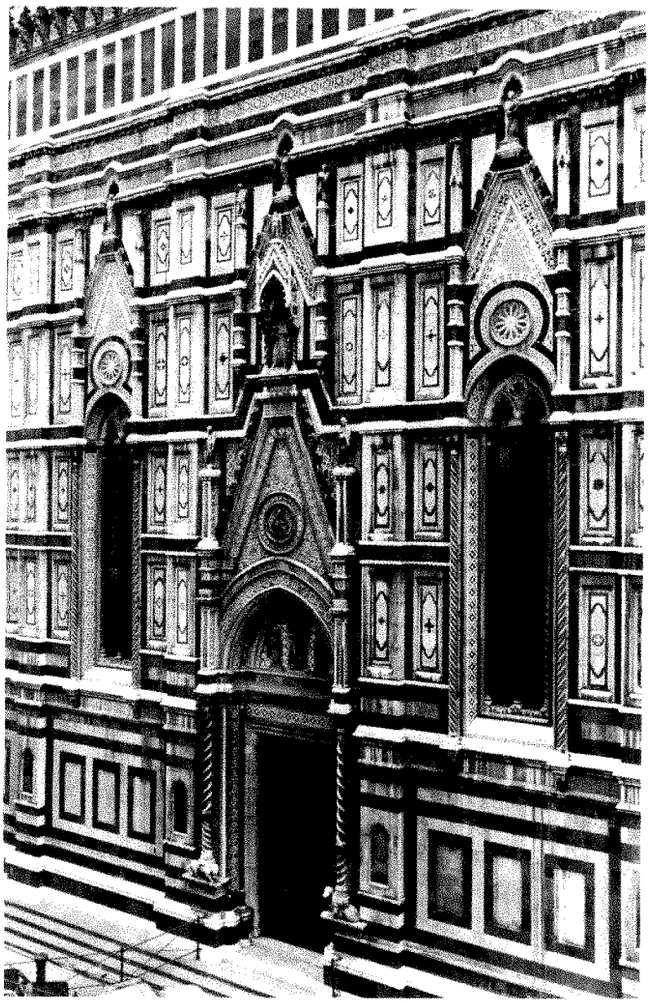
(7) Normally, above the window gables, the wall breaks back slightly; but over both portals it runs straight (figs. 70, 80f).

(8) A number of stylistic disparities exist, in the tabernacles, spires, and crockets.

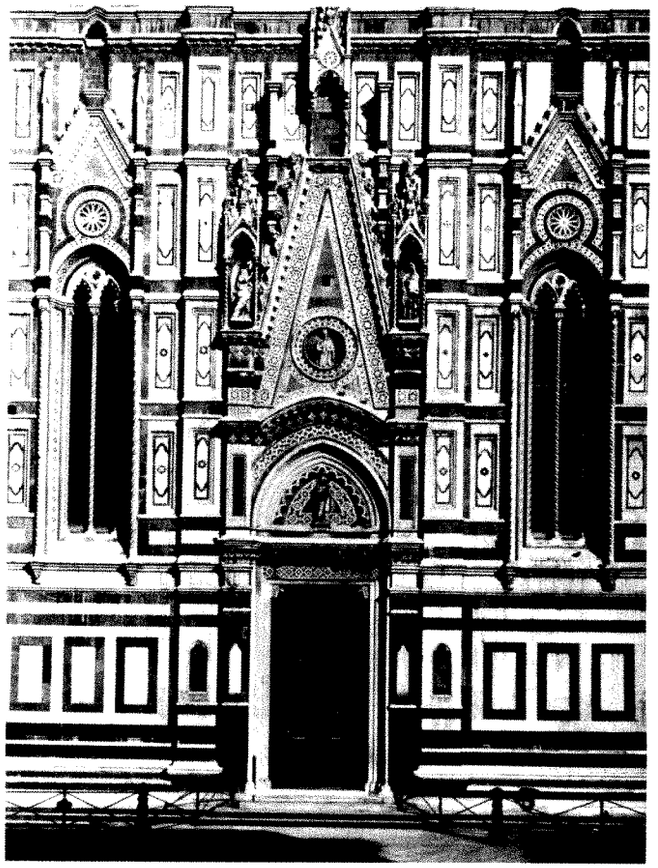
To account for these anomalies, Kreytenberg posits the following history for the portal (p. 31f.). Phase I consists of only the doorframe and the jambs, set in an arched opening like the Porta dei Cornacchini (fig. 22). It was built with the window-bay and socle-zone incrustation.

Phase II consists of the full height of the pier structure overlying the earlier socle-zone incrustation, and architrave, tympanum, and archivolts (but not the leaf architrave, because that is set forward; fig. 23). The gable is not part of this phase, but was added as a third layer. The second layer (beneath it) constituted the façade of the portal in Phase II (see anomaly 5). The roundel, however, because it is set at exactly the middle level of the wall-fields, and because the later incrustation seems to Kreytenberg to be filled in around it, belongs to this campaign. There were no tabernacles, because of anomalies 3 and 4, but only the shallow lateral niches that lie today behind the tabernacles; perhaps there was a third niche below the gable. At the top the portal closely resembled the corresponding zone in the window bays.

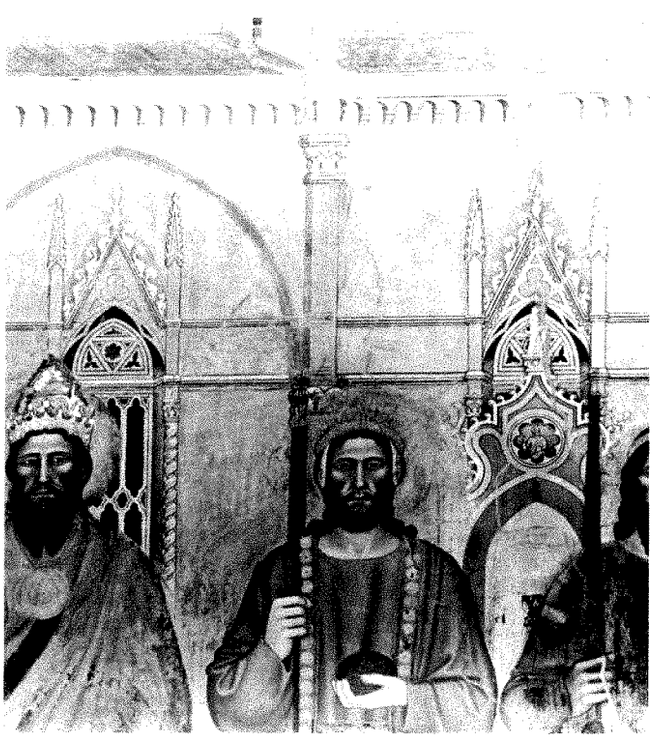
Phase III is an enrichment of Phase II (fig. 24). The leaf frieze was added to the architrave; the main gable was built in front of the second-phase system and within its confines, which explains why its cornice does not run all the way down. Above the gable, a tabernacle was added, displacing much of the earlier window-bay type of incrustation, and the flanking paneling was changed.



1 Florence, Cathedral, north side, Porta dei Cornacchini



2 Florence, Cathedral, south side, Porta del Campanile (photo: Alinari)



3 Andrea da Firenze, *The Church Triumphant* (detail). Florence, S. Maria Novella, Spanish Chapel

With Phase IV the portal was brought to its extant state by a number of stylistically uniform enrichments, all postdating Phase III. The lateral tabernacles and spires (later in style than the top spire) were added; the pyramid was set over the upper tabernacle; and crockets were added to the main gable.

Kreytenberg's dates for these campaigns (p. 38f. and *passim*) are roughly synchronous with those postulated for the Porta dei Cornacchini, except that the Porta del Campanile is one step ahead.

Phase I: ca. 1331-34.

Phase II: ca. 1342-48 (P. Cornacchini Phase I).

Phase III: 1353-57 (P. Cornacchini Phase II, 1359–1363, i.e., Talentian).

Phase IV: ca. 1380 (P. Cornacchini Phase III).

The portals and the incrustation of the adjoining window bays are obviously closely interconnected (p. 43f and figs. 39, 70, 81, 89). The author (following the lead of G. Kiesow[3]) not only perceives significant archaeological anomalies in the windows, but also brings to their analysis certain important assumptions that are based on his analysis of the portals. For Kreytenberg, both portals (or, more exactly, both portal bays) include pre-Talentian stages, from before the 1350's, stages in which the upper gables and flanking panel-and-band configurations are identical to the

[3] G. Kiesow, "Zur Baugeschichte des florentiner Domes," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, X, 1961, 1f.

window-bays at the same level. Hence, Kreytenberg concludes, the windows must be contemporaneous with the pre-Talentian portal phases. At the same time, Kreytenberg recognizes that certain aspects of the windows look disconcertingly Talentian, in particular the gable inlay. The author therefore postulates a Talentian reworking of pre-Talentian windows and points to the following anomalies in support of his theory.

(1) The gable incrustation as well as the crockets are Talentian, i.e., they correspond stylistically to the Talentian phase of the portals. But earlier, there was probably a simpler incrustation similar to that above the gables, traces of which are seen in the green strips running inside the posts and out over them at the top (just below the gable corners), but which to the author seem "cut" by Talentian incrustation patterns at the bottom.

(2) According to Kreytenberg, the profiles of the molding running at the level of the window capitals (serving as the imposts of the window arch) are of one type on the wall, the outer capitals, and window splay, and of another type above the inner capitals supporting the tracery, where the normally smooth profiles are enriched by a dentil molding. He argues that "die Kämpfer sind dem Profil im Fenstergewände also nur angeglichen und von ihm unabhängig."' He concludes that "die Profile, die jeweils von aussen in die Laibungen hineinführen und sie unterteilen, nicht gleichzeitig mit dem Masswerk, sondern mit der Wandinkrustation und der vortalentianischen Begrenzung der Giebelfelder der Fenster entstanden" (p. 44).[4]

(3) The jamb-splay intarsia could be pre-Talentian because it seems cut off at the bottom by the lower splay panel of Talenti.[5]

This summary represents the core of Kreytenberg's findings. Because the material is so entangled, to review the problems of the two portals and the wall simultaneously would only heighten our difficulties. The material needs to be carefully sorted out, with each aspect considered in detail. The order of this analysis, however, is not the seemingly obvious one. Kreytenberg's specific points of archaeological evidence (his anomalies) are most economically and clearly evaluated after an alternative, fuller reading of the fabric in question has been presented. More important, the order in which we might best take up the three aspects (the two portals and the window-bay forms) is not Kreytenberg's order, which proceeds from the portals to the windows, but instead the opposite. For the dating of the portals there is less evidence than for the wall and windows, for which strong documentation exists as well as clear stylistic indicators (and even an early trecento view; see Fig. 3 and n. 9). Thus, to evaluate Kreytenberg's theory it is best to reverse the author's direction and start with the window-bay system, and consider the portals individually afterwards.

The earliest reference to the side-aisle walls occurs in a document of 1353, in which it is recommended that the north wall of the new Duomo be covered because it is deteriorating ("si guasta"[Guasti, p. 78]).[6] Kreytenberg argues that since such deterioration requires lengthy exposure (at least several years), the Black Death of 1348 would have been the likely occasion for the interruption of construction (and not a much earlier point in the century, as has always been believed). He further postulates that work on the Campanile was resumed immediately after the Black Death (he thinks it had been interrupted in 1340), and the *Bifora* zone was built in haste with the large funds that now come pouring in. He does not explain why the Cathedral itself should have languished in a moment of such abundant resources. The date of 1348 for interruption of construction on the Cathedral is, in fact, completely arbitrary.

Unfortunately, the document of 1353 is noncommital about the height of the north wall, the state of the south wall, and the extent of incrustation of either. The well-known Bigallo fresco of 1342 (which Kreytenberg, wisely, does not seem to trust entirely) partly fills this gap in information. It shows the south aisle wall of the new Duomo, with its socle-zone incrustation of bands and rectangles. No more of the wall is evident, although the tiny detail of the small fresco is not entirely clear in this respect (fig. 19).

This earliest document and the view leave much unresolved, but fuller evidence about the history of the walls is available in later documents and in the fabric itself. The side-aisle windows of the first two nave bays, as has often been noted, are not only spaced out of phase with the nave bays built in 1357 and after, but they are also set too low for the Talentian vaulting system. The incrustation system above the windows seems to have been contrived to mask the disproportionate heightening of the wall that was necessary to accommodate the Talentian vaulting. Talenti's design evidently included a project to add a row of freestanding gables above the roofline. As Metz (who first worked out this problem) and Saalman have demonstrated, the "correction" of the "defect" of the "windows" in Talenti's Duomo model of 1355 demanded by the authorities most probably was to deal with this difficulty.[7] A heretofore unnoticed anomaly is further evidence that the structural fabric rose through window height before Talenti: the first pair of pier-pilasters, whose position was determined by the new vaulting project, required cutting into the extant wall (Guasti, pp. 118, 124), and is also placed so close to the windows that part of a pier had to be omitted (or shaved down). There exists a still more important and peculiar anomaly that escaped the author. In the place of the Porta dei Cornacchini, there was originally not a monumental portal, but another window of the standard "Arnolfian" form. This walled-up window is revealed through a waterline in the interior *intonaco* (our Fig. 4). Part of a similar, but fainter waterline can also be seen behind the Porta del Campanile. These two original windows would have allowed for small portals below them, such as the primitive Porta del Campanile which existed from ca. 1300, as Toker has recently shown.[8] The extant portal openings (particularly that of the

[4] Not adequately illustrated by the author; see M. Trachtenberg, *The Campanile of Florence Cathedral, "Giotto's Tower,"* New York, 1971, fig. 250.

[5] *Ibid.*, figs. 68, 248.

[6] C. Guasti, *Santa Maria del Fiore*, Florence, 1887.

[7] Saalman, 474f.; P. Metz, "Die florentiner Domfassade des Arnolfo di Cambio," *Jahrbuch der königlichen-preuszischen Kunstsammlungen*, LIX, 1938, 131.

[8] Toker, 217f.

4 Florence, Cathedral, interior of north aisle (behind Porta dei Cornacchini)

Porta dei Cornacchini, with its deep, high arch) are too high and, moreover, much wider than the windows, to whose shape they would poorly correspond. Obviously the existence of these two walled-up windows deeply undermines Kreytenberg's entire analysis of the portals' building history. But let us merely note here the implication that, assuming the portals are at least in part from Talenti's epoch, the raw masonry of the side-aisle walls through window level is pre-Talentian.[9]

Thus far the evidence allows that before the 1350's the aisle walls alongside the first two Cathedral bays had risen through the level of the windows, and that the socle, at least on the south, was already incrusted. But what is the date of the incrustation above the socle zone? Kreytenberg offers the argument (against Saalman's thesis) that incrustation was usually executed with the structural fabric.[10] But this procedure, however desirable, did not always obtain, particularly in the case of façades (among which we must rank the elaborately decorated Cathedral flanks). The façades of the Duomo, of S. Maria Novella, S. Croce, S. Lorenzo, and numerous other Florentine buildings were left completely or partly undecorated, often for centuries, and sometimes permanently. Numerous factors determined whether or not the incrustation went up with the structural masonry, such as agreement on design, available funds, and the relative importance of finished appearance. The Campanile, for example, was nothing without its revetment, which went up closely following the structure. Church façades, on the other hand, were more than a design problem, for they competed for funds with the construction of the church behind them, the vitally important interior space. Thus, one cannot accept Kreytenberg's assumption that the window zone of the Cathedral flanks was decorated necessarily at the time of the construction of the raw masonry.

There is, however, as Metz and particularly Saalman have demonstrated,[11] secure documentation for the window-zone incrustation, despite Kreytenberg's objections to the contrary. Following the laying out of the new nave project in 1357, the first priority was to move forward with the structural fabric of the interior. But already between October 14 and November 13, 1358 (Guasti, p. 119f.), the Opera decided among several alternative designs for the revetment of the side-aisle walls, and, as Saalman has convincingly shown, Talenti's winning design was the one that was followed. The documents are not complete—in fact construction documents dating between January 30, 1359 and April 7, 1362, are lost—but they are complete enough in this respect, mentioning the commissioning of marble piecework for the wall, including panels, moldings, bases, twisted window-columns, and even the consoles that carry them (Guasti, p. 125). In other words, the window-zone incrustation is securely documented from the bottom up as Talenti's, 1358-ca.

[9] Another, less critical bit of evidence concerning the Porta dei Cornacchini, not noticed by author, is the view of it in the *Church Triumphant* by Andrea da Firenze, dated 1365–68 (Fig. 3); for the whole Duomo in the fresco, Kreytenberg, fig. 61). What is most intriguing about this rendering is that it includes not only an indication of the rectangular doorway opening and a surmounting gabled structure, but also the upper part of a window identical in type to the windows of the other aisle bays. Three possible interpretations of the relationship of the fresco to the actual portal suggest themselves. (1) In 1365/68 there was only a small doorway surmounted by a window; the fresco shows a project for the monumentalization of the portal with a gable and statuary. (2) The fresco represents faithfully and literally the portal as it was in 1365/68; above the portal was a freestanding gable partly obscuring a truncated window behind it. (3) The fresco detail is a free rendering of the actual Porta dei Cornacchini. For a number of reasons, this third possibility seems the most probable. All internal archaeological and stylistic evidence (as will be shown below) points to a date of ca. 1350 for the portal. Besides, there is no mention in the rich Cathedral documents of the period of a renewal of the portal after 1365/68. It should be stressed, moreover, that although the building in the fresco is generally taken to represent the Cathedral project of the period, it obviously is very free in its details, particularly of revetment and windows. Not only are Andrea da Firenze's tracery patterns foreign to the Florentine trecento, but his depiction of the Duomo flanks disregards what had already been built by 1364, i.e., the Talentian revetment design of 1355/58 that covers the exterior of the first two side-aisle bays. Andrea's painting shows one window per bay, a design that reflects the preference expressed in 1358 and again in 1364 for such a rational, consistent appearance, but that was expressly rejected as impracticable (see below and Saalman, 481f). If we allow, as one must, for painterly license, we can perceive, without forcing the image, all the elements of the extant Porta dei Cornacchini in the fresco: a doorway, a prominent tympanum, an elaborate gable with a roundel depicting a half-length Christ, statuary above, and a surmounting, window-style superstructure.

[10] Saalman, 496.

[11] *Ibid.*, 480f, 495f.

1364 (he did not inherit any incrustation above the socle zone).

The evidence of the documentation is confirmed by the style of the window-zone incrustation. One of the least successful aspects of Kreytenberg's discussion is his treatment of style. The author evinces little sense of the sweep of architectural style in the period, being mainly restricted in this regard to primitive concepts like "flat" and "painterly," and to pinpoint analyses of isolated details of intarsia and leafwork. Thus, he fails to realize that of all the various parts of the Cathedral's incrustation of the period, it is the window-zone design in question that falls most clearly into place stylistically.[12] It is the third of Francesco Talenti's revetment designs, following his Campanile Bifora and Trifora. In particular it is the Campanile Trifora that anchors the place of the Cathedral design, for the Trifora is well documented (ca. 1350 f.; Guasti, p. 65f.) and is the prototype for the Cathedral flanks. The underlying schemes of the two designs are identical, but the Trifora version remains stylistically linked with the earlier Campanile zones. The Duomo wall is unquestionably the mature version of the scheme. (To put it before the Campanile development, as the author unwittingly tries to do, is impossible; the Duomo wall can no more come before the upper Campanile than Giotto before Cimabue.) The result of stylistic analysis concurs with the documentation, that the design for the window zone of the Cathedral incrustation dates from 1355–58 and not from some imaginary pre-Talenti, pre-upper-Campanile period. In a similar manner, the style of the socle zone of the side-wall revetment (seen in the Bigallo fresco of 1342) demonstrably predates the Campanile socle of Giotto. Not only is Giotto's design of 1334 a reworking of the Duomo socle,[13] but the latter is connected with other "Arnolfian" works of ca. 1300, such as the early bases at S. Croce.

Style and documentation sharply contradict Kreytenberg's notion of a pre-Talentian phase of the side-aisle window-zone revetment. Moreover, the author's reading of the masonry is erroneous. Careful examination of the window gables yields no evidence that Talentian patterns displaced a primitive, blank incrustation, as he claims; the seemingly brusque pattern of certain areas also occurs in the Campanile Trifora, and results from the combination of certain geometric motifs. Similarly, Kreytenberg's claim that the window jamb revetment is "cut" at the bottom by the Talentian splay does not fit the facts, for in general there is not a "cutting" but a patterned, diagonal white frame at the joint.[14] Also peculiar is the author's idea that the tracery is not original because the profiles above the capitals include a "dentil profile" not present above the outer, frontispiece columns. Such a difference would be no cause to jump to the conclusion that there are two layers of design. The difference may be more reasonably viewed as part of a set of variations that plays the longer, heavier outer columns against the shorter, finer tracery supports (such variations in capitals occur in the Campanile Trifora). In fact, on close scrutiny it is clear that there is no "addition" involved at all. Whereas the outer capitals each carry a simple Corinthian abacus plate, at the inner capitals this abacus plate is fragmented in outline, causing the author's evident confusion that a "dentil" course is "added."[15] Equally problematic is the author's reconstruction of the primitive design, which fails to define the molding joints in question and looks utterly nonsensical without tracery or gable patterning (fig. 27).

The elaborate gable design over the side-aisle windows, as has been stressed, was an attempt to adapt the appearance of the low-set Arnolfian windows to the high wall resulting from the gigantic Talentian vaulting scheme. As mentioned, there is also good evidence that, in further pursuit of the same ends, Talenti planned a row of freestanding gables above the wall. We can infer as much from a document of 1362, and from the fact that a single "trial" gable is seen in two early views of the Cathedral (figs. 62, 63). Kreytenberg, however, considers the gable as part of a pre-Talentian scheme that Talenti rejected (p. 58f). Yet the wall received its extant height only under Talenti. Moreover, the uppermost part of the Talentian revetment scheme was never built: the bands as well as the buttress decoration are abruptly interrupted (figs. 39, 40, 89) and the "attic" incrustation of the aisle walls is no longer of the trecento. It is thus most difficult to accept Kreytenberg's notion of a pre-Talentian attic zone. What probably happened instead is that the freestanding gable design suffered the same fate as Talenti's Campanile spire: it was projected, realized in a model, begun, suspended, and finally rejected in favor of the uniform horizontal terminal outline favored in Florence after the mid-trecento. (Interestingly, at S. Croce, gables similar to those above the aisle-walls were obviously planned above the clerestory but never built.)

If we accept the premises that the socle of the Duomo aisle wall is Arnolfian and, more important, that the window-zone incrustation above is Talenti's design of 1355–58, then we shall find that the most plausible explanation of the early portals' history differs sharply from Kreytenberg's. Their history is most coherent if we assume each to represent essentially a single design rather than a pastiche of many variations and campaigns. Here, we shall proceed on the former premise and again leave specific consideration of the author's points of evidence until later. It should be stressed, in any event, that the burden of proof throughout this discussion is not on the reviewer but on the author, from whom we expect solid evidence for the existence of phases and project-variants that do not seem self-evident.

At the Porta dei Cornacchini it is apparent that the upper two zones of Talenti's window-field incrustation system are drawn over the portal bay. But still, was the portal built before, after, or contemporaneously with the window-field decoration with which it is integrated? (Let us recall that Kreytenberg finds the portal essentially later than the wall design.) The first clue in solving this puzzle is the walled-up window seen on the interior of the Duomo. One may infer from its existence, first of all, that when the wall was built in the Arnolfian period, and still in 1355–58, no monumental

[12] Trachtenberg, 134f.

[13] *Ibid.*, 26.

[14] *Ibid.*, fig. 68.

[15] *Ibid.*, fig. 250.

portal was planned here, and perhaps no portal at all. At most, the situation would have allowed just a small, simple doorway beneath the window. This would date the monumental aspect of the portal well after 1358 (after the completion of the window decoration, that is), and into the mid-1360's. Yet, this is improbable on several counts. It would mean that no mention survives of the construction of the portal in a period of relatively plentiful documentation. Stylistically, a date in the mid- or late 1360's is improbable, because architectural ornament, in composition and in detail, by this time was developing away from the forms of the portal. In fact, several of the arguments against dating the portal later than the window decoration also speak against dating the two from the same campaign. One important detail, stressed by Kreytenberg, is the way that the upper wall-fields and cornice-bands in the window bays break back in the center, whereas in the portal bay there is no such break and no sign of any changes in this respect. The upper zone of the portal bay has been clearly, if subtly differentiated from the window bays. This, however, still does not yield any information about the portal structure itself.

The strongest clue about the relationship between portal and window bays is the troublesome set of discontinuities between the portal (including its post and gable elements) and the window-bay incrustation system. If all were designed together, or if the portal postdated the window-bay system, why was the portal not more successfully aligned with the wall system? Why was its gable not restricted in height, instead of forcing a unique, awkward flexing of a major wall-band? Why are the portal moldings (which continue onto the wall for a short stretch at the lintel level) not aligned with the wall-bands and moldings (which run right up to the portal structure in every case; fig. 84)?

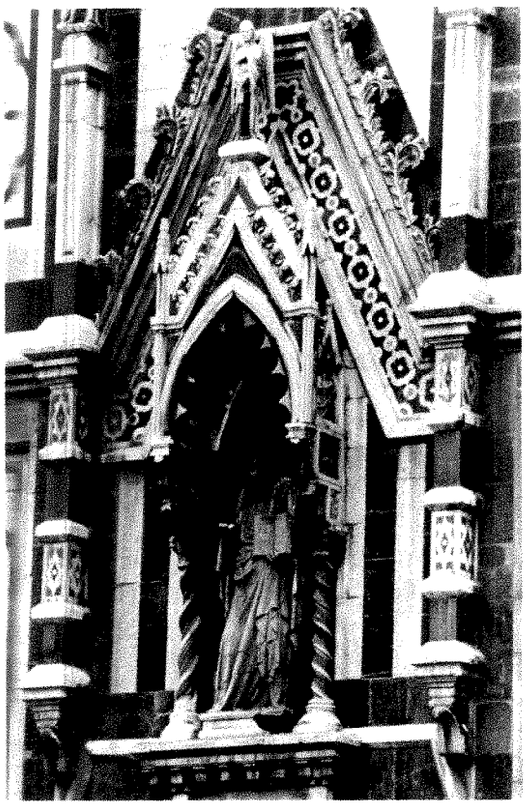
The argument that the Porta dei Cornacchini postdates or is contemporary with the window-bay system is hard to support. The builders clearly wanted to interweave the two forms, but were able to arrange the union only in part and even then in an atypically awkward manner. If, however, the Porta dei Cornacchini were to be earlier than the window-field system, and yet later than the socle incrustation, simple explanations can be found for all irregularities and everything falls into place.

According to the latter hypothesis, before 1355–58 the aisle wall consisted of raw masonry through the windows for at least the first four or five wall bays, while the socle was incrusted and a small doorway (a primitive Porta dei Cornacchini) conceivably pierced the wall. It was not yet decided how the wall would be decorated above the socle, or at least the executed system had not yet evolved. Thus, the builder wishing to monumentalize the portal had little in the way of already fabricated decoration to hinder his design. The portal-bay window was easily walled up, the old door frame discarded or reworked, and the socle base extended into the portal. Above that, the portal could take shape freely. This, in fact, is what seems to have occurred.

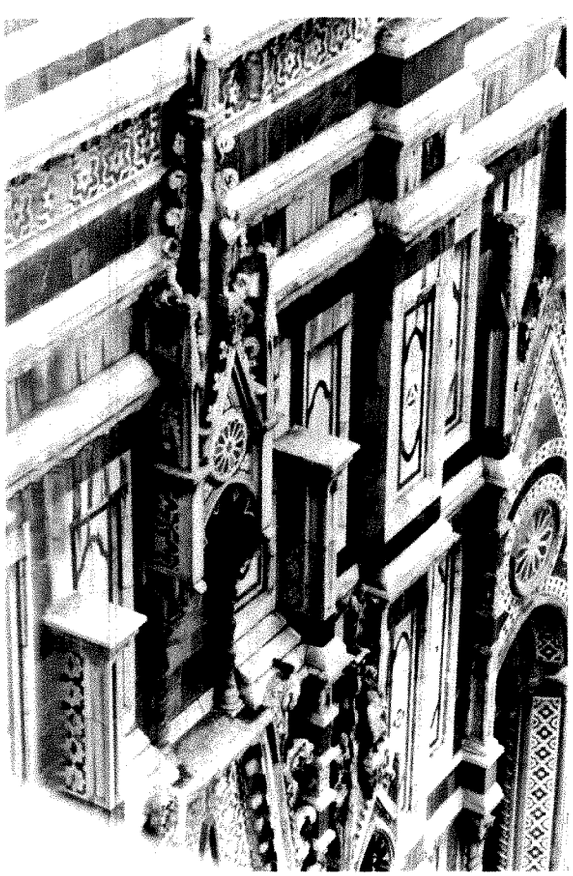
The basis for the design was the set of lateral portals of Arnolfo's west façade (fig. 64): set into the wall, with the jambs framed by twisted columns running up through the arch around the tympanum sculptures, the portals were topped by a compound, gabled superstructure. Pursuing this scheme at the Porta dei Cornacchini, rather than building forward to create jamb depth, the builders cut into the wall and filled in the window (which originally extended down into the zone of the existing tympanum). The base of the Arnolfian socle was extended inwards from the adjacent buttresses. Above, elements of the old socle (the white marble base profiles) were adapted, by inversion, recutting, and recombination, as "pedestals" for the lions (another detail that escaped the author), carvings which also may be reused Arnolfian relics. (Perhaps there had been a project for a Lombardesque lion portal.) The lions support elegant twisted columns, joined by the jamb columns to support a rich entablature. Above, the jamb columns continue as the framework for an elaborate, multilayered tympanum arrangement, and the outer columns rise as multi-tiered post structures framing intricately inlaid archivolts and a gable. The gable did not rise to a point, but, as is clear from the intarsia patterns, was flat-topped from the beginning and probably originally surmounted by a gabled tabernacle structure, as in the Arnolfian model (and in the Porta del Campanile as well). Before 1355–58 the aisle wall was, as has been emphasized, considerably lower. A tabernacle structure immediately atop the main gable (probably without the extant intermediate blocks) would easily have risen to almost the top of the wall, or in any case high enough. It is important to realize that, although the design was not constrained by problems of window-bay design, the builders manifestly did intend to integrate the portal with the eventual decoration of the rest of the wall: the lintel cornice moldings that push out onto the wall were surely meant to continue farther (giving us a faint notion of the wall incrustation design that was projected at the time of the portal construction).

Let us now reconstruct Talenti's situation in 1355–58, when he designed the side-aisle incrustation above the socle. Things had changed since the Porta dei Cornacchini had been built. The wall had been extended upwards as a result of the heightened interior structure, which entailed not merely adding another layer to an old design, but redesigning the whole incrustation system so that it would be coherently proportioned. Furthermore, although Talenti seems to have wanted to weave together the levels of the portal and the lines of the wall, the overall success of the wall design (which was going to appear also on the south wall, where there was as yet no monumental portal at all) must have been even more important to him than a perfect interweaving of the old portal and the wall incrustation. Talenti could not sacrifice the wall incrustation, which, indeed, was to continue around the entire building, to a single, and relatively minor portal. Yet he still wished, evidently, to join the two somehow: to have his cake and eat it.

Talenti's solution was an imperfect set of compromises, in which he simply continued the new window-bay system onto the portal bay wherever he could, and wove the two together wherever it could be arranged. Thus, the portal itself was already connected to the socle-base profiles. At the lintel, the portal moldings were projected out onto the wall. Hence Talenti refrained from running his heavy socle-cornice moldings into the portal bay, which would have cluttered the arrangement too much even for his mid-trecento taste. But his second wall-band, at mid-window level, is run right up to the portal posts, so that to the casual glance it seems to join somehow with the portal molding at that level. Above that, the band running at the tracery level of the windows was flexed somewhat awkwardly around the preexisting main gable, and the surmounting tabernacle with its own smaller gable was moved up and set before a niche. An intarsia frame identical in design to the corresponding part of the window bays was laid around this



5 Florence, Cathedral, north side, Porta dei Cornacchini, detail of upper gable and tabernacle



6 Florence, Cathedral, south side, Porta del Campanile, upper tabernacle, from above

smaller gable. In this way, Talenti arranged not only for the upper wall-bands and gable structure to be carried into the portal bay, but for the portal itself to thrust up into this window-style superstructure, thus doubly integrating the two orders of forms.

The gabled tabernacle yields further evidence for this hypothesis. That the tabernacle predates the intarsia around its little gable is supported by the fact that the angle of the gable is not congruent with that of the frame, but instead is slightly, but noticeably less acute (figs. 81, 86). The curious side gables of the tabernacle belong higher up (as on the tabernacles at the Porta del Campanile), but in being adapted to the frame they have been pushed unnaturally down and have lost their rear pinnacles (compare Figs. 5, 6). Another sign of adaptation of a preexisting portal superstructure to the incrustation forms of the window bays is the state of the twisted columns supporting the tabernacle; they have been cut down at their upper ends and lack the usual "necking" element that mediates between the twisted shaft and the capital (Fig. 5). Originally the tabernacle must have had greater vertical extension. It should also be noted that the tabernacle base was not originally at its present level (above the flexed bands running in from the window bays), but directly over the main gable, as in the Porta del Campanile.

We have thus established the sequence of the north flank's elements: (1) wall structure, (2) socle incrustation, (3) monumental portal, and (4) window-zone incrustation. We still face the question of the date of the portal, which theoretically could fall anywhere between the Arnolfian socle incrustation and the window design of 1355–58. The absence of any record of portal construction in the plentiful (though by no means complete) documents of 1353–57 suggests that the portal was built largely before 1353. Fortunately, it is possible on stylistic and historical grounds to narrow the date further.

If one looks for a stylistic "twin" to the Porta dei Cornacchini, it is found to be the Campanile Trifora zone decoration.[16] As this reviewer has demonstrated elsewhere,[17] the Trifora incrustation—unlike the still Giottesque composition of the Bifora zones—shows Francesco Talenti attempting to revive the complex linkages and illusion of layers of Andrea Pisano's section of the Campanile. But Talenti did so in a manner overloaded with a new abundance and variety of surface decoration, and the result displayed a considerable degree of confusion, ambiguity, and even clumsiness. This manner, as well as many particulars of the Trifora, is also found at the Porta dei Cornacchini. Here we find an outlining, a setting apart of all aspects of portal and intarsia by linear elements that serve also as linkages. Yet at the same time, there is a superabundance of intarsia patterns in the tympanum, archivolts, and gable, so rich and especially so similar in texture that they tend to run together. This is particularly evident in a comparison of the portal with the adjacent windows, where there are fewer dividing moldings and yet a greater clarity and definition because of the sharp differentiation in scale and pattern between the various zones of the intarsia. The very appearance of the archivolt

[16] *Ibid.*, figs. VIII, 70, 82f.

[17] *Ibid.*, 127f., 136f.

areas of the portal and the Trifora is similar; and their twisted columns share deeply sculptured forms. Moreover, the moldings of the portal architrave, with its heavy top fillet, are more like the lowest interior stringcourse of the Trifora[18] than any other comparable form at Florence. And the cornice of the portal gable still lacks the sureness, strength, and clarity of the closely related but deftly modified window-bay cornice (even something of the fragmentation and hesitation of the Campanile Bifora gable moldings remains in the portal). Above all, it is in the overall effect of impotent movement and confusing repetition, and in the general configuration of the portal (which effectively reformulates the design of the lateral portals of the Arnolfian façade in the style of the Campanile) that the closest affinity to the Trifora is manifest.

The all-but-lowermost parts of the Trifora were commissioned on January 5, 1351. The Trifora design, which represents a sharp change from the Bifora project of 1343, would presumably date from ca. 1350. As Kreytenberg has stressed, the period after the Black Death of 1348 was one of surprising economic recovery, and, especially, of very high funding for artistic endeavors (although at the Cathedral perhaps not until ca. 1350). The design of the Porta dei Cornacchini agrees not only with Talenti's style of ca. 1350, but also with the excessively rich, ornamental style of the period, of which Orcagna's design for the Tabernacle of Orsanmichele is the most extreme example. The Porta dei Cornacchini, seen as a monument of the immediate, post-Plague years, should perhaps be looked on as an attempt of the Opera to give some new, visible impetus to the long-languishing Duomo project. A portal was a convenient place to start, for it avoided the difficult problems of redesigning the interior and east end, problems long in the air and that eventually were debated openly from ca. 1355 to 1367 before being definitively solved. As Toker has recently pointed out, the area around the Porta del Campanile was a jumble at the time, part a construction yard for the Campanile and part the gradually disappearing Cathedral cloisters, as yet hardly a site for a monumental portal. But to the north the field was relatively clear.[19]

Let us return to Kreytenberg's thesis about the Porta dei Cornacchini. It is evident that although he makes a number of perceptive observations about kinks in the fabric, his elaborate sequence of portal projects is untenable. The overlooked, walled-up window is enough to throw a monkey wrench into the author's complex machinery of argumentation; it would all have to be reworked. The reviewer is not obliged to restructure Kreytenberg's thesis so as to allow for the window, but I should nevertheless like to point out that Kreytenberg's observed "anomalies" are not only incomplete, but in every case can be given a more plausible explanation that that of the author.

Kreytenberg's observations 1 and 2 have already been discussed. Turning to the others, let us consider (3), the discontinuity of the red moldings at either side of the portal. This is a valid observation, although somewhat more indeterminate than the author suggests, because the capital-like elements set over the moldings are badly weathered. These moldings must be seen, however, in relationship to the identical moldings below, which frame the intarsia behind the twisted columns. The red moldings in question appear at the tympanum level, presumably for a similar purpose. Kreytenberg assumes that they simply were meant to join the archivolt band, but it is equally likely that alongside the tympanum zone Talenti originally intended not the extant heavy, rectangular posts but freestanding columns in front of intarsia fields framed by red moldings, such as we find below. This, however, is impossible to prove. A reconstruction of the original project for the elements flanking the tympanum is less important that the fact that whatever it was, was never executed. If Kreytenberg had paid closer attention to the intarsia of the archivolts, he would have observed that it is not overlaid by the flanking posts, as he claims. Rather, as in the Campanile Trifora,[20] the archivolts have an intricately shaped, definite border at the posts, at which point the intarsia is not cut or overlaid but definitely stops (Fig. 7). The author is correct in calling our attention to the interrupted red strips, but unjustified in claiming that they reflect a major change in the design. Rather, the break is most plausibly interpreted as merely a correction, a *pentimento*, made during the process of construction. Interestingly, a similar change occurs at the top of the Campanile Trifora, where some obviously projected bands were omitted and some patterns shifted during fabrication.

(4) The "consoles" that Kreytenberg claims carry the pinnacles flanking the gable are, in actuality, not consoles at all. Rather, they are classicizing architrave blocks, probably derived from the Baptistery exterior[21] and they foreshadow Brunelleschi's employment of the motif in S. Lorenzo. The appearance of such a classicizing detail in a Gothic context is typical of the trecento, with its abrupt and unpredictable shifts between Gothic and classical forms. Interestingly, in the contemporary Trifora design (indeed, already in the Bifora) a rich classicism of detail emerges in a strongly Gothic overall configuration (including "quotations" from the Baptistery). But there is no way that the portal blocks could ever have functioned as consoles or brackets. The architrave block was never used for such a function, even in the freest trecento designs, and moreover there is no space for the necessary supporting volute; it would have extended down and cut the archivolt bands of Kreytenberg's reconstructed original design (the problem is evaded in the reconstruction drawing; fig. 26).

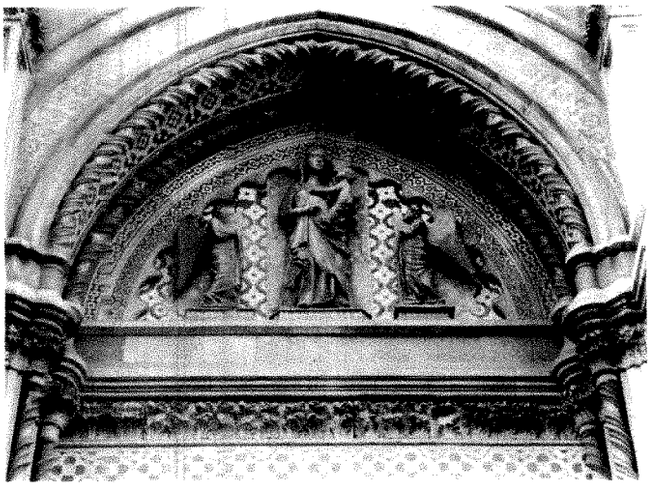
Points 3 and 4 are in part the basis of Kreytenberg's notion that the lions, their socles, and the twisted columns with

[18] *Ibid.*, figs. 108, 251.

[19] Toker, fig. 15. Toker implies (p. 221) that a doorway on the site of the Porta dei Cornacchini did not exist until a relatively late (but unspecified) date, there having been "breaches in the Duomo and S. Reparata walls [fig. 19, point C], so that the north chapel was not disturbed by traffic." The chapel, however, had already lost most of its usefulness by being sliced in half lengthwise by Arnolfo's aisle wall. It could have retained its marginal utility even with a portal at its west end, as in the corresponding situation on the south side. In any case, the Porta dei Cornacchini was surely in existence before the conception of the bay system of 1355-57, whose first half-pier crowds the portal and caused difficulties in construction (Saalman, 480, n. 43).

[20] Trachtenberg, fig. 83.

[21] *Ibid.*, fig. 234.



capitals and cornice are additions. But careful scrutiny indicates that these components are absolutely integral with the jambs, built with them in a seamless fabric. This is seen not only on the socle (our Fig. 9) but at the remarkable capitals: the capitals over the columns and the adjacent capital-band over the pilasters are carved in each case as one arched piece (our Fig. 8). The variety of leafwork that Kreytenberg observes along the entablature is not remarkable, but rather is typical of such Cathedral leafwork in the period (cf. the Cathedral nave capitals, especially in their experimental early phase). Stylistically, none of the portal leafwork can be any later than the earliest interior capitals of 1357–58 and it is more reasonably dated earlier.

(5) That the tympanum frame overlaps the tympanum background is no reason to complicate matters. Close observation reveals that the intarsia of the background was designed for such a frame, for it ends at the troughs of the scalloped frame (our Fig. 7). The overlapping of intarsia and scallop crests that results does create a somewhat confusing effect, which is, however, typical of Talenti during the period.

(6) This rough joint most probably indicates merely another *pentimento*, a discarded solution to the difficult problem of integrating the portal and wall-systems (Fig. 5). The difference in color was most probably left to differentiate the forms, one element being part of a wall-band, the other forming a niche base.

(7) The shape of the niche is anomalous only if one imagines, like the author, that it had been an exposed niche, without a tabernacle in front of it; the arch is too acute, without sufficient curvature, and too bare ever to have been intended for open display. Unlike all other arches on the Duomo (except those within the analogous side tabernacles at the Porta del Campanile), the arch at its springing is not vertical but already turning inward, producing a stiff, awkward curve that makes sense only if the arch had been meant from the beginning to be set back in the shadows of a tabernacle. Moreover, the intarsia of its archivolts is designed to fit exactly within the tabernacle frame (our Fig. 5).

Thus, Kreytenberg's archaeological observations at the Porta dei Cornacchini are all found to have more plausible explanations than he proposes. Although this alone is sufficient to undermine his reconstruction of the various building phases, their visual character would, I believe, lead most architectural historians to reject them out of hand. If one looks at Kreytenberg's Phase I, as reconstructed in fig. 26, one questions what the author proposes in the immense, empty area above the doorway, or why, above the area, the heavy band flexes up without any structure to flex around. The author's unawareness of such infelicities again reflects his mechanical approach to architecture and a curious insensitivity, for one so involved in architectural questions, to matters of design and style.

The Porta del Campanile, to which we now turn, is somewhat easier to deal with, not only because the historical and stylistic context of the adjacent Cathedral incrustation is

7 Porta dei Cornacchini, tympanum and archivolts

8 Porta dei Cornacchini, cornice of left jamb

9 Porta dei Cornacchini, base of left jamb

10 Florence, Cathedral, interior of south aisle (behind Porta del Campanile)

now clearly established, but also because the portal itself is more unified than the Porta dei Cornacchini. For Kreytenberg, the fundamental difference between the two portals is that, whereas the Porta dei Cornacchini is in considerable part set into the wall, the Porta del Campanile is set entirely in front (p. 28). This estimate of differences is not only superficial but incomplete even on its own terms. Although the monumental exterior of the Porta del Campanile lies in front of the wall plane, the frame of the door itself is pushed back through the wall and into the nave in the form of a deep interior hood that projects considerably beyond the interior plane of the nave wall (our Fig. 10; this detail is the obvious source, incidentally, for the corner articulation of the Loggia dei Lanzi). Kreytenberg seems to believe that this is also the case with the Porta dei Cornacchini (p. 9; fig. 21). The doorframe of the Porta dei Cornacchini, however, is extremely shallow: it stops at the interior plane of the nave wall. Kreytenberg has been misled by the painted wooden doorframe (Fig. 4) which was put up in the 19th century in imitation of the masonry frame of the Porta del Campanile, and which masks the original frame behind it.

The organic design of the Porta del Campanile's inner jambs prepares one for the assured, fully realized character of its monumental, exterior aspect. Although Kreytenberg regards the portal as a pastiche involving no less than four separate phases, a fairer estimate of the structure establishes it as one of the strongest, most unified works of the period. Unlike the limply designed Porta dei Cornacchini, which sprawls loosely upon its wall-field, the Porta del Campanile is alive with inner tension and energy. In the Porta dei Cornacchini the various sculptured, linear, and planar polychrome features are scattered and intermingled without concentration or progression, but at the Porta del Campanile all is handled with economy, coordination, and force.

The powerful, square lateral piers of the Porta del Campanile (so unlike the flimsy, almost tottering structures of the Porta dei Cornacchini) are pushed out to the very edge of the wall-field, leaving only a narrow slot between portal and buttresses to provide a sharp shadow of separation and just enough space for the cornice-work to enter. Although the piers are divided into varying zones of surface decoration, the plan of the piers is continuous, its overall shape maintained from level to level, giving the impression of a single, underlying structure that thrusts powerfully through the overlying forms and polychromy, and rises with a controlled energy that finds culmination and release in the exuberant tabernacles. The dynamism of the two basic vertical elements of the portal is reinforced by the rest of the composition. The lower part of the portal involves an extremely sophisticated, complex interaction of forms whose ultimate resultant is a clear vertical thrust. The lower zones of the piers imitate the flanking buttressing, but with a narrowing of proportions, a cunning reversal of figure-ground coloration, and an occasional contrast of profiles and striping that clearly set the portal piers apart from the rest of the wall. Yet most of the socle cornice runs over the portal piers, anchoring them to the wall. Above this point, beginning in the socle cornice, whose uppermost moulding is omitted, the portal is consistently discontinuous with the rest of the wall. It now develops its own, internal movement. The powerful cornice of the doorway establishes a strong horizontal accent, sharply dividing doorway and tympanum zones. Yet the two zones are strongly linked: the classicizing profiles of the doorframe reappear in the tympanum; and the clear, strong tubular frame cuts through the cornice-work, generating a strong upward impetus. Tension reappears in the second cornice, a massive resilient form with a strong decorative texture, a form that reads like a flat cornice bent upward into a segmental curve. Above it, the contained energies are released in the sweeping upward thrust of the extremely steep gable, with its wonderful flexing of intarsia bands. Starting as horizontal bands upon the piers, they run inwards until they "strike" the segmental cornice, where they rebound in a swift movement upwards and race along with the gable cornice. The latter repeats the form of the segmental cornice except that it is embellished with lush crockets. As with the piers, the complex and powerful movement channeled up through the center of the portal finds a culmination in the large tabernacle atop the truncated gable.

How should we date, and to whom should we attribute this extraordinary design? As with the Porta dei Cornacchini, the relationship between the portal and the surrounding wall and its incrustation is informative. The lower part of the portal piers, as Kreytenberg notes, overlies preexisting socle-zone incrustation. On the other hand, their upper part continues the socle-zone cornice-band (with the omission of its upper molding). Farther up, the levels of the portal seem either definitely unaligned, or precisely aligned with the wall incrustation. There is none of the uneasy ambiguity of the Porta dei Cornacchini, no superficial, false impression of some kind of continuity between wall-bands

and different levels of the portal. Yet, although only the top of the gable and several pier moldings below the tympanum level align physically with the wall incrustation, other alignments of levels are suggested optically. The top of the segmental cornice reaches the height of the adjoining wall-band. The roundel and the horizontal rows of rosettes of the gable align precisely with the center motifs of the flanking wall-fields. The lateral tabernacles are centered at the level of the window tracery-level band. Thus, in a sophisticated manner, the portal is again set apart from the wall incrustation and yet related to it. This complex relationship involves other factors as well, particularly the proportions of the portal. Its sculptural and intarsia components are proportioned to each other as are the analogous elements of the windows, thus yielding the impression that the portal is somehow an enlarged transformation of the windows. A striking aspect of this correspondence is the manner in which the niches over the windows force the cornice above them to bend segmentally, as the portal tympanum does the cornice above it. The final composition of the lateral façade is complex, but coherent. There is extraordinary diversity, and yet there is unity, among the Arnolfian socle, the wall above, the windows, and the huge, powerful portal. It is a hierarchical design: the wall over the socle frames the windows just as the collective window-wall serves as a frame for the portal (fig. 89).

It is extremely unlikely that a portal that is played so intricately and successfully against the window-bay system of 1358 should predate the latter. It can only have been designed together with the wall incrustation, or after it. Against the portal's having been designed simultaneously is the fact that it is not mentioned in the documents. The reference of 1357 to a "porta nuova" is too vague to be applied to it and, besides, it tells nothing about the state of the doorway in question. Talenti, in the commission of 1358 to design the aisle-wall revetment,[22] was asked how he planned to work "le mura della chiesa dal lato di fuori, chon che finestre e chon che lavorii"; nothing was said of a portal, unless it was intended to be comprehended by the word "lavorii," which seems unlikely. As already mentioned, however, there is a lacuna in the account books for the years 1359–1362. The aisle-wall revetment was built only after 1358, and it would be convenient (and, we shall find, plausible as well) to put the portal design in the silent period, 1359–1362. A date of ca. 1360 would fit the history of the site. In 1350, when the Porta dei Cornacchini was built, the south flank of the Duomo fronted a cluttered construction yard for the Campanile. But in 1360, the Campanile was considered basically complete, and it would have been natural to complement it not only with incrustation of the aisle wall but with a monumental new portal fronting what had become a consequential *piazzetta* of the Cathedral.

This hypothesis is substantiated by the style of the portal, which is that of Talenti around 1360. If the development of his incrustation designs is traced from the still Giottesque Campanile Bifora of the 1340's, to the ambitious, but overloaded and understructured Porta dei Cornacchini and Campanile Trifora of ca. 1350, to the strong and sure, plastic and muscular aisle-wall incrustation of 1355/58, it is clear that the Porta del Campanile as a whole and in detail is a continuation of this sequence. Its coordinated, interwoven, dynamic design carries forward the form of the side-aisle window bays. Its cornice-work advances the systematically deployed, highly plastic cornice-work of the aisle wall, the rosettes being developed from those used a decade earlier on the Campanile. Its carefully scaled, forceful, yet spare intarsia directly follows the design of the neighboring windows. The Porta del Campanile also reflects Talenti's nave interior (fig. 43), designed between 1355 and 1358. The latter's multistoried, flat-faced piers achieve a powerful vertical thrust despite their massiveness as they slip up through capital bands and behind the *ballatoio*, an element which, in its richness, plasticity, and intricacy of movement, is akin to the plastic elements of the portal. Moreover, the sequence of the capitals in the nave piers (whose dates are relatively well documented) suggests a date of ca. 1360 for the foliate frieze of the portal lintel, the leafwork of which most closely approximates that of the second set of piers in the nave. A date much later than ca. 1360 would be difficult to support. The portal construction, as we have stressed, appears nowhere in the documents. Talenti was out of office in 1364–66 and afterwards was apparently responsible mainly for the *ballatoio*. Certainly, any attempt to deny the portal to Talenti (who disappears permanently from the records in 1369) would be unreasonable. The intricate, tough, bursting, yet disciplined forms of the Porta del Campanile have little to do with any other identifiable personality of his day, such as Orcagna and Arnoldi, and nothing in common with the Cathedral shop of the 1370's and after. The forms, for example, are far from the decorative fussiness and loss of energy exhibited by the Porta dei Canonici (fig. 87), which fits so well in the unrelieved, lifeless façade of the two eastern nave bays. Later dates take us even further away from the Porta del Campanile, which belongs to another era than that of the Porta della Mandorla (fig. 88) or of the early 15th-century tribunes with their jewel-like brilliance and quattrocento-Gothic elegance (fig. 38).

This discussion of the Porta del Campanile assumes, of course, that it is a single, unified work, and not the pastiche of overlapping projects that Kreytenberg attempts to demonstrate. Indeed, his attack on the integrity of the portal is no more valid than his archaeology for the Porta dei Cornacchini. Here, again, are Kreytenberg's archaeological observations.

(1) He notes the overlapping of wall detail by the piers: see the above discussion of the portal, where the relationship between portal and flanking socle and buttresses shows this to be no anomaly whatsoever.

(2) The setting forward of the leaf frieze has stylistic but not archaeological significance. The arrangement is typical of the Cathedral portals. At the Porta del Campanile the arrangement is unusual only because of the style of the leafwork and the height of the green background band. Yet it is obvious that the leafwork frieze is an essential part of the portal design, being the textured counterpart in the entablature to the rosette frieze in the tympanum cornice. Perhaps most critically, the leafwork is not physically independent, as Kreytenberg implies, but is carved from the same block (or series of blocks) as the molding from which it rises (Fig. 11).

(3) On his observation of non-congruent arches, see the refutation of the author's point 7 concerning the Porta dei Cornacchini. Kreytenberg would have us believe that "originally" the powerful piers at the Porta del Campanile were not meant to carry tabernacles or anything else, but to form

[22] Guasti, 119.

a prominent part of an incoherent and historically implausible design.

(4) That the incrustation fields should be of less than normal height behind the tabernacles actually makes good sense, since the fields are scarcely visible, being masked by the tabernacles (Fig. 12). Economy was always a major consideration, even in the most elaborate trecento schemes.

(5) About the intermediate layer behind the gable, the author makes a great deal; this detail, in fact, forms most of the evidence for his Phase II. It is among the queerest and most unjustified of Kreytenberg's notions. The structure in question is obviously nothing more than a structural underlayer: it provides support for the gable (Kreytenberg himself stresses how the portal was built up in front of the wall), and it gives lateral bracing to the tabernacles, whose top-heavy load is poised precariously over only four twisted columns (cf. Fig. 12). This purely structural underpinning and bracing makes no visual sense on its own if we remove the tabernacles and the gable, as Kreytenberg does in his reconstruction of a "Phase II." The fact that the underpinning was not observed as a separate feature before Kreytenberg is, to my mind, additional evidence of its actual role.

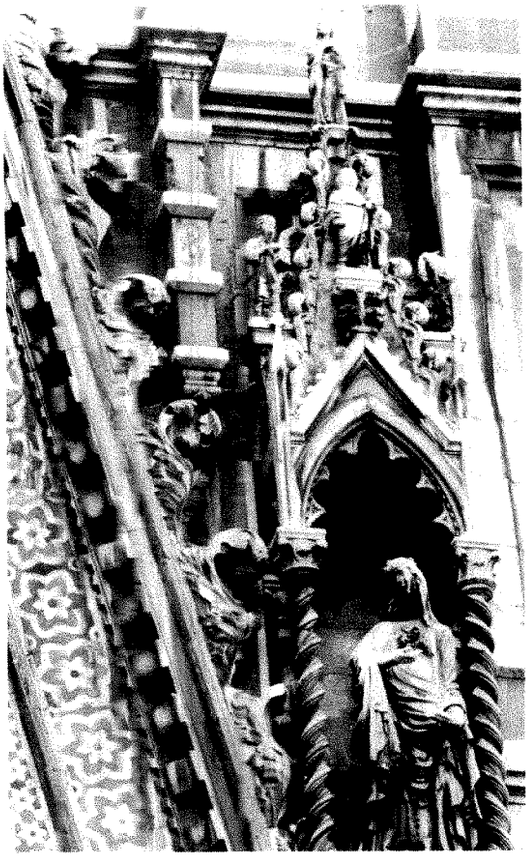
(6) About irregularities in upper incrustation fields, the author, for once, appears to have found actual changes, but hardly of the major kind he has in mind. What seems more likely to have occurred is that the builders allowed aspects of the window superstructure system, whether already built or about to be built, to remain above the portal, for the sake of integration and continuity between bays. The forms were at some point adapted to the heavier layer of the portal superstructure, and set slightly awkwardly over the consoles. Above the gable the same simple white fields were first emplaced as over the window gables. But it was then realized that the motif was too simple for the portal bay, and the area was enriched with supplementary paneling (in part reused from another area). This enrichment resulted in some minor irregularities, which, however, are visible only with difficulty from street-level with the naked eye. Again, we confront changes made during construction or at a slightly later date to correct deficiencies—hardly grounds to postulate major changes in the portal design.

(7) At the Porta dei Cornacchini the unbroken upper wall and cornice of the portal bay indicate that the incrustation took shape after the portal. Somewhat similarly here, this fact might indicate that the portal design took shape before construction was complete at this level, an idea that makes good sense considering that the portal probably postdates the wall design. But it could also have been the case that the wall design of 1358 already included provision for an as yet undetailed monumental portal (an entrance existed there, in any case), and differentiated this portal bay with a straight entablature, lack of a niche, and other features.

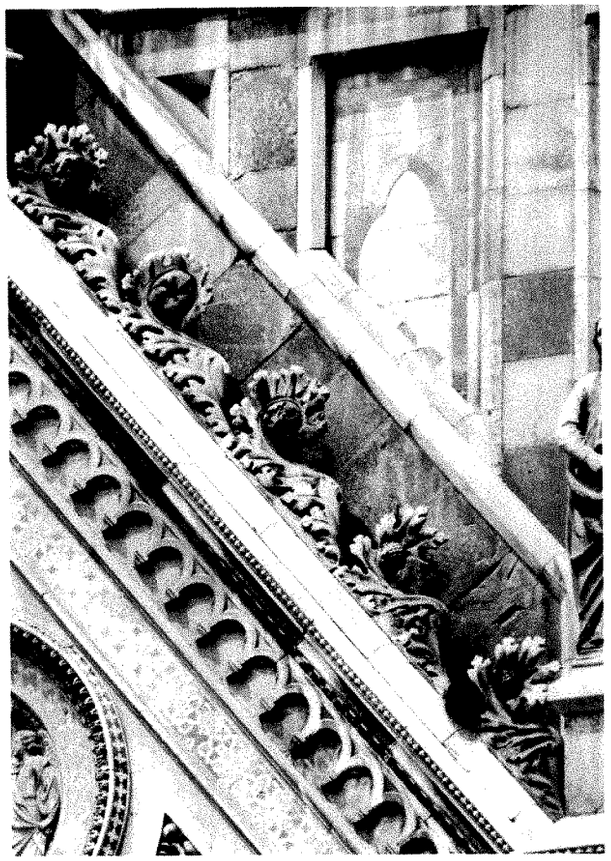
(8) Kreytenberg cites stylistic disparities in detail. It is possible that some of the uppermost sculptural details were executed "late." Often the production of the uppermost (and other) parts of decoration was postponed. On the Campanile, for example, the top part of the gable decoration on two sides was executed, but no more of the rich crockets planned by Talenti for the Trifora, and none of the missing pinnacles. To my mind, however, none of the portal decoration was executed as late as the author suggests, and neither does the lateness indicate a change in plan. It is true, as the author observes, that at several points the rich foliate structures touch (gable crockets and consoles) and some even necessitated the cutting back of (scarcely visible) cornicework. These flaws in the fabric may be the result of a time lag between the wall and portal design, of slight miscalculations (such as are documented in the period), or they may be *pentimenti*. But they hardly require us to postulate major changes in design. As for the dating of the foliate detail, one example will suffice to establish that the author is hardly as precise in comparative dating as he intends. The most advanced sculptured ornaments of the portal are the fabulously energetic crockets (figs. 74, 75; here Fig. 12). Kreytenberg suggests that they resemble those at the Porta dei Canonici and thus are of ca. 1380. But what is, in fact, the case is that the crockets are related but hardly identical in type; and stylistically the contrast is still greater. The Porta del Campanile crockets are naturalistic, organically varied, and finely carved. At the Porta dei Canonici, although the type is broadly imitated (as were so many Talentian motifs throughout the Duomo), the forms become fussy and elaborated, yet with relatively little variation from crocket to crocket (Fig. 13). The leaves now swirl both inward and with centrifugal eruptions; and the drill is used liberally and crudely to enrich the leafwork. The Porta del Campanile crockets may be somewhat later than 1360, but they are certainly earlier than the Porta dei Canonici. Late detail by Talenti (e.g., the fragmentary Campanile Trifora crockets [Fig. 14], the Cathedral pier foliage, the *ballatoio*) is close to the portal crockets. The work of his son, Simone (di Francesco) Talenti, who assisted in the carving of the pier capitals and, presumably, in other details, takes the plastic freedom of the portal crockets even further, especially in the wild tracery leafwork of Orsanmichele, dated 1366–1380 (Fig. 15). Possibly the extravagant portal crockets are his. But their form certainly fits the plasticity, dynamism, and inner logic of the Porta del Campanile.

11 Porta del Campanile, cornice of left pier

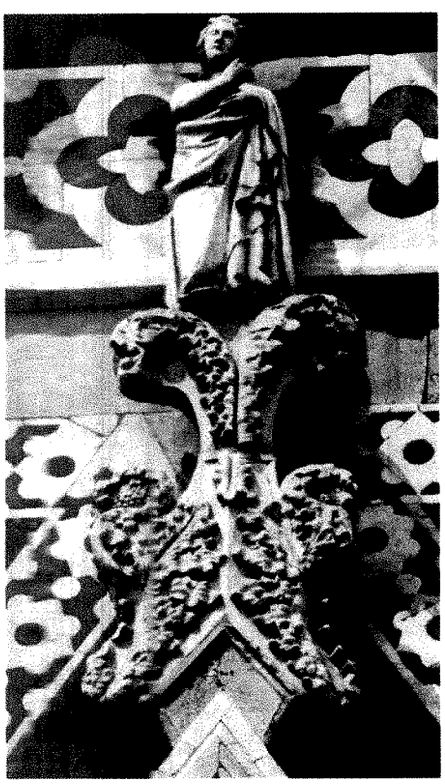
As with the Porta dei Cornacchini, the author's many threads of evidence for multiple campaigns at the Porta del Campanile are all too easily picked apart. None lead in the direction of a series of major design changes and campaigns. The only major change that seems to have occurred is one that the author overlooks, namely the replacement of the windows that originally existed in both portal bays, and of the small doorways apparently beneath them (at least to the south), by the monumental Talentian portals.



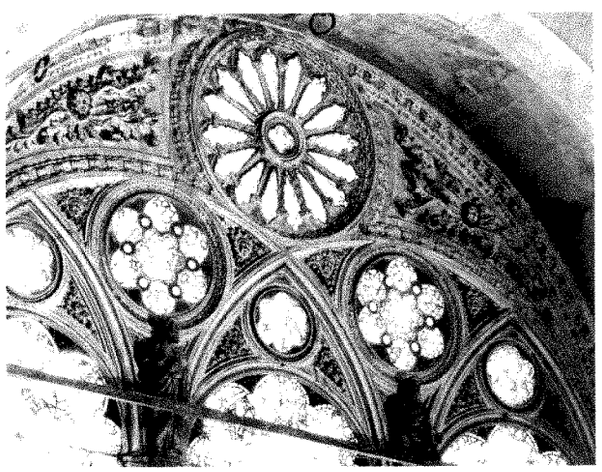
12 Porta del Campanile, gable and right tabernacle



13 Florence, Cathedral, north side, Porta dei Canonici, detail of gable



14 Florence, Campanile, Trifora zone, south face, detail of crocket and angel



15 Florence, Orsanmichele, detail of interior tracery

Finally, although one is grateful for Kreytenberg's focus of attention on these relatively neglected parts of the Duomo, conclusions opposite to his seem justified in practically every case. The walls of the Duomo belong fundamentally to two periods: the raw masonry through the window levels and the socle-zone incrustation are Arnolfian, and the incrustation of the wall above the socle together with the two portals are by Talenti and date ca. 1350 to ca. 1364. Parts of Arnolfo's socle revetment may have been executed after his death, just as certain details of Talenti's portals may postdate his probable death in 1369 (Arnolfo's socle and, in good part, Talenti's wall incrustation were extended around the entire Duomo, in any case). But analysis of the portals offers no evidence for basic design changes in some other period, especially not during the years 1331–1348, which according to Kreytenberg witnessed an important campaign in the Cathedral's construction. To be sure, the portals are not the only evidence he brings forward to support this thesis. Although he admits that the Duomo excavations revealed no construction of any new nave piers before 1357, he insists that a project of the 1330's is reflected in an inward thickening of the façade wall. And finally, he finds evidence for it in the documentation.

A century ago the architect of the Gothic Revival façade, Emilio de Fabris, reported observing that the old façade had been built in several layers. His account was immediately disputed, and in recent decades the argument has been revived. Kiesow and Gioseffi took up De Fabris's report, now contending that the façade had been thickened inwards in conjunction with a shift from an original timber-roofed plan to a new project for a vaulted nave. Saalman argued strongly against their case. It was not, however, until the subsequent Cathedral excavations that evidence was found that might clear up the matter. Kreytenberg, observing what is visible today in the excavations museum (fig. 45), was led to believe that the Kiesow-Gioseffi thesis was basically correct. He perceived an arcaded foundation layer set independently in front of a solid foundation wall to the west, and interpreted the former as part of a campaign of 1331–33 that included thickening the façade (n. 230).

Unfortunately, Kreytenberg's argument was premature and founded on evidence that is incomplete and shaky even on a visual basis. Toker has recently published a fuller account of the façade foundations than was available to Kreytenberg, whose intricate suppositions about the dimensions and functions of the layers now need revision.[23] According to Toker, the foundations consist of three layers, A–C, one in front of the other. Layer A, to the west, is the basic support for the façade structure. B is a thin intermediate layer, ca. 30cm thick, adhering to A "like a curtain wall." And layer C, an arcaded structure on the inner, or east face of the structure, largely supports the retrofaçade. Toker argues convincingly, against Kreytenberg and his predecessors, that all three layers are Arnolfian.[24] The blind arcade on the retrofaçade is stylistically Arnolfian, as Paatz demonstrated long ago (a point that Kreytenberg omits), and moreover the mosaic over the central portal that is supported by layer C unmistakably resembles the S. Miniato apse mosaic of 1296. (Kreytenberg tries to push the inconvenient mosaic into the 1330's.) Perhaps most critically, the Orso Tomb of 1321 embedded in the retrofaçade includes an inscription cut into the wall masonry, which Kreytenberg would have transferred there from another location, a most "problematic" notion, as Toker well points out.

Even Toker, however, whose analysis is fundamentally convincing, has neglected several points of evidence in this matter. In the first place, it should be stressed that the two layers unearthed in the excavations are not part of the above-grade rising wall, but are strictly subterranean foundation structures (a distinction that has been lost in most of the discussion). In themselves, they tell nothing about the number of layers in the façade wall proper (for which there is still no secure evidence for more than one structural layer). Secondly, Toker, as well as Kreytenberg, assumes that the two inner layers (B and C) do not bond, but this is not completely true. The arches (C) do not bond to the wall behind them (B), and neither do most of the pier-like foundations on which they are set. But the penultimate of these pier-like foundations towards the north end of the façade clearly bonds with Toker's intermediate wall (B), which in turn adheres to the main wall (A). This bond is plainly visible in our Figure 16. Moreover, a bonded spur of supplementary foundation wall extends from it towards the north corner, where the last, pier-like foundation of layer C, presumably in the corner, is buried behind the foundation of Talenti's massive corner pilaster. This situation suggests that the façade wall foundation (layers A and B, or at least B) was built from south to north, and that during construction it was decided to thicken the foundation wall by adding the innermost layer (C). This decision would have occurred at a moment before the northernmost stretch of the intermediate foundation wall B was begun, thus enabling the masons to build the last two layers (B and C) in that section in firmly bonded form. Then, the builders doubled back, adding layer C with its arches on massive foundation piers to the earlier southern stretch of the structure, where it could now no longer be bonded in. They now were working in a reverse direction, from north to south. This doubling back towards the south is further indicated by the supporting structure beneath the retrofaçade of the central portal, which projects beyond layer C to form a fourth layer of massive underpinning (Fig. 17). Structurally, however, this fourth layer is not a discrete masonry unit but merely a thickening of the pier-and-arch system of layer C. At both ends this fourth layer bonds completely with the surrounding fabric, unmistakably forming part of the same project and campaign. What is noteworthy are the internal complications of this central section of foundations. From the northern of its two pier-like foundations (on the right in Fig. 17) an arch of the same depth as the others of layer C was begun, perhaps over a rough centering of earth, but it was quickly abandoned (Fig. 18). It was evidently decided instead to connect the extra-large pier-like bases that supported the monumental portal frame with a deep segmental arch fully as wide as they were deep, an arch sprung from a higher point than the abandoned arch. Before this new, deeper arch (really a segmental barrel vault) was begun, however, the northern of the two foundation piers already had been built. This situation is indicated by the joint between foundation pier and arch, which do not bond (A in Fig. 17). The arch does bond, how-

[23] Toker, 221f., with a full account of the literature.

[24] John Herrmann has indicated to me that the stratigraphic evidence seems to argue in favor of an early dating for Toker's layer C.

ever, with the foundation pier to the south (B in Fig. 17). Clearly, of the two portal underpinnings, only the north pier had been built when the deepening of the arch was decided; when the south pier was built it rose together with the vault. This sequence of events confirms the hypothesis of the doubling-back of the third layer of façade foundations in a movement towards the south.

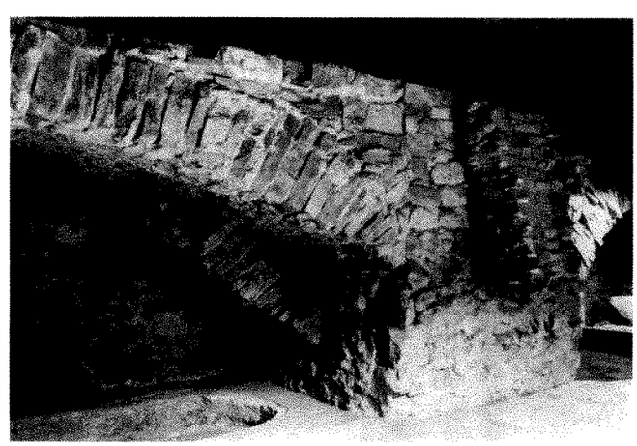
This archaeological analysis of the façade foundations is confirmed by inspection of the retrofaçade above, in the nave. The center portal frame bonds completely with the flanking ashlar walls. Moreover, the sculptured details of the inner portal confirm stylistically to the flanking blind arcades. As noted above (and shown by Paatz), the details of the blind arcade are unequivocally Arnolfian. Its capitals closely resemble preserved examples at the Palazzo Vecchio, which, whether by Arnolfo himself or not, was a contemporary of the Cathedral façade.[25] The inner portal capitals are perhaps even better examples of the same style, and other details, base and profile moldings, also link closely to known Arnolfian details (Fig. 19).

Kreytenberg's putative campaign of 1331–1348 is disconcertingly empty without the side-portal projects, the side-aisle incrustation, and the thickening of the façade. The only structure left to attribute to the period is the choir. Two substantial but indeterminate and disconnected pieces of evidence appear to concern it. One is the controversial document of 1334, referring to a high altar and a new choir in rather uncertain terms. The source has become even less definite now through Toker's rereading of the key word (only partly legible on the parchment as "hedif . . ."). Earlier authorities expanded it as "hedificati sunt"; Toker reads also "hedificantur" or "hedificabuntur" ("are being built" or "will be built").[26] Thus, the document no longer yields even a definite *terminus post quem* or *ante quem* (and, as Toker notes, "choir" may refer to choir stalls rather than a chancel). Toker has provided the other point of evidence as well, his sensational discovery of the fragments of a huge octagonal structure under the east end of the present nave and the cupola.[27] He integrates the structure into what is known of Arnolfo's project, including the document of 1334 and the laying out of 1357. Kreytenberg, who includes Toker's prepublication presentation of the discovery in his notes (n. 239a and p. 95), attempts to force this octagonal structure into the Talentian phase, an argument which, whatever its validity, eliminates the octagon from the author's campaign of 1331–34. Even if, by some new evidence or argument, the author could squeeze the structure into that hypothetical phase, nothing would be available at all for the remainder of his "intermediate" Cathedral period, which runs to 1348. Kreytenberg can produce no verifiable fabric for the period of supposed construction: thus, even when we attempt to follow the most hypothetical possibilities, we are led to question the method of reinterpretation of the documents on which the hypotheses are based.

Kreytenberg summarizes his interpretation of the documents on page 48 and in note 219. We find that he interprets documents as literally and even naïvely as he does the fabric of the portals. Thus, in his logic, if the Cathedral is mentioned it is being built, if it is not mentioned, it is not being built, etc. The result is a curious, stop-and-go history of the Duomo group after 1331: 1331–34, choir built (and a new Cathedral project begun); 1334–ca. 1340, Campanile built, probably not Cathedral; 1340–48, Cathedral, not Campanile; 1348–mid-1350's, Campanile, not Cathedral. Trecento builders were fickle, it is true, and often uncertain in their cam-

16 Florence, Cathedral, façade foundations, section near north corner

17 Façade foundations, section beneath central portal



18 Detail of Fig. 17

[25] Trachtenberg, 171, n. 77, figs. 229, 231.

[26] Toker, 226, n. 30.

[27] *Ibid.*, 224f.

19 Florence, Cathedral, retrofaçade, capital on central portal (left)

paigns. But such indecision and abrupt shifting back and forth (for which the author gives no explanation) would be most singular and strange indeed. Yet the objection to Kreytenberg's chronology involves more than a reluctance to accept its absurdly fragmented historical picture. Closer attention to the series of documents in question suggests that the author in his search for a new version of the history of the two buildings has misinterpreted the evidence. From the author's statements one might imagine a plethora of documents in the 1330's and 1340's, whereas in fact there are but a very few that yield any information about the construction of either the Cathedral or the Campanile.

What is the chronology of the Cathedral and the Campanile that these documents actually allow? If we were to apply Kreytenberg's method to all of them, very strange results would obtain. Although three documents refer to the founding and construction of the Campanile in 1334, and the Bigallo view of 1342 shows the lower Campanile largely complete, in the documents appointing Opera officials and, more important, in those involving funding of the Opera, only the Duomo is mentioned. (The first time the Campanile is explicitly mentioned in the funding, apart from the exceptional loan of 1334 for its foundation, is in 1353!) This is true not only of the documentation immediately after the founding (Guasti, Docs. 49[1334], 51 and 52[1337]), but through the 1340's (Guasti, Docs. 61[1343], 67[1350]) down to 1353. Kreytenberg bases his chronology largely on references to marble purchases; he all but ignores the equally critical matter of funding such purchases and all other building activity. If the author were to apply his method of interpreting documents to funding, he would be forced to the following chronology: Campanile begun in 1334, but suspended in 1335 until 1353, when building funds were again available. This is obviously impossible, if only from the attestation in 1348 of vaulting activity or from the long, detailed document of 1351 that tells us that the Trifora story was already well under way. Obviously, Kreytenberg's method of documentary analysis is seriously flawed.

The nature of this flaw is simple to discover. Although architecturally speaking, Cathedral and Campanile are separate fabrics, they were one iconographically, legally, and administratively (and remain so down to the present). There was only one Opera del Duomo (no Opera del Campanile), responsible for both fabrics in every aspect: funding, acquisition of materials, hiring of labor, and leadership. One *capomaestro* normally served both buildings, and even when there were co-*capomaestri*, their roles were not divided by building but by specialized skills. Moreover, although the city of Florence stressed the communal significance of the Tower (and even obtained public space within it), the building was, fundamentally, the bell-tower of the Cathedral ("nostram matricem ecclesiam et eius campanile" [Guasti, Doc. 64]): it was, in other words, a part of the Cathedral fabric. Moreover, after 1296 and well into the Renaissance period, the Cathedral was an incomplete fabric. Technically it was a fabric in progress throughout the period, whether it was actively being pursued at the moment or not. The same was the status of the Campanile until the 1360's. Thus, references to the funding of the "Cathedral" really mean funding of the Opera (this is usually explicit); they do not tell which (if either) of the two buildings was actively being built at the moment. These instruments inform us of possible building activity, but no more. To establish precisely which of the two structures was actually in hand, other evidence is needed. This would explain the fact stressed by Kreytenberg that (except for the special loan of 1334) the Campanile is nowhere mentioned as the exclusive subject of funding or marble provision, not even in the years before 1350 when even Kreytenberg suggests that only the Campanile was under way. In these legal instruments, the particular increment of the whole (*scil.*, Campanile) could be left unspecified, but no one increment could be substituted for the whole ("Cathedral"); in other words, the Campanile activity could not be substituted for the whole Cathedral fabric for which the Opera (and ultimately the city) was responsible. The whole is always mentioned; the component parts are mentioned only occasionally, but not consistently, with their actual progress. This peculiarity explains the bureaucratic documents in which the Campanile is omitted during the period of its certain construction (such as the acts of 1340, which mention Andrea Pisano and the destruction of the canonry). These same criteria also hold for the documents concerning marble shipments, stressed by Kreytenberg. The letters of 1341, 1342, and 1343, concerning quarrying and transport of marble "pro costructione matricis ecclesie," refer to the composite Cathedral fabric (including the Campanile) where work was underway. Where precisely, the documents do not specify, and it evidently did not much matter to the Bishop of Luni or the Commune of Siena from whose quarries the marble was to come, or to the Tuscan communes entreated not to hinder marble shipments. Some consideration of the purpose of these letters explains the anomalous mention of the Campanile, together with the Cathedral, in the letter of 1344. In the troubled Tuscany after the expulsion of the Duke of Athens from Florence in 1343, it was evidently difficult to persuade the Bishop of Luni (Carrara) to open his marble quarries to the Florentines (they had already had problems with him in 1341). It was evidently in hopes of bettering their chances that on this particular occasion they emphasized the worthiness of the building activity for which the marble was needed by specifying both architectural works. But this does not imply that both fabrics were actually actively under way, and neither does it explain, if only one, which one.

Examined comprehensively, analytically, and in context, rather than partially, literally, and in isolation, the documentation of the period 1334–1351 yields information that differs sharply from the author's stop-and-go chronology. It indicates that, except for the brief intervals during the reign of the Duke of Athens and the Black Death, the Opera was funded throughout the period, although the actual monies varied with the economic fortunes of the city. The documents inform us of a four-year period, 1341–1344, when marble was definitely being used by the Opera. They do not tell us about previous or subsequent marble operations until 1351. As to which of the two buildings was being worked on, only the Campanile, in fact, is mentioned specifically (in the foundation act, the loan of 1334 for its foundations, and in the act of 1348 concerning centering materials). References to the "Cathedral," such as they are, can be taken as no more than references to the collective Opera. This reviewer's monograph on the Tower attempted to weave the documents together with other information and with the evidence of the fabric itself; the results seemed to support the traditional dating of the Tower as having been under construction continuously (except for periods of revolution and catastrophe) from 1334 to ca. 1360.[28] The findings of this review substantiate this interpretation: the documentation alone yields no necessary Cathedral construction in 1334–1348, and, as we have seen, there is no tangible evidence of anything having been built in the period on the edifice. This would seem to imply that, if there was activity at the "Cathedral," it must have been basically at the Campanile. It was only after the Black Death that the Cathedral project slowly revived, first with the Porta dei Cornacchini, and then with the nave and cupola projects evolved in the 1350's and 1360's.

Kreytenberg leaves no aspect of the Duomo's trecento history untouched, including the question that all students of the Duomo have broached: the origin of the scheme combining a basilica with a domed triconch. Again, Kreytenberg's thesis has its original aspects, but his is originality at the cost of plausibility. In line with the recent trend of scholarship, Kreytenberg rejects the old notion that the scheme goes back to Arnolfo. He argues that it is questionable whether "such different architectonic structures as nave and domed choir can be attributed to one and the same master" (p. 73). The author doubts "that it was at all within the capacity of a medieval architect to unite . . . [such] varied structures in a single building." Kreytenberg agrees with A. M. Romanini that to bind a longitudinal and a centralized building was "one of the most revolutionary ideas of the European Middle Ages," and with Werner Gross, that this idea signals a turn from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. Arnolfo's Duomo, according to the author, probably closely resembled S. Croce: an immense T-shaped plan, timber-roofed except for the chapels.

It is regretable that the highly critical author so eagerly accepts Romanini's notion about the revolutionary character of the nave and domed-choir combination. Although such combinations were unusual, they were by no means as new or singular as both of them think. Indeed, the first Christian emperor, Constantine, built such a shrine at Bethlehem, and other Early Christian examples, such as Kalat Siman, also come to mind. In the European Middle Ages, similar plans are found in a number of important buildings in Northern Europe, e.g., at St.-Benigne at Dijon, or the triconch churches of Cologne. And Tuscany itself had a long tradition of the type. Examples are the Duomo of Pisa, where the standard Romanesque cupola was elongated (as it is in the trecento cupola at Massa Marittima, which even has a tambour), and, most particularly, the Duomo of Siena, where a great hexagonal cupola is stretched laterally almost to span all three aisles of the nave. Significantly, the young Arnolfo himself had worked alongside Nicola Pisano at Siena, just following the completion of its cupola. Florence, in its great new Duomo project, was not about to be outdone by Pisa or Siena, a fact now seemingly documented by the great early octagonal foundations discovered by Toker. The project of 1355-1367 changed the form of Arnolfo's scheme, enlarging it and perhaps adding the tribunes. But that Arnolfo's Duomo was to have embodied a large cupola, perhaps with a choir-chapel arrangement similar to the original Sienese choir (which resembled the Cistercian church of S. Galgano), is surely more probable than the notion that it resembled S. Croce. Whether or not S. Croce's architect was Arnolfo, it was a Franciscan church, not a cathedral. Just as S. Croce was a culmination of the dugento tradition of the Tuscan timber-roofed Mendicant church, so Arnolfo's Duomo undoubtedly extended the even older tradition of Tuscan cathedrals, perhaps even combining the great timber-roofed basilica of Pisa with the expanded cupola of Siena.

Whether the domed-triconch scheme was Arnolfian or not, Kreytenberg's search for its author among the personages of the 1350's and 1360's is in any case misguided. The predominant architect of the period from the mid-1340's until the early 1360's was Francesco Talenti, the first significant Florentine builder whose career can be traced in a series of significant designs. Yet for some reason, Kreytenberg undercuts him at every opportunity. Talenti, who was not known to Vasari, was a hero to the 19th-century school of Florentine historians (who inserted a memorial to him into the Cathedral pavement in 1903), but his reputation has since suffered. In fact, Kreytenberg's treatment of Talenti reflects a tendency to deny the architect his importance, which is manifested most strongly in the trend to take the Cathedral nave from him and place it in the hands of a series of committees.[29] What is most curious about this phenomenon is that Talenti's career is so well documented.[30]

Talenti was trained not only in his native Florence but also in some Sienese workshops of the early trecento. His Cam-

[28] It now strikes me that the Pucci poem (Guasti, Doc. 66; Trachtenberg, Doc. IV) implies continuous construction of the Campanile. We hear that Giotto begins it but soon dies, that Andrea Pisano does a section and is expelled, and that "then the work [is] directed by Talenti until abandoned to allow completion of the church." There is no hint of a pre-Talentian "abandonment" of the Tower, and we have good evidence that Pucci was personally well-acquainted with its history (Trachtenberg, 4).

[29] E.g., the review of the Campanile monograph by C. Gilbert, *Art Quarterly*, XXXV, 1972, 431. But cf. the rigorous and fair account by Paatz, III, 329f, who sees the nave as basically Talenti's conception.

[30] On Talenti's career, see Trachtenberg, chaps. V and VI, Paatz's account of the Campanile and the Duomo, III, 329f. (especially the notes), and my forthcoming study on Florentine Gothic architecture.

panile Bifora of the 1340's are a brilliant fusion of the Giottesque scheme of the famous Siena drawing with advanced Sienese architecture. The Porta dei Cornacchini and the Trifora design of ca. 1350 (Talenti is first documented as *capomaestro* in 1351) carry further the new style unveiled in the Bifora: a style new to Florence in its extreme richness of detail, yet highly systematic at the same time. Meanwhile, designing the interior structure of the Campanile prepared Talenti for the pier structure of the Cathedral. In 1355 he was commissioned to prepare a model for the Cathedral that, in a controversial phrase, would "correct" an unspecified "defect" in the fenestration (probably the side-aisle wall problem, noted above), as well as reveal intentions about the interior (the model, it is often forgotten, included piers and arches). In 1357 Talenti supervised the measuring and laying out of the new Duomo project. In 1358 he won the nave pier competition, executed (with the help of his son, Simone) the prototype pier capital,[31] and worked out the details of the side-aisle revetment design. His great design for the Porta del Campanile may be dated ca. 1360. In December, 1364, for reasons unknown (possibly illness), Talenti was relieved of his position. New leadership was on the way up, and Talenti was past the height of his powers. But his leave was only temporary; by July 1366, he was back as *capomaestro* (alongside Giovanni di Lapo Ghini, the structural specialist who was co-*capomaestro* from 1358). It is clear from the context that the nave *ballatoio* begun in 1364/66 is Talenti's. Its style agrees with his, and furthermore in the debate over its position in the elevation, the faction that had backed his pier model was the one that won.[32] Thus, no matter how long it took to evolve the final details, and how many committees were convened to decide between competing designs, it is clear that Talenti stubbornly, persistently saw his vision of the Cathedral nave realized. His were the preliminary model (1355), the dimensions of the bays (1357), the pier form that determines the shapes of arches and ribs and that derives in part from his Campanile vaulting (1358), the pier capitals (1358), and the *ballatoio* (1364/66). In other words, he designed the whole nave interior, as well as the most important aspects of the first two bays of the outer walls, the incrustation design of 1355/58 and the two monumental portals of ca. 1350 and ca. 1360. Of the nave, only the added fourth bay appears not to have been Talenti's idea, and neither was the lifeless decorative scheme of the revetment of the two east bays. Architecture as built is almost always a compromise between the architect's conception and the contingencies of the situation (including modifications by patrons, building committees, etc.), but within these limitations, one can no more deny Talenti the Duomo's nave than one can deny Michelangelo the dome of St. Peter's or Brunelleschi the church of S. Lorenzo.

The relationship of the cupola, first mentioned in 1357, to Francesco Talenti, indeed, the whole triconch scheme, is problematic. Talenti's design for the Duomo did include a cupola, although it is possible that it was a survival of Arnolfo's project, or that it did not include a triconch. In any event, it is obvious that Talenti's project as it evolved during the years 1355-1364 was the point of departure for the reforms of 1364-67, reforms in which he played the role of a highly respected, if no longer dominant leader. (The very absence of such a powerful architectural figure as Talenti had been earlier was probably the main cause of the escalation of the role of building committees in the period of 1364-67 to include actual planning; before, committees had generally been strictly judgmental or advisory in capacity, a distinction often lost in recent scholarship.) And it is clear that the final scheme pleased Talenti, so that it is likely not to have been all that different from his own scheme of 1357.

Kreytenberg chooses to present Talenti's role differently, attempting to undermine his reputation at every turn. Talenti was not "Meister des Domlanghauses," we are told, but, as "leading Dombaumeister," was mainly responsible for decoration of the building; in short, he was a kind of decorator (p. 59; also p. 75).[33] The author claims that in 1351 Talenti was merely "one 'principalis magister' among others unnamed" (p. 13), an incomprehensible misreading of the commissioning document, in which it is unequivocally clear that the final word on matters of design will be Talenti's, and Talenti's alone (or his unnamed successor's should Talenti no longer be around, as the legal instrument carefully provides). In the author's view, Talenti's model of 1355 concerned only minor details (p. 55f). He implies that in the laying out of 1357 Talenti just stood by, rather like a tourist, watching the proceedings passively and finally giving a nodding acceptance (p. 64 and n. 268). He claims (p. 64) that we do not know who designed the *ballatoio*, implying that Talenti had been not much more than merely another mason there, even though he was paid the wages of a *capomaestro*. And in 1366-67, as Kreytenberg would have it, not the architect but the planning committees made all the decisions.

The interpretations are arbitrary, especially coming from one who stresses rigorous objectivity in dealing with evidence, and they are unpersuasive. Neither can one muster a more positive response to Kreytenberg's proposal (p. 73f.) of an anti-Talentian protagonist as the key architectural figure of the period: Orcagna (included in Vasari's canon, unlike poor Talenti). It is true that Orcagna was a great artist—a consummate painter, a gifted sculptor, and (in the Tabernacle of Orsanmichele) no less than a genius at highly decorative, relatively small-scale architecture. The shrine did not make him a master of monumental architecture, however. He may indeed have played an important role in the committees of 1366/67, but there is no documentation of his predominance there, and, in fact, the only monumental architectural design he is known to have executed was his losing project in the competition for the Cathedral pier. According to the author, however, Orcagna's Orsanmichele Tabernacle involves a number of aspects crucial to the Cathedral, including the "ribbed" cupola on a drum and "clear" mathematical proportions (which he explicitly de-

[31] Guasti, LXX, 108 (against Gilbert's assertion [note 29 above]).

[32] Cf. Saalman, 483, n. 51. Once again, Orcagna is the loser.

[33] Saalman, 482, sees Talenti not incorrectly as a "general practitioner" with a "field of expertise'" in "sculptural detail and marble incrustation." The gigantic vaults of the new Cathedral planned by Talenti may have required a special expert (Ghini) to supervise their actual construction (a full-time job), just as the domed triconch planned by the committees of the 1360's ultimately needed a Brunelleschi. But Talenti managed to guide the entire construction of the upper Campanile on his own (with only occasional outside advice), a not inconsiderable feat of competence in construction.

nies to Talenti). Kreytenberg's dubious proportional diagram of the tabernacle reveals nothing more than the common shape of round arches over square bases, a 2:1 proportion of the second level of the tabernacle, and, if one chooses the right points, an inscription of the superstructure within a square. On the basis of these schemes, for which the author recognizes Orcagna as an Albertian wizard of rational design, the artist is connected to Arnolfo, as well as to the square schematism of the Cathedral nave. Why such architectural figures and relationships as elementary for the period as these should have been impossible for Talenti is not made clear. An even more curious lapse in plausibility is Kreytenberg's claim that Orcagna's design of a cupola over four piers makes him responsible for the "revolutionary" idea of combining cupola and nave structures.

Despite the failure of its arguments, Kreytenberg's book is stimulating (as evidenced, for example, by the length of this review). The author manages to take a fresh look at a subject ridden by a mammoth bibliography. But his originality of outlook is programmatic; he systematically attempts to turn every established notion upside-down, come what may. In the process he has arrived at some new insights, such as his discovery about the relationship of the width of Arnolfo's nave to its new distance from the Baptistery, or his new account of the fabric's history in the 1360's and 1370's, which is viable apart from the Talenti-Orcagna entanglement, or his interpretation (probably correct) of a document of 1375 as recording the destruction of the "choir" mentioned in 1334. But it is curious that such perceptiveness has led to such inept overall results. As we have observed, this failure issues from the author's methods. Although in the final chapter he offers vague speculations about style and design, in the core of the book these are only nominally considered. Everything is reduced to literal readings of fabric and documentation, deprived of a sense of historical plausibility and context, of stylistic development, not to mention personal style.

One cannot help comparing the approach of Kreytenberg with Kiesow's fragile chain of argumentation (based largely on a single observed disparity),[34] and perhaps even more pertinently with the method employed by Kreytenberg's mentor, Manfred Wundram, in his controversial study of the early careers of Donatello and Nanni di Banco (given, to my mind, a scrupulously fair, but sharp review by H. W. Janson in this journal).[35] Both Wundram and Kreytenberg have keen eyes for anomalies in sculptural and architectural fabrics, and both tend to allow such anomalies to overshadow other considerations. A singular detail or two, architectural *pentimenti* or plans of the bases of sculptures are seized upon, and major aspects of the history of the period are rewritten largely on the basis of such details to form great inverted pyramids of argument, spectacular in novelty, but narrow and even anti-humanistic. The ambiguous complexities, the carefully nurtured sense of an artist's style and inner imagination, the considerations of the complex, often puzzling and indeterminate interaction of architectural tradition, programmatic needs, and personal innovation—all these aspects of humanistic art history, with all its uncertainties, are replaced by dry, rigorously mechanical argumentation, intended to be compelling in its aura of logical necessity. This method bears an affinity to an unfortunate trend in recent art history (and art-historical projects), by which an old-fashioned humanistic discipline tries to make itself modern, that is, scientific, clutching at scientific tools and methods, such as quantification, statistical analysis, and computers. Kreytenberg does not employ these ultimate tools in his book (his positivistic method is more like that of classical geology, in which various surface outcroppings of rock serve to reconstruct the complex, hidden layers of the earth's crust), but certainly he moves the study of trecento architecture in a pseudo-scientific direction. Kreytenberg and Wundram are at present collaborating on a far-flung, financially well-endowed corpus of trecento Florentine sculpture. One can only express the hope that in this project there will be a return to humanistic art history on the part of these ambitious scholars.

MARVIN TRACHTENBERG
New York University, Institute of Fine Arts

[34] Kiesow, as cited in n. 3, thoroughly demolished by Saalman, 495f.

[35] *Donatello and Nanni di Banco*, Berlin, 1969; reviewed in *Art Bulletin*, LIV, 1972, 546f.

JURGIS BALTRUŠAITIS, *Anamorphic Art*, trans. from the French W. J. Strachan, New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1977. Pp. 182; 129 black-and-white figs. $20

FRED LEEMAN, JOOST ELFFERS, AND MIKE SCHUYT, *Hidden Images; Games of Perception, Anamorphic Art, Illusion from the Renaissance to the Present*, trans. from the Dutch Ellyn Childs, Allison and Margaret L. Kaplan, New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1976. Pp. 136; 167 figs. $9.85

M. L. D'OTRANGE MASTAI, *Illusion in Art; Trompe l'Oeil; A History of Pictorial Illusion*, New York, Abaris Books, 1975. Pp. 379; 451 black-and-white figs., 23 color pls. $39.50

M. H. PIRENNE, *Optics, Painting, and Photography*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1970. Pp. 199; 92 figs. $13.50

The melange of books (some old, some new) here under review is the prelude to a wave of scholarly and not so scholarly commentary one may expect now that Neo-Realism has firmly replaced abstraction in the modernist avant-garde. Pirenne's book has become a classic. It was published too soon to have attracted the attention of the *Art Bulletin* back in 1970, so was not put out for review until this moment. Now the time is ripe. As the banner of realism waves triumphantly over the Whitney and Guggenheim Museums, the world wants to know how it is that illusionistic art, only a few years ago considered an extinct species, is suddenly alive and rampant in the streets of New York. None of the four books makes reference to the current craze, but collectively they do suggest an important reason why we are so taken again by realistic art. It is deception, that age-old, peculiarly Western fascination with pictorial trickery. Since the time of Plato's cave, if not before, Westerners have never really had enough of illusion. No matter which way art and philosophy turn, we insist periodically that our artists fool us, even as they beguile our senses with mirror copies of nature. Indeed, the more true to nature the picture, the more it is false. Realism in art still beckons the imagination

precisely because it forces us to suspend belief. The viewer loves to believe that flatness can appear as hollow space, that a smudge of paint can be a three-dimensional mountain. We admire linear perspective not because it is a law-abiding citizen of the optical world but because it occasionally cheats.

What the abstract painters of the last decades proved (*pace* Leo Steinberg) was that the picture surface is flat. In other words, after a great deal of time, effort, and expectation, they failed to discover much that was not already known before they started. It is therefore most refreshing to read in the present volumes how artists have deliberately defied the picture surface, how they have ingeniously lied their way past the barrier of the picture's flatness, thus violating all the moral tenets of early 20th-century abstractionists.

In her new book D'Otrange Mastai offers a historical look at illusionism in art. She shows examples from the time of ancient Egypt to that of contemporary New York. The jacket states, "This is the first comprehensive study of Illusionism, as practiced by the most famous artists of almost every generation since antiquity." "Comprehensive" it may be, but "study," unfortunately, it is not. This is an overpriced coffee-table book. The material has been thrown together in an unscholarly manner in order to get it published and on the market quickly. The text is derived almost entirely from out-of-date secondary sources and reads every bit like an art appreciation lecture series from a Continuing Education class of the 1950's. The tipped-in color plates are a disgrace to the printing profession. Were this book an automobile, it would be recalled and repaired at the manufacturer's expense. It is true, however, that even the worst book has something good about it, and there are some interesting pictures here. Of the nearly 500 illustrations, some will surely be new to even the educated viewer. I am especially pleased that the author included a work by Richard Haas, one of the most promising of the New Realist painters in this country. Haas's specialty, neatly combining the fad for illusionism with that for urban improvement, is to paint on the bare sides of city buildings the most marvelous architectural patterns, e.g., mock windows, doors, domes, etc. Frequently the models for these are derived from Renaissance architectural treatises. Their effect, both illusionistically and aesthetically, is stunning. His is one of the finest and most ingenious contributions of painting to the urban environment since the 17th century.

Pirenne's approach to illusionism is scientific rather than historical. The author is a well-known physiologist with a specialty in optics. His book sets out in clear and readable prose the geometric theory of vision: the role of the human eye's anatomy in conditioning its reaction to light rays; the process by which images are formed in the act of seeing; the nature of Euclidian optics; of pictorial perception according to these theories; and of optical illusions caused by curvature, linear perspective, and photography. Although this book was not written in any sense as a refutation of J. J. Gibson, it could be said to lay down the basic tenets of geometric or "light ray" theory of vision as differing from the Gibsonian "ecological optics." As mentioned above, this work has already become a classic. It is a must in the library of any person, artist or scholar, with an interest in illusionistic art. Here can be found good scientific explanations for all sorts of phenomena, the kinds of questions that plague both the painter of realistic pictures and the writer on subjects like linear perspective, not to mention the photographer. E.g., what is the nature of the "image" formed in the eye? Why does a photographic camera distort when the eye does not? Do we see straight lines as "subjectively curved"? Why do some perspective pictures look distorted when viewed away from the proper station point whereas others do not look distorted at all?

One of Pirenne's intriguing theories is his notion of "subsidiary awareness." This concept, which the author acknowledges he derived from the philosopher, Michael Polanyi, helps him explain why certain illusionistic pictures, such as Andrea Pozzo's ceiling fresco *Saint Ignatius Received in Heaven* in the Roman church of S. Ignazio, remain so convincing. It is because, in this particular work, we cannot make out the physical surface of the high ceiling on which the fresco is painted. That is, we cannot distinguish the ceiling from the painting when it is viewed from the special places marked by discs in the floor. Without such "subsidiary awareness" of the physical surface of a picture, our senses are completely deceived by the perspective illusion. Only if that "awareness" is restored, as when we move away from the fixed station point and can see the window embrasures, the arc of the coved ceiling, and other architectural features, does the perspective illusion no longer hold. In fact, the persuasiveness of the painted details on the ceiling suddenly collapses. It is a most strange sight, as anyone who has ever visited S. Ignazio will well remember. The theory of "subsidiary awareness" also explains why "peep shows" work, and perspective pictures painted in a heavy impasto do not. In the former case, the fixed viewpoint, the lighting, and the enclosing of the picture in a box tend to weaken our awareness of the picture surface, thus increasing the illusionistic effects of the image itself. In an impasto painting, however, the obvious picture surface intrudes on the perspective illusion, rendering it weaker. In the latter case, and unlike the Pozzo example, there will be little noticeable difference in the illusion even when the picture is seen at an angle from the proper station point.

Baltrušaitis's book has long been known to cognoscenti, that is, to the few scholars active in the 1950's and 1960's who had sufficient scientific background to understand the complexities of geometric perspective. It was first published in 1955 as *Anamorphoses ou perspectives curieuses*, then revised and expanded in 1969 as *Anamorphoses ou magie artificielle des effets merveilleux*. Both editions were difficult to find in this country and, besides, were accessible only to readers of French. The English translation now makes Baltrušaitis's unique subject available to a much wider public. Indeed, it already reached an enormous public two years ago, in the form of a widely popular art exhibit, most of the installations of which were derived from this book.

"Anamorphosis," meaning "that which is formed again," is a 17th-century word coined from the Greek to describe a peculiar genre of art then popular in Europe. Anamorphic pictures were images projected according to the strict rules of linear perspective, but not, as in normal vision or pictorial composition, on flat surfaces parallel to the face of the observer. Rather, they were projected on planes so curved or angled that the images appeared wildly distorted. Only when the viewer assumed a special viewpoint that compensated for the strange angle of projection would the image be restored to its "natural" appearance, i.e., "formed again."

Baltrušaitis traces the history of anamorphic art from the 16th through the 18th century. The subject was very much a byproduct of the burgeoning scientific imagination in late Renaissance Europe. As researchers of the time advanced into the mysteries of mathematics and optics, they were

struck increasingly by the apparent anomalies of the so-called exact sciences. They realized that linear perspective, that metaphor of Renaissance objectivity, was just as capable of becoming, in Baltrušaitis's words, "an instrument for producing hallucinations." Perhaps the best-known example of anamorphoses in the history of art is Holbein's *The Ambassadors* of 1532 in which the artist included in the midst of the tranquil scene of books and learning, a large distorted skull. Baltrušaitis devotes an entire chapter to this painting, setting it in context and explaining the social and political significance of this weird anamorphic image.

Indeed, anamorphic art in the Renaissance was more than just an idle amusement of the learned. It seemed also to reflect some of the uncertainties and even fears of all people in that "most cultured age," in John Shearman's phrase, of people torn between their traditional medieval faith and the new doctrines of scientific rationalism. Anamorphic artists delighted in depicting prosaic, innocuous landscapes in the best Renaissance style, which, when viewed from a sharp angle, suddenly revealed scenes of humorous pornography, or (and this was a more common theme) scenes of holy mysteries and visions. Without specifically saying so, Baltrušaitis supplies the supporters of the Hegelian, that is, the "anti-classical," theory of Mannerism with some valuable evidence.

The author's most interesting chapters, however, are devoted to anamorphoses in the 17th century, and especially to the attention they received from the religious Order of the Minims. This Society had been founded in the 15th century by Saint Francis of Paola and it won many adherents in Italy and France. Its headquarters were at Paris and Rome. In the cloister of its Roman mother church, SS. Trinità dei Monti, may be seen the only extant wall fresco of an anamorphic subject. It was painted in 1642 by Emmanuel Maignan and shows, when viewed from the side, *Saint Francis of Paola Walking on Water in the Straits of Messina*. In 1638, a member of the Order, Father Jean-François Niceron, wrote the first definitive treatise on anamorphoses, entitled *La Perspective curieuse ou magie artificielle des effets merveilleux*, from which, of course, Baltrušaitis derived the title for the second edition of his own work. But the potentially most significant aspect of this interest in anamorphic art by the Minims is its relationship to René Descartes.

The closest friend and intellectual correspondent of the great French rationalist was Father Marin Mersenne, a Minim and the teacher and patron of Niceron. Baltrušaitis describes in some detail the web of interests shared by these remarkable men. Descartes was quite fascinated by the deceiving effects of linear perspective, and Baltrušaitis implies that anamorphic art may have played a fundamental role in the development of Cartesian philosophy, especially in the revolutionary *Dioptics* and *Treatise on Man*. In fact, the phenomenon of anamorphic art is seen by Baltrušaitis as a major symptom of the crisis of consciousness experienced by Europeans in the 16th and 17th centuries.

I have one point of disagreement with Baltrušaitis. In his final chapter, the author offers the opinion that one form of anamorphic art, the cylindrical mirror, derived from China. In this anamorphosis, an unintelligible image is drawn on a flat plane, which is then restored to "normal" when reflected on the curved surface of a cylindrical mirror. Such images became quite popular in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. The author, however, has also located Chinese examples, some of flagrantly lewd subjects, datable to the late Ming dynasty, that is, to the early 17th century when the Jesuits arrived in the Orient. Although acknowledging that the Jesuits were the first to acquaint the Chinese with optical geometry, with Euclid's *Elements* for that matter, he still insists that his Chinese examples must precede any Jesuit influence. His major evidence is a print after a design by Simon Vouet that dates from 1625, or before any other European verbal description of a cylindrical anamorphosis. The print shows a group of satyrs gawking at a mirror cylinder on which is reflected from an anamorphic sketch an elephant with an oriental-style fringed saddlecloth. The elephant is the only conceivable "oriental" detail in this otherwise quite "European" picture, yet the elephant is no more indigenous to China than it is to Europe. Baltrušaitis nonetheless sees this as Chinese influence and traces the source of the picture's subject to the Ottoman court in Constantinople, which Vouet visited, and which did have a collection of Chinese curiosities. Baltrušaitis cites circumstances that are suggestive but not compelling. In order to draw an anamorphosis one must first know something of linear perspective, or, in the case of mirrors, something of geometric catoptrics. The Chinese before the arrival of the Jesuits had no access to a knowledge of linear perspective or catoptrics. Even Joseph Needham, who likes to attribute to the Chinese every invention known to man,[1] makes no mention of anamorphic mirror art in China. My belief is that it was first tried in Europe, along with every other anamorphic form, and that the Jesuits did introduce the genre to China during the reign of the Wan-li emperor. Amamorphic art like linear perspective is a contribution of Western civilization to world art history.

The last book under review here, Leeman *et al.*, *Hidden Images*, first published in Europe in 1975 in connection with the Anamorphoses exhibition in Amsterdam, owes a considerable debt to Baltrušaitis. The authors in fact prepared the exhibition with Baltrušaitis's active help. Their production of a book to accompany it seems to have been undertaken without the latter's knowledge, however, and when the exhibition opened and the book appeared he received no credit for either. The issue became more complicated when the Boston Museum of Fine Arts agreed to lead the exhibition on an American tour and an American publisher undertook to publish an English translation of the Dutchmen's book. It was agreed to give the book a new introduction that would acknowledge Baltrušaitis's contribution, and to give it and the exhibition a title that could not be confused with Baltrušaitis's *Anamorphoses*. An English translation of Baltrušaitis's own work was also to be published and to be circulated simultaneously. In the event, the Baltrušaitis translation was delayed and was not available simultaneously. Out of loyalty, some of the participating museums in this country did not sell *Hidden Images*. They offered instead a short and inexpensive guide to the exhibition that, ironically, had omitted any acknowledgement at all to Baltrušaitis, whereas *Hidden Images* had been amended in this respect.

It was all very ill-managed, and resulted in an unhandsome slight to the scholar who first put the subject of anamorphoses on the art-historical map. He was not the only one thus dealt with; another scholar who was no longer alive to complain was also forgotten in the Dutchmen's

[1] *Science and Civilisation in China*, 7 parts in 5 vols. to date, Cambridge, 1954 *et seqq.*

exhibition and book. One of the most popular installations of the show was a "sculpture" by Jan Beutener showing a life-size room full of disassembled furniture and other objects. When seen from a fixed viewpoint, all the paraphernalia in the room seemed to come together in a "natural" arrangement. Such "distorted rooms" were devised for the purpose of studying visual perception many years ago by Adelbert Ames, Jr.. Unfortunately, that ingenious researcher of illusionistic trickery was not credited in the Dutch work either.

In all fairness it must be said that the work of Leeman, Elffers, and Schuyt, both in the exhibition and in their book, went considerably beyond that of Baltrušaitis. They discovered and described many examples of anamorphoses not mentioned by the latter. Moreover, their text is more readable, and is organized in a chronological order, whereas Baltrušaitis's is not. Baltrušaitis's work remains the scholar's choice, but the Dutch book will please the educated reader who still has difficulty following verbal descriptions of geometric problems. Fred Leeman, the chief historical researcher of the team, has done a workman-like job in reporting modern findings on the subject and has written a clear description of it. He begins, as Baltrušaitis does not, with a good explanation of Brunelleschian and Albertian perspective, and fleshes this out with an account of Renaissance illusionism generally, which certainly helps the reader approach the complexities of anamorphoses. The best part of the book is the pictures. The plates in the translation of Baltrušaitis's book are sufficient for scholarly reference, but the book by Leeman *et al.* was published to furnish the reader with actual working anamorphic examples. A sheet of shiny paper that can be rolled into a cylindrical mirror is included in each copy. There are not only black-and-white but many full-color reproductions of original anamorphic images, on which the cylindrical mirror can be set in order to see them correctly. I suspect that there are still quite a number of unsold copies of *Hidden Images* in stock. It is a good buy, and certainly complements without offending Baltrušaitis's pioneering work.

SAMUEL Y. EDGERTON, JR.
Boston University

RONALD M. STEINBERG, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola: Florentine Art and Renaissance Historiography,* Athens, Ohio University Press, 1977. Pp. 151; 9 ills. $11

"The study of history," writes Steinberg at the beginning of his text, "inevitably becomes a study of the writing of history." It has long been a commonplace within the description of the Renaissance that Fra Girolamo Savonarola exerted a direct and discernible influence on the visual arts in Florence at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century. Certain formal elements of the art itself have been identified as having their impulse in the temper of Savonarola's ministry, such as those noted by Creighton Gilbert when he characterized a painting by Filippino Lippi as "a combination of both . . . anxiety and archaism. . ." We know from Savonarola himself that he took note of art and that he was deeply concerned with the moral implications of representation. We have it from a number of historical sources, including, of course, Vasari, that Savonarola acted against what he called an impure art and that his pronouncements had some effect on contemporary artists. But the interpretation given to such testimony, reflecting as it often does a particular interpretation of Savonarola himself, is frequently tendentious and partisan. Savonarola has been praised for many reasons. To Pasquale Villari, writing in 1861, he was a model of the possible reconciliation between religion and liberty, one of evident value in the years of the *Risorgimento;* to Joseph Schnitzer, the author of *Der katholische Modernismus,* Savonarola was the perfect reformer; and to such critics as Wilhelm Wackenroder, Friedrich Schlegel, Alexis-Francois Rio, and, much later, Conrad von Bolanden, Savonarola was the defender of a Christian art, holding at bay the forces of simple naturalism. The past was an example for the present, the present a method of reading the past. "Since, despite my reserve and my repugnance to judge contemporary affairs, I am forced to speak of them," wrote the critic Etienne Cartier in 1847, in an article on Savonarola's aesthetics, "I would suggest that an artist of our days is almost irresistibly led to produce licentious and bad works; the education he receives leads him to it naturally. . . ." Such comments were frequent.

The burden of this past has been difficult to escape. Thus, it is to the credit of such historians as Giorgio Spini, Romeo dea Maio, Delio Cantimori, and Donald Weinstein that, within strictly historical writings, a more reasoned position has been set out for Savonarola. The record in the history of art is less seemly. The history of Savonarola, writes Steinberg, is littered with faulty assumptions and unwarranted inferences; the problem of Savonarola and style is "diffuse, unrevealing and even moot" *(sic).* These are harsh words but they spell out the purpose and the function of the present study. Steinberg's investigation is arranged in three parts: historiography, the visual arts in Savonarola's sermons, and Savonarolan iconography. What earlier historians made of Savonarola is taken into account: this is clear from Steinberg's opening remarks, but there is much to be pruned and cut away.

Tradition knows much of Savonarola and the arts: the support he received from certain artists, the school of art he established at S. Marco, and, most notoriously, the burnings of the "vanities," the "brucciamenti delle vanità" that took place in Florence at his instigation in 1497 and 1498 at the end of Carnival. The contents of these pyres, according to the contemporary, Paolo Somenzi, were in part the traditional objects of religious disdain: "quantità di robbe lascive, *videlicet* spechi, capelli da donne, carte, tavoglieri [. . .], perfumi in grande quantità et de ogni qualità de simile cose lascive." Yet there was more: copies of the *Decameron* and of the *Morgante,* writings of Dante and Petrarch, several works of art by, among others, Donatello, carved figures of Florentine and Roman women, and a number of what were called indecent prints and drawings. The apologists for Savonarola have tried to suggest that much of this account is exaggerated. Steinberg's response is brief and noncommital. He points out certain inconsistencies in the record of Vasari, especially in a note on the reported participation in these burnings of Lorenzo di Credi. And he ends with a warning, perhaps a gratuitous one. It does not follow, he emphasizes, that all artists associated by tradition with Savonarola took part in these burnings; it does not follow that those who did, like Credi and Fra Bartolommeo, were from that moment on followers of Savonarola.

From this Steinberg turns to the school at S. Marco. At least one historical text reports that when Savonarola was

prior at S. Marco he encouraged the monks to produce works of art to enrich the Order, which was standard Dominican practice. But details were added to this record. Writing in the 1840's, Padre Vincenzo Marchese proposed a list of ten artists who took the habit under Savonarola, suggesting in addition, as did several later historians, that Savonarola developed the school at S. Marco on the model of the studio of Fra Angelico and as a deliberate counter-example to the so-called Academy of Lorenzo de' Medici. None of this survives the scrutiny of Steinberg, who makes it clear why such proposals were attractive, especially to Catholic historians. To wish to re-Christianize the arts, as Steinberg puts it, was to accept them as genuinely valuable, and to grant Savonarola this purpose was to give him a role "in all that was currently held to be glorious in Florentine history." One further detail could well have been added. To see Savonarola in this light was to suggest that, centuries earlier, he had sensed and reacted against something in Renaissance art that was akin to the "lack of religious feeling," the "lack of mysticism" (the words are those of August Schlegel) so deplored in the art of their own time by 19th-century Christian critics.

Steinberg makes very little of the tradition connecting certain artists with Savonarola. The record for Michelangelo, he suggests, is insubstantial. And the texts on Botticelli turn out, in the end, to deliver far less than they promise. Botticelli's brother, Simone Filipepi, was indeed a firm follower of Savonarola; after Savonarola's death in 1498 he had to leave Florence. But it is incorrect to assume, as do so many writers, that Botticelli shared the convictions of his brother. A text of Simone's *Cronaca* is often cited to show that Botticelli was antagonistic to one of Savonarola's opponents, Doffo Spini. Against this, Steinberg adduces a passage from the *Giornate* of Lorenzo Violi showing Spini to have been a frequent visitor to Botticelli's studio and thus, apparently, a friend. Vasari's suggestion that Botticelli did not work after the death of Savonarola out of devotion to him is given short shrift. For it is not clear that Botticelli did stop work; he was still active within the artistic community of Florence in 1504, the date of the discussions on the placement of Michelangelo's *David*. And when Vasari notes that it was Lorenzo who came to the aid of Botticelli in these desolate years, it is clear that Vasari is speaking out of policy. The last works of the artist are small, private pictures, far from the taste of Vasari himself; the life Botticelli led was too eccentric to be approved of. How noble then would be the patronage of Lorenzo de' Medici (he had, of course, died six years before the execution of Savonarola) that it was extended to so willful and so mistaken a painter!

The record for Fra Bartolommeo is more substantial. He was, of course, a member of the Dominican Order, and the details of his commissions for the Order are well attested by documents. Again Steinberg's quarrel is with later historians. He rejects Marchese's idea that Fra Bartolommeo had a relationship with the theologian, Sante Pagnini, similar to that which had existed, some sixty years earlier, between Fra Angelico and Saint Antoninus. And Steinberg scorns the identification between the simple and ingenuous character of Fra Bartolommeo himself and the apparently simple and ingenuous character of his art, an identification accepted, for example, by historians such as Fritz Knapp and Hans van der Gabelentz. It is beyond question that Fra Bartolommeo was a man of religious conviction; "nor do we doubt it here," Steinberg adds; "we only question its absolutist [*sic*] nature and the function given it by past historians."

The temper of Steinberg's investigations can be gauged by the arguments I have cited and by this last quotation; he is literal, prosaic, and, all too often, curiously awkward. The limitations of his approach do not damage his textual or his iconographic researches too much; here the problem is simply that what he says is not very interesting or very invigorating. It is when Steinberg turns to questions of style and to the problem of Savonarola's concern with contemporary art that the limitations of his approach become crucial. It is clear, as Steinberg notes, that Savonarola recognized the force of visual images. He used them in his sermons, and he criticized what he saw as the improper images of the art of contemporary Florence. And if he was ever led to make any more general comments on the character of art, these notes were simple and unexceptional: that the artist be a good Christian and a good painter, that he should try as far as possible to lead people to devotion. The worst fault of the artist, according to Savonarola, was what he called superfluousness, *superfluità*. Yet this was not, in its essence, an aesthetic comment, coming as it did from the context of a more general criticism of human action, such as that put forward, for example, in the treatise, *Della semplicità della vita cristiana*. According to this treatise, superfluousness is a quality that always threatens to obtrude in man's relation to man and man's relation to God. Schnitzer believed that Savonarola's comments suggested he believed in a kind of naturalism. For Savonarola, if art was said to imitate nature, it was an imitation of what could be called unsophisticated nature, a nature compatible with the moral virtue and unaffectedness of the early Church. It was in this tone that he criticized the overly ornate and charming images located in churches; even clerics, he noted in a letter to Maddalena Pico della Mirandola, fill their cells with such paintings. And it was in this tone that he took umbrage at the naturalism of much contemporary imagery. We might think of the legend that Fra Filippo Lippi used Lucrezia Buti as the model of the Virgin he painted for the nuns of S. Margerita. When youths walk down the street, Savonarola complained, they can often say "there goes the Magdalen" or "that one is San Giovanni." This was obviously improper and dangerous.

What art Savonarola approved of is not clear. To say that it should be simple and appropriate is not, of itself, the prescription for a style. Steinberg is able to dismiss quite sharply the attempts by such writers as Gustave Gruyer and Schnitzer to propose a consistent and independent theory of art for Savonarola. Yet some sort of problem remains, and the fact that even some images were destroyed is example enough of the intensity and the significance of his strictures on contemporary art. It has long been suggested that Savonarola was the agent of a conflict within Florentine art at the end of the 15th century, a conflict between what Freedberg, in his recent study of Italian painting, called "the physical and the spiritual." This, for example, was the thesis of Georges Lafenestre, in his now forgotten study, *St. Francis d'Assise et Savonarole: Inspirateurs de l'art italien* (1911). We might think, in this context, of the difference between the art of Botticelli and that of an artist like Domenico Ghirlandaio. But Steinberg will have none of this; he calls Freedberg's explanation anachronistic, an attempt to comprehend the situation of 1500 by referring to standards of another age. And if it is not clear what Steinberg thinks was going on in Florence at the end of the century, it is evident that he holds little brief for the explanations put forward by other scholars.

It was not to be expected that in a study such as this Steinberg should present a full-scale narrative of the religious situation in Florence at the end of the 15th century. But many of the details in his book suggest that he saw his text as an attempt at cultural history, an attempt to set Savonarola in his period and in his place. This would have been entirely appropriate, for if the recent studies of Savonarola have demonstrated one thing it is that the friar owed as much to the particular conditions in Florence as Florence owed to him. This is clear in Weinstein's contributions; it is also evident from a work like that of Rosemary Devonshire Jones on Francesco Vettori that many people in Florence felt close in spirit to Savonarola and to his movement. What he did was not unusual; his reactions to the visual image were not without precedent. "We should be taught only by the *word* of God," Zwingli wrote in 1523. All reflective Christians had to come to terms with this prescription. Savonarola was not alone; indeed, some of the remarks of such evangelists as Thomas Murner and Johannes Geiler von Kassenberg are close to those of Savonarola about the images of Mary and Saint John. In calling for reform within the society of Italy, Savonarola was tapping a vein of discourse that had long been present in the country; this is clear, for example, from the study of Carlo Faletti-Forsatti, *Costumi senesi nella seconda metà del secolo XIV.* And even the famous burnings had precedents enough, although Steinberg does not bring this point out. Similar burnings had taken place in Rome in 1424, in Florence and Siena in 1425 (led by Bernardino da Siena), in Milan in 1477, and in Bologna and Perugia in 1487 (led by San Bernardino da Feltre). In all these instances, the objects burned were similar to those singled out by Savonarola for his pyres: the pyre at Bologna, for example, according to the record of the *Acta Sanctorum,* was made up of indecent drawings, prohibited books, ornaments and cosmetics. One more general point can be made. It is certainly arguable, if not from evidence such as this then certainly from details within the history of Italian art during the 15th century, that even the artistic prescriptions Savonarola put forth had been anticipated. Consider, for example, the attitude of the *Mary Magdalene* of Donatello, done about 1450. The comments of H. W. Janson on this piece are very apposite: "The overpowering religious fervor expressed in this statue would have met a less ready response had it not coincided with a broader devotional trend which can be felt in Florence from about 1450 on. . . ." And this image, as Maud Crutwell noted, was notably popular. Consider also the force of the beatific images of Raphael, the *Saint Catherine,* the *Saint Cecilia,* and the *Transfiguration;* these have been examined by Daniel Arasse in a recent issue of the *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome.* It was perhaps tendentious of Schnitzer to draw together, as illustrations to his text, a set of pictures of such evidently similar spirit as Perugino's *Lament Over the Dead Christ,* Francia's *Madonna del Roseto,* and Fra Bartolommeo's *Deposition.* But are the similarities in their expression mere coincidence? Is not their imagery quite distinct in form and purpose from the models of the High Renaissance, the Sistine Ceiling of Michelangelo, or the early works of Raphael? Perhaps it is not inappropriate, at this juncture, to turn to the opinions of a modern recusant, Archbishop Lefebvre, founder of the Order of Pius X. He "looks a little askance at the art of the Renaissance," a follower reports; "he finds that to be an expression of a pagan mentality entering here, not the Christian spirit of the Middle Ages. . .Especially the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel."

Steinberg gives little attention to such problems and his study is surely less satisfactory for this omission. If his brief, as he puts it, was to look into "this Savonarola thing," it is not clear in the end how well or how fully he has met his responsibilities. All he discusses in any substantive way is historiography and this he does unsatisfactorily. It is impossible to disagree with the burden of his preamble, "that the investigation of Savonarola and Renaissance art would have yielded little without first determining what the *historiographical* situation was." This record, however, as Steinberg himself is at pains to demonstrate, is often highly biased. What then are we to think of his later remark that this (the historiography) "is the historical situation we are best equipped to know"? Insofar as this sentence has any clear meaning, it seems to serve Steinberg as justification for spending so much time on the record of the studies of Savonarola (most of which he dismisses) that there is little time left for any serious scrutiny of the facts of the history of his teaching and his mission and his effect on the culture of Florence. The nature of history is introduced to account for this, and in what he terms "the conclusion," Steinberg talks not of Savonarola but of history itself, calling up at this juncture the ideas of R. G. Collingwood, most notably the latter's remark that history is like a river "into which none can step twice." How this fits Steinberg's study is not immediately clear. Certainly, Collingwood himself did not forget what was the first responsibility of the historian, as he showed in his studies of Roman Britain: it is the unequivocal pursuit of the facts of the past, as well as they can be known. Collingwood spoke at times of the "re-enactment" involved in writing history, a process he likened to the Aquinan description of mental acts, as "a saying in one's own heart." This was a call for a kind of sympathy; however, it was not an excuse to dissolve the record of history itself into little more than a history of the writing of history. The problems surrounding the activities of Savonarola in Florence are extremely interesting, and much of what Steinberg says is appropriate enough, if at moments somewhat unconvincing. Yet taken as a whole, his study seems curiously fettered, and little of the final significance and importance of Savonarola is presented in any useful way. Instead, Steinberg substitutes an inappropriate and self-conscious description of the methods of his investigation. "The study of history," so he had averred at the beginning of his book, "inevitably becomes a study in the writing of history." It is the word "inevitably" that seems, in the end, awkward and incorrect in his remark.

DAVID CAST
Yale University

The Farnese Hours, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, intro. and commentaries by Webster Smith, New York, George Braziller, 1976. Pp. 167; 64 color pls., 2 black-and-white pls., slipcased. $30

In the introduction to this publication of manuscript M 69 in the Morgan Library, Webster Smith remarks (p. 11) that "the present book proposes that Clovio's masterpiece, The Farnese Hours, should speak for itself to the public." For a modern public, however, the manuscript requires a commentary to accompany the pictures that are reproduced, not only to supply historical information but also to help make more under-

standable the illuminations that may not be immediately meaningful to the modern viewer. Indeed, a discussion of the art of the Farnese *Hours* would be compatible with at least one way in which this manuscript must have been considered in the 16th century: as a stimulus to talk about art. In his fourth dialogue on painting, Francisco de Hollanda gives an account of a conversation that took place in 1538 or 1539 in Clovio's quarters at the house of his patron, Cardinal Grimani in Rome.[1] Asked by Clovio to tell what was said about the art of painting in another conversation that the Portuguese artist had had with Vittoria Colonna and Michelangelo, Hollanda replied, "You would do better, . . . Don Giulio, to show me and these gentlemen the excellent works of your hand than to make us waste time in talking about the art." Clovio replied, "What! . . . do you consider it a less excellent thing to converse about our most noble art than it is a worthy and beautiful thing to contemplate its works? I do not believe, Messer Francisco, that you think it less valuable to discuss its excellence than to gaze upon it, since these two sides of it are peers and rivals in merit." Hollanda answered, "Do you nevertheless show us the first and bring us to the second afterwards." The group then looked at some of Clovio's works, though not at the illuminations of the Farnese *Hours*, which may not yet have been begun,[2] and then proceeded to talk about art. The present publication of the Farnese *Hours* might be considered in some way a similar occasion, the publisher acting on behalf of Clovio to show us his work, and Smith, in his introduction and commentaries, providing us with a modern dialogue on the art that has been reproduced for our appreciation. The question to be asked is, how well have we been served by the publisher and the author of this small book.

The publication reproduces in color, and in the original size, all the illuminated pages of the manuscript, arranged in the order of their appearance. These include the 13 pairs of full-page illuminations as well as the 36 decorated pages of text that are also conceived as pairs. All are reproduced facing each other. Fol. 7v with its marginal decoration is also reproduced alongside fol. 8, a text page that is the only undecorated page in the manuscript facing an illuminated one. The other 150 pages of text are not reproduced, including fol. 5v, which has a letter decorated with a half-length angel (mentioned by Smith on p. 15). Fol. 112v with the colophon is reproduced in black and white. The edges of the pages are not gilt as are those of the original manuscript. There is also reproduced in black and white, as the frontispiece, El Greco's portrait of Clovio (in Naples), showing the miniaturist holding the Farnese *Hours* in its "original soft vellum cover tied with red ribbons" (as mentioned by Smith on p. 12) and pointing to it open at fol. 59v-60. The imitation suede covers of this publication are decorated with embossed designs derived from the engraved decoration of the inner faces of the manuscript's silver cover that was made by Antonio Gentili around 160[illegible]. On the back of the slipcase is reproduced as a line drawing in gold the silver-gilt relief ornament of the front cover with the Angel Annunciate in the center. (The front of the slipcase has a reproduction of fol. 27.) It would have been fitting to have a photograph of the full binding reproduced in this publication, which would have shown that the center of the back cover has an image of the Virgin of the Annunciation.[3]

The paper of this Braziller publication is heavy and mottled in tone to give the appearance of vellum. The real vellum of the original manuscript is much thinner and it has a grayish tonality rather than the yellowish and sometimes pinkish tint of the reproduced pages. This of course effects a change in all the colors that are reproduced, making them darker and less clear individually than they are in the original. The greens tend to be too yellow and the blues too red, while the flesh tones are often too rosy, too purple, or too brown. Even less accurately reproduced is the fineness of execution of the illuminations. For example, the forms of the figures and objects that decorate the bottom of fols. 30v-31 are clear-cut in the original, as are the spatial intervals between them. In reproduction this precision has been lost. The marble panel above the angel in the *Annunciation* on fol. 4v is beautifully veined in the original and little more than faintly blotched in the reproduction. Lines and contours are so blunted that one is not drawn to look closely at the illuminations, which is one of the pleasures offered by the originals. Furthermore, the application of the gold is so crude as to misrepresent almost completely the subtlety with which it is joined to colors in the manuscript itself. A few reproductions are very good, e.g., the portrait of Alessandro Farnese on fol. 46v, and the facing image of the Virgin. Fols. 36v–37 are also very well reproduced. The middle of the landscape on fols. 66v–67 is reversed along the center seam of the manuscript. And fols. 102v–103 are cut at the top in the reproductions. The colophon on fol. 112v, reproduced in black and white, is gold in the original shaded with ochre; the lettering is white, the cameo black and white.

These reproductions are preceded by Webster Smith's introduction of 24 pages, divided into three parts: "History and Renown of the Farnese Hours," "Text and Pictures," and "The Artist's Life as Reflected in the Illuminations." There follows the "Plates and Commentaries Incorporating Vasari's Description of the Farnese Hours." Page 164 contains 13 "Notes to the Introduction," page 165 twelve "Notes to the Commentaries." The last two pages give a short "Description of Binding and Collation of Folios," a list of the four "Other Manuscripts Illuminated by Giulio Clovio" and a "Selected Bibliography" of seven items.

These details indicate the format in which Smith had to organize his material, one that is also used for some of the other Braziller publications of illuminated manuscripts. Its virtue is that it presents the opportunity of first learning about the manuscript as a whole and of then being led to a more

[1] Francisco de Hollanda, *Four Dialogues on Painting*, trans. Aubrey F. G. Bell, London, 1928, 75f.

[2] Vasari says that the Farnese *Hours*, dated 1546, took nine years to complete, which would mean, as Smith points out (p. 23), that they were begun in 1537. It is thus possible that the Farnese *Hours* were begun while Clovio was still working for Cardinal Grimani, in whose house he was living when Hollanda visited him in 1538 or 1539. Smith does not comment on this question. There is no evidence, however, that the manuscript was begun for anyone other than Alessandro Farnese, whose arms, together with the Farnese lilies, appear on the first two, and earliest, illuminated folios. It seems likely that Vasari was mistaken about the time it took to complete the manuscript, and that it was begun only after Clovio moved into Farnese's house in 1539 or 1540.

[3] The binding is reproduced by Meta Harrsen and George K. Boyce, *Italian Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, 1953, pl. 75.

concentrated appreciation of the separate parts. The placing of a commentary before each pair of illuminations maintains, at least with regard to the full-page illuminations, that aspect of separateness which they have within the manuscript itself. There are also editorial problems, however, that this arrangement presents. It requires a decision about what is going to be said where, so that the specific remarks in the general introduction do not usurp the possibility of saying anything different and pertinent in the individual commentaries. It also forces the author to write a commentary on each pair of illustrations even if one may not be necessary. In this publication the pagination required that each commentary be between one and two pages long. With 32 such essays plus a short piece on the colophon, the amount of text presented by them is far longer than that of the introduction. The shortness of each essay, however, and the association of each with a particular set of plates do not allow for any argument to be pursued for long. The introduction, though it presents information relevant to our understanding of the Farnese *Hours* and brings up a number of interesting points about Clovio's work, also does not develop any of the issues that might be considered important in regard to the book as a work of art.

The first section of Smith's introduction gives a good account of the provenance of the Farnese *Hours* and a somewhat less full consideration of its fame. After mentioning that the manuscript was finished in 1546, the date that appears in the colophon, Smith brings to our attention Vasari's high praise of it in the latter's life of Clovio, published in 1568. The date itself is not given by Smith, neither is the fact that the manuscript was already referred to and praised, albeit very briefly, in the edition of 1550 of the *Lives* (in the life of Sebastiano del Piombo).[4] That Vasari got a reference to it into the first edition of his work indicates that the manuscript's fame began within four years of its completion.

If this fame was continuous until the Farnese *Hours* became no longer accessible around the middle of the 19th century, it was one that may have been dependent more upon the echoing of Vasari's 16th-century opinion, as Smith suggests, than upon a continuous critical reevaluation of the manuscript. Smith's account of it jumps from 1568 to 1722, and then to 1794, by which time a curious change in the appreciation of Clovio's art had taken place. Vasari saw Clovio as a "small and new Michelangelo," which is certainly the highest praise he could offer. At the beginning of the 18th century, Jonathan Richardson (as reported by Smith, p. 9) saw in the Farnese *Hours*, "an inclination towards the style of M. Angelo, but without his extravagance." At the end of the century Clovio became, as Zani saw him, the "Raphael of miniaturists." Smith says nothing about these references to the two greatest artists active in 16th-century Rome or about the change in the characterization of Clovio as first the Michelangelo and then the Raphael of miniaturists. Both characterizations, however, might have some bearing on our understanding of Clovio's illuminations today. Smith's account goes on from here to the adverse criticisms of Ruskin and Herbet, but he fails to state that Herbet had never seen the Farnese *Hours*. The last criticism Smith quotes, to the effect that Clovio "has been cited as a violator of the limits of illumination," is from an encyclopedia entry of 1972, by an anonymous author who also had never seen the Farnese *Hours*. (If he had, he would not have confused it with another manuscript, stated to be in the British Museum, although one in Vienna seems to be meant.)

The selection of opinions ignores all the comments on Clovio that have appeared in this century and that make specific mention of the Farnese *Hours*. Bonnard's small volume of 1929 on Clovio (listed in the bibliography) may not be a major work, but its appearance alone could have some meaning in a consideration of the fame of the Farnese *Hours*, especially since it seems to be the first publication that reproduced some of the illuminated pages of the manuscript. When the *Hours* were exhibited at the Morgan Library in 1953, two of its pages were reproduced in color in the catalogue by Harrsen and Boyce, along with black-and-white reproductions of two other pages and its silver-gilt binding by Antonio Gentili.[5] In 1955 Smith wrote his Master's thesis on the Farnese *Hours*.[6] Mirella Levi d'Ancona reproduced four of its full-page illuminations as well as a marginal decoration in an article of 1959 (not cited by Smith).[7] That same year another article on Clovio (also not mentioned by Smith) appeared in *L'Oeil* and reproduced four illuminations.[8] This was, one might say, the decade in which the fame of Clovio and of the Farnese *Hours* began their rise again. Smith's own fine article on Clovio, which deals largely with the Farnese *Hours*, was published in the *Art Bulletin* in 1964. Finally, a detailed and excellent article on Clovio appeared in *Arte veneta* in 1971.[9] Rather than end his chronological survey of the fame of this manuscript with quotations that disparage Clovio's art, Smith might have done better to give us some idea of this recent revival of interest in it.

The second part of Smith's introduction gives a general description of the manuscript. He lists the devotions it contains and does not contain, gives a short account of the program of the subjects of its pairs of full-page illuminations, and describes Francesco Monterchi's writing of the texts and its relationship to Clovio's text-page illuminations. A few comments are also made on Clovio's treatment of the full-page miniatures as "almost . . . autonomous pictures," and on the meaning of the word "MONVMENTA" in the colophon. There are accounts of the general character of the manuscript and the slight changes it underwent during the years that it took to complete.

Despite this descriptive matter, the actual composition of the manuscript is not fully described. The folio numbers of the various devotions are given here, and a "Description of Binding and Collation of Folios" follows on page 166. We are left unclear, however, as to the actual sequence of the parts of the manuscript. On page 13 it is indicated that the Hours of the Virgin for Advent appear on fols. 53–58; the commentary of fols. 54v–55 states that it "concludes on fol. 59v" which, however, cannot be true as this folio contains one of the full-page illuminations that open the Common of the Blessed Virgin Mary. There are other such mistakes. Furthermore, Smith gives the folio numbers of the devotions exclusive of the pairs of full-page illuminations that precede

[4] Mirella Levi d'Ancona, "Illuminations by Clovio Lost and Found," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, sér. 6, XXXVII, 1950 (published 1959), 75, n. 1.

[5] Harrsen and Boyce (see n. 3), 57f., pls. 5, 6, 74, and 75.

[6] "A Study of the 'Book of Hours' for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in the Pierpont Morgan Library (M. 69)," New York University, 1955.

[7] Levi d'Ancona (see n. 4), 55f.

[8] Marie-Geneviève de la Coste-Messelière, "Don Giulio," *L'Oeil*, No. 52, April, 1959, 4f.

[9] Maria Cionini Visani, "Un itinerario nel manierismo italiano: Giulio Clovio," *Arte veneta*, XXV, 1971, 119f.

them. In doing this he obscures one of the details of the interrelation of text and full-page illuminations in the manuscript. In the first three pairs, the text of the devotion begins on a plaque or on two plaques at the bottom of the right-hand picture. Of the remaining ten pairs only three have no inscriptions at all; the remainder have an inscribed plaque under each picture, on which begins the text of the following devotion. Smith mentions this in his commentaries on fols. 4v–5 and fols. 17v–18, but it would have been pertinent to our understanding of the manuscript to have this aspect of its arrangement mentioned in the introduction.[10]

More important perhaps is the complete absence of any indication of what a Book of Hours is and what this one is in particular. Among other things, we should like to know why the "Athanasian Creed" appears in this manuscript "although this text is usually not included in Books of Hours," and why "curiously . . . the Farnese Hours lacks three of the texts commonly found in such manuscripts: the *Sequentinae* of the Gospels, the Suffrages, and most surprisingly, the Calendar" (p. 13). Is it not possible that the choice of texts reflects an attitude on the part of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who commissioned the manuscript? In his commentary on fols. 48v–49, Smith does remark that Cardinal Farnese "evidently had a predilection for images of the Trinity," the doctrine of which is set forth in the "Athanasian Creed." It is regrettable that this and other similar issues were not explored further and were not presented in the introduction rather than scattered as passing references among the numerous short essays in this volume.

Smith suggests in this section (p. 17), and again in his commentary on fols. 9v–10, a correspondence between a passage in Psalm 44 (which appears on folio 9v) and the character of Clovio's grotesque ornament. He sees its metaphor, "My tongue is the pen of a scrivener that writeth swiftly," as having a perhaps intended relation to Clovio's grotesques, which are "almost calligraphic." There may be a problem of semantics here, but personally I see nothing calligraphic about Clovio's ornament. It is by and large firmly plastic and rigidly symmetrical. Compared to the fluid and flexible ornament that appears in earlier illuminated manuscripts, including Clovio's own, and that decorates the piers of Raphael's Vatican *logge*, Clovio's grotesques in the Farnese *Hours* are excessively calculated.

The third section of Smith's introduction is the best of its three parts. A good account is given of the essentials of Clovio's life based upon Vasari and the rather outdated literature listed in the bibliography. There is a good, though very general, account of the artistic milieu in which the Farnese *Hours* were created, including references to some of Clovio's other works. Little notice, however, is taken of Clovio's small independent paintings and portraits, or his other works as a manuscript illuminator. The Grimani *Hours* are only briefly mentioned and the Commentary by Marino Grimani on Paul's Letters to the Romans is not referred to at all, although significantly the illuminations in both of these earlier manuscripts are quite different in style from those in the Farnese *Hours*. Eurialo d'Ascoli's *Stanze sopra l'impresa dell'Aquila*, given to Charles V in 1543, is also ignored although the Towneley "Lectionary," dated around 1560 by Smith, is mentioned to illustrate the decline of Clovio's talents a decade and a half after the Farnese *Hours* were completed.

A discussion of Clovio's earlier manuscript paintings might have made unnecessary Smith's references (pp. 20 and 28) to the diminutive Raphaelesque *Vision of Ezekiel* in the Pitti Palace, as a link between the grand manner of 16th-century frescoes and altarpieces and Clovio's miniature pictures in the Farnese *Hours*. The fact is, "miniaturized" pictures appear already in quattrocento manuscripts. They are not, of course, done in the grand style of the cinquecento and yet the tradition they represent stands more behind Clovio's manuscript illuminations that does that panel picture designed by Raphael. A somewhat more extensive consideration by Smith of Clovio's education as a manuscript illuminator under Girolamo dei Libri (only briefly mentioned on p. 23) and of Clovio's own earlier illuminations would have shown that the Farnese *Hours* develop out of a century-old tradition.

Smith's discussion of the style of the illuminations makes references to Salviati, Perino del Vaga, and Michelangelo as well as to the "curious and yet widespread style of the time: Mannerism, or, more exactly, *maniera*." Clovio's *Annunciation* on fol. 4v does slightly recall Salviati's painting of the same subject in S. Francesco a Ripa, but I do not know why Smith thinks it does so "perhaps on purpose." It reminds me at least as much of Perino del Vaga's *Annunciation* on the vault of the Pucci chapel in the church of SS. Trinità dei Monti. Clovio's *Visitation* on fol. 17v also brings to mind Salviati's at S. Giovanni Decollato, as Smith points out, but again only slightly. It is actually surprising to discover that, although Clovio's art in the Farnese *Hours* seems so derivative, and is that in the case of several pictures that are almost literally copied from earlier works by other artists, in general it is not slavishly based on the art he knew. One might rather wish that more of the illuminations were copies, because there might then have been a few more really interesting pictures in the manuscript. As it is, most of the larger pictures, if not so much the ornament, merely appear to toy with contemporary styles. Smith does not deal with this aspect of Clovio's *maniera*, or with the significant change that it undergoes beginning with the full-page illuminations on fols. 59v–60. Suddenly Clovio's pictures become bolder even as some of them appear more derivative. The scene of *David in Penitence* on fol. 64 is actually very moving, whatever its source. It is also in this last half of the manuscript that there appears the most spectacular illumination, the double-page panoramic view of a Corpus Christi procession winding its way into St. Peter's. Smith's account of "this *maniera*, [that] persisted in Rome, Florence and elsewhere until almost the end of the century"

[10] The composition of the 114 fols. of the manuscript is as follows, with the numbers of the fols. containing full-page illuminations placed in square brackets: fols. 1–4: blank, with fol. 2 having the bookplate of John Pierpont Morgan and the pencil note: *(M.69)*; fols. 4v–53: Hours of the Virgin, subdivided into Matins: fols. 4v–17 [4v–5], Lauds: fols. 17v–26 [17v–18], Prime: fols. 26v–30 [26v–27], Tierce: fols. 30v–34 [30v–31], Sexts: fols. 34v–38 [34v–35], Nones: fols. 38v–42 [38v–39], Vespers: fols. 42v–48 [42v–43], Complines: fols. 48v–53 [48v–49]; fols. 53–59: Hours of the Virgin for Advent; fols. 59v–63: Common of the Blessed Virgin [59v–60]; fols. 63v–71v: Penitential Psalms [63v–64]; fols. 71v–78v: Litany; fol. 79: blank; fols. 79v–102: Office of the Dead [79v–80]; fols. 102v–06: Hours of the Cross [102v–03]; fols. 106v–09v: Hours of the Holy Ghost [106v–07]; fols. 110–12: Athanasian Creed; fol. 112v: Colophon; fols. 113–14v: blank. The folios are held into the silver-gilt binding of the manuscript by a long screw that passes between the edges of the fols. and a cloth strip that covers these edges.

does not encompass this scene or other aspects of Clovio's art in the Farnese *Hours*. Altogether, Smith's treatment and bibliography on the *maniera* are disappointingly brief.

There are 66 pages of commentaries on the 65 pages of the Farnese *Hours* that are reproduced. An opening page gives the beginning of Vasari's description and appreciation of the illuminations. Vasari's account of individual pages of the manuscript is given, in translation, in the commentary to individual plates. His more general comments on the manuscript are placed in the commentaries before the plates to which they are most appropriate. Smith adds to these his own comments on the plates, giving a description of the illuminations and something about their iconography and style.

Although Smith makes a rather forced comparison of similarities and differences between the pictures of the first illuminated pages of the book, fols. 4v–5, he tells us nothing about their general design, or of that of the other pairs of full-page illuminations, such as the use of narrower margins at the fold between each pair of fully illuminated pages, as in other Books of Hours or Clovio's own Grimani *Hours*, to unify each double spread. At the same time the use of the margins maintains a degree of autonomy for each page. In the Farnese *Hours*, however, unlike the Grimani *Hours*, the center of the right-hand pages is also occupied by a picture rather than text. A residue of the old format for such paired pages nevertheless survives in the form of a plaque beneath the picture at the right, upon which are inscribed the opening lines of the text these two pages introduce. Smith mentions this but does not discuss the use of such plaques throughout the Farnese *Hours*. Later in the manuscript Clovio places the beginning of the text on plaques under both pictures. In only a few cases does he abandon the plaques and texts altogether, or equalize the margins. Independent as the pictures on the fully illuminated pages may appear to be, they are nevertheless most often also conceived within the older manuscript tradition for such pages of pictures surrounded by decorated borders and associated with the beginning of a text.

What is so modern about these pages in the Farnese *Hours* is that the borders are composed so largely of figures and sculptural elements instead of more purely ornamental details. The Sistine Ceiling is brought to mind, but not the beautifully ordered rhythms of its composition. Besides, in much of the Farnese *Hours* the motifs of the borders are more Raphaelesque than Michelangelesque in origin. Even when the decorations around the pictures take on the appearance of frames rather than border ornament, they do not, except in two cases, really look like picture frames, such as were made for altarpieces. Their invention still belongs to book illustration, albeit of a very special kind in the Farnese *Hours*.

In his commentary on fols. 6v–7 Smith discusses the sources of the landscapes. He states that Clovio "has evidently taken something from the Netherlanders" and from "the work of the Master of Mary of Burgundy." He goes on to say that Clovio's "main inspiration" was from "actual fragments . . . of ancient Roman landscape paintings" and from the "literary evidence" of them. Clovio's landscapes, however, simply do not resemble ancient paintings. The panoramic composition of his landscapes and the particular hues of their browns, blues, and greens seem altogether Northern. In commenting upon the small landscapes on fols. 108v–109, Smith mentions the name of Maarten van Heemskerck, but he makes little of this reference to "one of his [Clovio's] artistic acquaintances." Heemskerck was in Rome just before the Farnese *Hours* were begun and the example of his art, as represented by his huge *Landscape with the Rape of Helen* in Baltimore, may well have influenced Clovio's miniature landscapes and given them what ancient Roman qualities they could be said to have.[11] There is, however, no evidence that Clovio's scenes are based, like Heemskerck's painting, on any direct study of nature and architecture.

The panoramic view in the *Feast of Monte Testaccio* at the bottom of fols. 40v–41 seems to go back to a lost etching (not engraving) mentioned by Vasari that may have been the model also for a Dupérac print closely resembling Clovio's scene. Dupérac's print bears the arms of Paul III and the date 1534.[12] Since Clovio did not begin working for the Farnese until several years later, it is likely that Clovio copied his scene from the lost etching that was also Dupérac's model and that very possibly showed the feast of the year 1534. Perhaps the scene appears in the Farnese *Hours* to commemorate a feast held that year under the patronage of the Farnese, to celebrate the coronation of Paul III. In any case, it seems that Clovio's view in the *Feast of Monte Testaccio* is not primarily his own invention. The same may also be true of the double-page picture of the Corpus Christi procession on fols. 72v–73, mentioned above. The high point of view and the general organization of the lower part of this picture are almost identical to those of the *Monte Testaccio* scene. The rest of this scene, with its clouds, flying angels, and its representation of the heavens above, all placed in relation to the two columns of saints' names written in gold, is almost certainly Clovio's own invention. There is some possibility, furthermore, that this scene reflects a special interest of Paul III, who is represented as a member of the procession.

Smith does approach the subject of the sources of Clovio's art in his discussion of the *Temptation of Adam and Eve* on fol. 27. He mentions its relation to Marcantonio's engraving after Raphael, to Dürer's famous print, and to the same scene in the Flemish Grimani *Breviary*, but he makes no comments on the stylistic synthesis that Clovio produces. Neither does Smith say anything about the relation of this style to his understanding of Mannerism and *maniera*. As to the scene of the *Nativity* opposite it, Smith merely says that "One might look for still other probable sources for some of the figures in it." He might well have, too, with reference to the copies Clovio made after Raphael, Correggio, and Perino del Vaga, and to the drawings by Parmigianino that he owned. He does mention these, as well as other copies and original drawings that Clovio had, in his Master's thesis.[13] Could they not also have been brought to the attention of the readers of this first full publication of the Farnese *Hours?*

Smith mentions Titian several times in reference to the illuminations in the manuscript. He cites a woodcut after Titian by Domenico delle Grecche as "the apparent source for several of the figures of drowning men and horses" in Clovio's *Cross-*

[11] See A. Richard Turner, *The Vision of Landscape in Renaissance Italy*, Princeton, 1966, 166f. and figs. 118–19.

[12] See *Topographical Study in Rome in 1581. A Series of Views with a Fragmentary Text by Étienne du Pérac . . .*, ed. Thomas Ashby, London, 1916, 27, and pl. 6, fig. 9. See also *Renaissance in Italien 16. Jahrhundert*, exh. cat., ed. Konrad Oberhuber, Albertina, Vienna, 1966; 155, No. 256 and fig. 45.

[13] Smith, 1955 (see n. 6), 10f.

ing of the Red Sea on fol. 43. This comparison does not seem very compelling to me. One also wonders how Smith reconciles the inscribed date of 1549 on this woodcut with the fact that the Farnese *Hours* were completed in 1546. If he doubts the date on the woodcut, then he might have said so in a note. He might also have doubted its attribution to Domenico delle Grecche.[14] In reference to a picture of the Virgin Mary on fol. 47 he cites Titian's paintings of Mary Magdalen, "one of which (now in the National Museum, Naples) Titian himself presented to Cardinal Farnese in 1567." That may be true, but what bearing does it have on our understanding of a picture painted by Clovio before 1546? Smith also gives a long argument for reating Clovio's *Pentecost* on fol. 106v to a lost painting by Titian of around 1541. He supposes that this *Pentecost* is reflected in Titian's second version of it in S. Maria della Salute in Venice, done around 1550 according to Smith. He claims that Clovio "perhaps saw a copy of this now lost painting and must at least have known about it, either through Vasari or Cardinal Farnese" to whom Titian had written in 1544 about the dispute over it. Clovio's picture vaguely resembles Titian's later painting and therefore offers some possibility that the miniature reflects Titian's earlier lost picture, but there is no proof of this. Given, however, that Smith thinks that Clovio's miniature was done close to 1544, which is reasonable inasmuch as it appears on one of the last two fully illuminated folios in the Farnese *Hours*, why then did the author not suggest that it was done in 1545 or 1546 when Titian was in Rome painting pictures for the Farnese? Titian himself could have supplied Clovio with a sketch for his *Pentecost*. This need not have been the case, but if an idea of Titian's does lie behind Clovio's miniature it is easier for me to imagine that he got it directly from the Venetian painter in Rome than through the channels suggested by Smith.

Discussing the illumination of fol. 102v, Smith states that "The prominent figure of Mary in the Crucifixion miniature is evidently based on one of Michelangelo's inventions (cf. drawing by Michelangelo of perhaps c. 1540–45 at Windsor Castle, Catalogue no. 436)." This figure is certainly Michelangelesque, as is, to some extent, the entire scene to which it belongs, in correspondence to the style of the *Brazen Serpent* on the opposite page which is almost literally copied from the Sistine Ceiling. Nevertheless, Smith's reference to the Windsor drawing is not satisfactory. Clovio's figure is not exactly posed like Michelangelo's. Furthermore, it is unlikely that he could have known this drawing, as recent scholarship has generally agreed that it was done between 1550 and 1557, that is, after the Farnese *Hours* were completed.

Smith's comment on the two standing nude figures occupying the inner margins of fols. 102v–03 is unconvincing when he says that Clovio "would seem to be suggesting a back view of the Jonah statue by the sculptor Lorenzetti (in S. Mario [sic] del Popolo, Rome) after a design by Raphael." Perhaps Clovio's figures do represent Jonah. They are shown as young, nude, and with a foot in a monster's mouth as is Lorenzetti's *Jonah*. This latter figure is seated, however, and the position of his head and limbs makes him very different from Clovio's figures. If the statue could be seen from the back, and if the back of it were actually carved, it would show the figure covered by a large piece of drapery. Smith really intends only that Clovio's figures are Raphaelesque, but his comparison does not clearly demonstrate this either. The figures could also be said to be Michelangelesque. Smith, however, finds them also similar to a figure by Salviati of around 1550, which leads him to conclude that "Thus even in a single figure Clovio may bring to mind the efforts of two or more artists . . ." I suppose Smith means something by this anachronistic comparison, but he certainly is not saying anything historically meaningful.

The major problem with this book is that neither its observations nor its factual information are completely reliable, a problem that is compounded by the lack of comparative illustrations and a full critical apparatus. The publisher's format may have excluded extra illustrations and many pages of footnotes and bibliography, but within the compass it allowed we could rightfully have expected a more accurate and pertinent treatment. What is now needed is a long, serious, and perceptive article on this manuscript, to afford it the arthistorical significance it deserves.

EUGENE A. CARROLL
Vassar College

[14] See David Rosand and Michelangelo Muraro, *Titian and the Venetian Woodcut*, exh. cat., Washington, D.C., 1976–77, 70f.

MALCOLM CAMPBELL, *Pietro da Cortona at the Pitti Palace: A Study of the Planetary Rooms and Related Projects* (*Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology*, XLI), Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1977. Pp. xviii + 306; 4 color pls., 201 ills. $45

Malcolm Campbell makes the modest disclaimer in his preface that his study does not presume to be a definitive treatment of its subject, and this is one of the very few judgments in this absorbing book with which even the most ill-disposed reviewer might be inclined to disagree. Authors must sacrifice to Nemesis, but most readers of this book will wholeheartedly endorse what Ellis Waterhouse wrote of it in his review for the *Times Literary Supplement*; although new documents and drawings that have escaped Campbell's notice may some day come to light, and the last word has thus perhaps not been said, nevertheless one can conclude that the last *useful* word has been said. The major part of the book, like Pietro da Cortona's work in the Pitti Palace, is devoted to the decoration (frescoes, stuccoes, and architectural enframements) of the five great Planetary Rooms. The related projects alluded to in Campbell's title are the *Camera della Stufa*, which is extensively treated, and several frustrated architectural schemes conceived by Pietro for the Pitti Palace. These latter, although the story is a sad one, contribute significantly to an understanding of Pietro's aesthetic purpose in his work for Ferdinand II, which was to bring to glorious fulfillment the Medici aggrandizement of the Palace and the Boboli Gardens as a kind of Versailles *avant la lettre*. Catalogues of documents (126 entries) and drawings (170 entries) are appended to the book, and these provide the basis for a third Appendix which is a closely argued rationale for the unassailable chronology that Campbell proposes for the work of Pietro and Ciro Ferri in the Planetary rooms. The recently discovered decorations by Pietro in the mezzanine rooms of the eastern wing of the Palace are mentioned but not treated in the book, but this in no way detracts from the great theme of its argument.

This theme is the story of how the Pitti Palace was transformed into the palpable image of Medici dynastic and political aspirations, even though it is really, considered both

historically and aesthetically, the mausoleum of Tuscan Grandducal ambition. It is a tribute to Campbell's grasp of his subject that the reader never loses sight of this theme, even though the book presents him with an immense amount of information, description, and detailed argumentation on problems of chronology, attribution, iconographic exegesis, stylistic invention and sources, documentary interpretation, and historical context: in short, on anything that might be relevant to a complete understanding of Pietro's work for Ferdinand II.

The story starts as the alteration of the Pitti Palace ordered by Cosimo II from Giulio Parigi was nearing completion, and the quattrocento palace, large but still on a human scale, was given the characteristically colossal scale of the seicento (*colossus* being a word that Alberti had defined as something of a scale not human, incommensurable, and so large that the eye and hence the understanding are stunned and exhausted). Work was proceeding at a fever pitch: the buildings in front of the Palace were being demolished in order to create an immense piazza, sculpture was being moved or created to punctuate the broad axes being laid out in the Boboli gardens, masons were plastering, and a small army of Florentine painters was hard at work decorating a series of new rooms, the most ambitious of which was the *Salone Terreno,* then only half-completed because of the death of Giovanni da San Giovanni late in 1636. In the midst of all this, in 1637, Pietro da Cortona arrived on the scene, summoned there on the advice of Michelangelo Buonarotti the Younger, and immediately the story is transposed into a drama of the ambitions and rivalries of conflicting principalities.

Pietro was then employed by the Barberini family, and, indeed, when he was asked to take on the relatively unimportant (but artistically consequential) decoration of the *Sala della Stufa,* he was still engaged upon his greatest commission, the *Salone grande* in the Barberini Palace. Campbell's account of the firm control maintained by the Barberini over Pietro's activities (insisting even that he not stay in the Pitti Palace, which might give the wrong impression, but stay instead as a guest in Buonarotti's house), and the consequent anger of the Medici court, is fascinating reading, and is one of many things in the book that makes its subject come alive. One of the proudest achievements of Urban VIII's reign had been the annexation of the Duchy of Urbino to the Papal States in 1631, thus bringing to fruition a policy initiated by Julius II. Papal troops under the command of Taddeo Barberini had occupied Urbino itself on the very day of the death of its last Duke, Francesco Maria II della Rovere. This event marked the final defeat of more than a century of Medici policy, aimed towards raising Tuscany to the status of a kingdom. Leo X had rightly perceived that the Duchy of Urbino was the key to Tuscany (indeed to Italy, as Napoleon understood), had waged a victorious war against it, and had made Lorenzo, the son of Piero de'Medici, its Duke. When Lorenzo died in 1519, the Rovere returned to Urbino, and what Leo had failed to consolidate by force of arms he then attempted to secure through inheritance. Lorenzo's daughter Catherine (the future Queen of France) was recognized as Duchess, with the succession then to pass to her daughter Cristina. This policy, with its goal of raising the Medici to kingship by the union of Urbino and Tuscany, was unswervingly followed by the Medici Granddukes. Cristina was espoused to Ferdinand I, and this was followed by the marriage of their daughter, Claudia, to the ill-starred Federico Ubaldo della Rovere, who lived barely long enough to conceive a daughter, Vittoria. Vittoria was the last of the della Rovere, and was married at the age of twelve to Ferdinand II, in 1634. The official consummation of this marriage, carrying with it the hope of a child in whom Urbino and Tuscany would at last be united as a single kingdom, was celebrated in April of 1637. It was anticipation of this event that spurred the frenzy of activity devoted to the completion of the Pitti Palace, conceived as the very image of the long-sought Medici kingship; and it was this event that motivated much of the specific iconography of its decoration, including Giovanni da San Giovanni's *Allegory of the Medici-Rovere Marriage* in the *Salone Terreno* and also, as Campbell shows, various motifs in Pietro da Cortona's frescoes in the *Sala della Stufa.* One can appreciate the irony of it all. Vittoria della Rovere had brought her name, her rights of inheritance, and much of her family treasure to Florence. The Barberini Pope lent his greatest painter to aid in the celebration of this union and all that it meant to the Medici, even though this meant postponing the completion of Pietro's work in the Barberini Palace in Rome. Urban VIII could afford the *bel gesto;* for the Barberini had Urbino, which Vittoria could not bring, and with Urbino securely part of the Papal States, Medici dreams of kingship were forever destroyed.

The Pitti Palace, intended as the mirror of the fulfillment of those dreams, became instead their memorial, and it is this of course which makes the comparison of it with Versailles so poignant. Intended to herald the sun, the palace's brutally massive stones, its colossal façade and pompous piazza, its magnificent gardens crisscrossed with long *allées,* its enormous and heavy rooms, gilded and stuccoed and frescoed, are monuments instead to the twilight of the Medici. A ray of conviction does, however, break forth triumphantly in Pietro's work in the Planetary Rooms, although even here the artist is at war with the stifling proportions of those rooms (it is surprising how many visitors to the Pitti come away unaware of the frescoes high in the vaults of the Palatine Gallery). Campbell does well to acknowledge the truth of Waterhouse's observation that Pietro's great achievement here was as an architectural designer, but this was something virtually thrust upon him by the difficulty of the sites. This is not, however, at all to denigrate his frescoes, which have their grandeur, and which in their imagery, celebrating the princely virtues of the Medici house, summarize the grand theme of the Palace as a whole.

Campbell's explication of the theme of the frescoes is in the main entirely satisfactory, taken as a cumulative reading of motifs and particular figures that appear in each of the five ceilings. Although there are points in his analysis with which one might quibble or which one might wish to amplify upon, it would be more useful, I think, to make some general observations about the program as a whole, which is a noble one nobly expressed, and one that is especially characteristic of the 17th century. Campbell quite rightly observes that the planetary scheme adopted by Pietro (no doubt advised by Francesco Rondinelli) was already in a sense obsolete. It was not motivated by Medici interest in the sciences, but was instead used as a familiar literary metaphor, being, in his words, "the perfect cloth from which to tailor a *De Regimine Principum,* a conservative, absolutist allegory whose primary purpose was to promote Medici dynastic pretensions, not to proclaim their scientific or intellectual achievements." The genre to which he here alludes is the *Speculum Principum,* or mirror of the virtues of

ideal princes, and the context within which the subject matter of this genre is expressed is that of the closely related genre of panegyric. The panegyric, or encomium, is of course the ancient literary mode addressed to particular rulers or to citizens prominent in public affairs. Encomiastic praise was usually composed in celebration of a particular occasion of state, as, for example, the birth, succession, or triumph of a monarch (and consequently, so far as the visual arts are concerned, the allegorical syntax of 17th-century painting owes much to 16th-century triumphal celebrations), and it was devoted to eulogizing the moral qualities of that ruler. Apart from the obvious objective of praising the prince, the panegyric also endeavored to express general and traditional ideals of princely rule, good government, and statecraft, casting the ruler in the role of the perfect prince whose every action is consistent with an unwavering vision of an eternal and unchanging ideal, the *civitas* (or, as this was translated in the 17th century, the Commonwealth). In this respect, the panegyric can be related in nature to the *Speculum Principum*, which as a genre is devoted to the virtues that ought to be instilled in an ideal prince and to how such a prince ought to be educated, even though the later Latin verse panegyrics that are themselves so important a source for the *Speculum Principum* do not express a uniform political theory of the education of a perfect prince, his qualities, or of ideal government in themselves. With regard to Renaissance painting, encomiastic praise of particular princes and their actions, set forth on the walls of palaces as *exempla* for future generations, occupies a significant place in the history of the period. Examples are Salviati's and Zuccaro's frescoes in the *Sala dei Fasti Farnesiani* (or the Farnese cycles at Caprarola) in which are portrayed the *res gestae* of family members together with allegorical personifications. Similarly, cycles of paintings celebrating the ideals of perfect statecraft in the tradition of the *Speculum Principum* also appear earlier in the Renaissance, as was recognized by Kantorowicz and Rubenstein in their discussions of Ambrogio Lorenzetti's allegories of Good and Bad Government in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena; Veronese's paintings for the Palazzo Ducale in Venice are another good example (and in this regard Campbell's discussion of the importance of Venetian prototypes to Pietro's decorative scheme is relevant).

Notwithstanding such precedents in the sphere of political allegory, Pietro's frescoes in the Pitti speak a characteristically 17th-century language, one which the artist had also employed in the Palazzo Barberini, which Rubens had brilliantly exploited in his panegyric to Marie de'Medici for the Luxembourg Palace, which Carlo Maratta was to employ in the Altieri Palace and Le Brun at Versailles. My own belief is that this language derives from the fusion of the panegyric with the *Speculum Principum*, and that the two genres were first welded together by Annibale Carracci in the *Camerino Farnese*, there made into that special form of allegorical expression so suited to the autocratic ideals of the emerging nation-state, uniting flattery with instruction, the particular prince with the universal ideal, presenting to that prince the mirror, not of his actions, but of the Virtues, themselves ideal and eternal, that motivate his soul. In this respect the curiously static role played by the young prince in Pietro's cycle (and by Marie de' Medici in Rubens's series) is significant, for the moral is that the prince never acts of his own volition or for his own motives, but rather is conducted by an active Virtue or combination of Virtues. I can characterize the intent behind such allegorical cycles no better than by quoting Erasmus (whose *Institutio Principis Christiani* is a well-known *Speculum Principis*). In a famous passage Erasmus defended himself against charges of having written base flattery in a panegyric to Prince Philip of Burgundy by saying, "No other way of correcting a prince is as efficacious as offering the pattern of a truly good prince under the guise of flattery to him, for thus do you present virtues and disparage vices in such a manner that you seem to urge him to the former while restraining him from the latter."

Campbell is without doubt perfectly right in arguing that the imagery of the Planetary Rooms does not celebrate a particular Medici Duke. Rather, Pietro has been concerned to present as an *exemplum* the career and apotheosis of an ideal prince, and in this sense it might be argued that, unlike Rubens's Medici cycle, the ceilings comprise a pure *Speculum Principum;* but the panegyric element is vividly present, celebrating the collective Virtue of Medici rule, and this is expressed in a five-act drama on the theme of Medici princeship. Two principal characters are shown in each of the five ceilings: an ideal Medici prince and Hercules, who ever accompanies him as a kind of *fidus Achates*, and who personifies his Virtue. As Campbell shows, the sequence of the rooms and their planets corresponds to the stages of planetary influence upon the life of a man, Venus (ages 15–22), the Sun (shown as Apollo, ages 23–41), Mars (ages 42–56), Jupiter (ages 57–68), and Saturn (ages 69–death). In the first room the young prince reenacts the Choice of Hercules, and is shown being wrested by Minerva (personifying his Prudence) from the lap of Venus and being delivered to Hercules, his guide along the path of Virtue, even as he personifies the Virtue of the prince. (Venus personifies Pleasure. Campbell rather overemphasizes her erotic nature, although this is certainly present, but readers of the *Cortegiano* will remember that knowledge of love and beauty is desirable in the young, and necessary to any princely nature.) In the second room the prince embarks upon his education, learning the contemplative life and its rewards; Apollo himself, as the heavenly fire of the sun, instructs him in the mysteries of the universe, shown as a celestial globe supported by Hercules. Gathered around the coves of the vault appear personifications of the other three elements, air, water, and earth, who, like the fiery Apollo, also yield up their secrets to the young prince and present their wealth to him. In the third room the prince embarks upon his active public career, seeking through his military exploits a just peace and prosperity for the state (Justice, Peace, and Abundance are all personified, and it is to them that the enemy prisoners bow in tribute). Led always by Virtue and having thus prepared himself intellectually and actively for the responsibilities of rule, the prince in the fourth ceiling kneels before Jupiter, the father and divine sanction for all kings, and receives his crown. He is presented to Jupiter by Hercules and by Fortune, which indicates that the motivating *concetto* of the ceiling (as the *concetto* of the *Sala di Venere* arose from the *topos* of *Hercules Prodicius*) was the famous phrase from Cicero, which Wittkower and Panofsky showed was a familiar byword for many centuries, *Virtute duce, comite fortuna.* Finally, in the last ceiling, the now aged prince repeats the apotheosis of Hercules, raised as a consequence of his labors and his ceaseless pursuit of Virtue to immortality and to perpetual glory.

Campbell, in short, has written a very good book, and one that not only will stand, despite his disclaimer, as the standard treatment of Pietro da Cortona's work at the Pitti Palace, but also one that will be indispensable to anyone

who takes on the daunting task of writing the history of 17th-century allegorical expression, political or otherwise, in the arts. Campbell is to be congratulated upon it, and Princeton University Press, despite the length of time it took for the book to see the light of day, is to be congratulated too on producing a work that in appearance is worthy of its contents. Art historians will be especially grateful for the excellent illustrations, which make available for the first time all of Pietro's work in the Pitti Palace, not only the painting but also the designs of the marvelous stuccoes.

CHARLES DEMPSEY
Bryn Mawr College

WALTER VITZTHUM, *Drawings by Gaspar van Wittel (1652/53–1736) from Neapolitan Collections*, Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, 1977. Pp. 160, 92 pls.

This is the bilingual French/English catalogue of an exhibition held at the National Gallery of Canada in 1977. Its publication is a distinguished tribute to the scholarship of the late Walter Vitzthum (1928-1971), who wrote it in Italian as one of his last works. It is edited by Catherine Johnston, who has added valuable information to certain entries and provided the English translation. The 79 drawings catalogued come from the Palazzo Reale at Caserta, the Museo Nazionale di S. Martino, and (two sheets) from other museums at Naples; a few works preserved in Naples were not exhibited.

Van Wittel, the most famous of the early view painters, was first restored to a just appreciation in 1934 by C. Lorenzetti, but a comprehensive study had to await Giuliano Briganti's monograph of 1966, which will remain the standard work. In it, he listed over 300 drawings, reproducing two thirds of them, a corpus that would now be considerably larger if a revised edition were to appear. Later contributions to the subject are found in Marco Chiarini's book on Italian landscape drawings (1972) and in Ann Zwollo's book on Netherlandish view painters in Rome (1973). Major exhibitions were held in Naples (1966) and Rome (1969) and Vitzthum himself previously published several contributions on the artist. No revolutionary revelations were thus to be expected from the Canadian exhibition, although it was the first showing of the artist in America. The catalogue is nevertheless a most welcome, faultless, and handsome publication and one that contains much new material: 24 of the drawings had never been mentioned before, 70 of them had never been reproduced. Furthermore, fresh information is provided for many drawings already known.

The book begins with an excellent, well-rounded preface by Briganti. He defines the wide thematic and chronological range of the drawings preserved in Naples and the preeminent place of drawing in the oeuvre of Van Wittel. To conclude that he "is perhaps more important as a draftsman than a painter" seems an overstatement. Admittedly the artist would often turn out several (up to eight) nearly identical paintings on the basis of a single drawing, but the paintings were still the principal *raison d'être* of his whole activity. Briganti then analyzes the three categories of Van Wittel's drawings. The first comprises the large, at times extremely precise, preparations for paintings, which are often squared for transfer to the canvas. The majority of these are in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Rome. They usually show a somewhat elevated viewpoint, as distinct from Canaletto's lower viewpoint half a century later. The second consists of the rapid sketches of details seen in a pictorial context, which Briganti claims to be more interesting than the preparations, a view not everybody would share. The last is made up of the finished drawings of imaginary sites done as autonomous works for sale. Briganti's introduction continues with an outline of the state of research and examination of Van Wittel's influence on Carlevarijs and Canaletto. Credit is given to Vitzthum for the difficult distinction between the hands of Gaspar and his son, Luigi, an architect, and for clarifying the Van Wittel - Juvarra association.

The catalogue entries are factual, concise, and complete. Slightly more than half of the exhibited drawings are sketches, most of the others preparations; a few are imaginary views (Nos. 21, 38). The sketches show antique and modern sculpture, figures, some animals, trees, boats, architectural details, and portions of landscape such as the rocky hillside (No. 16), a motif going back to Breenbergh's Roman drawings. The preparations likewise come from journeys all over Italy: there are views of Rome, the Castelli Romani and Florence, a few from Lombardy and Venice, and several from Naples and its environs. In most cases, the pen is the preferred technique, at times with some wash. The brush drawings, such as the views of S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice or St. Peter's Square, stand out for their particular effect. The comments often insist on the spontaneous and realist qualities of Van Wittel's style. The fluidity of the notation, as well as the painstaking meticulousness with which the individual topography of villages and cities was recorded, are certainly characteristic. On the other hand, there is also a notable share of decorative formulas, stereotyped hatchings, and scribbles. For example, in the rendering of trees, there is a cursive penmanship that differs fundamentally from the microform handwriting of the majority of Van Wittel's Dutch contemporaries but anticipates in turn the flashy manner of such 19th-century draftsmen as Edward Lear.

Evolution and dating are, for once, no concern, as Van Wittel's style shows no basic development. Dated drawings are rare; certain sheets may be dated on the basis of building histories, biographical facts, or dated paintings. Surprisingly, the question of dates is not raised in this catalogue. The last three items are Dutch views, out of a total of five such views known. They are here called ideal views or views made from memory, but this is not convincing. To be sure, it is difficult to account for them: are they based on youthful drawings or copies from engravings or drawings of other masters? For No. 78, it would have been good to refer to Zwollo's remarks about the resemblance to the city of Hoorn, where the young Van Wittel had followed his teacher Withoos.

The book ends with a parallel, detailed chronology of Van Wittel and of view painting, and a bibliography. The reproductions are large, printed in brown on cream-colored paper; although inevitably lacking in sharpness and contrast, they do provide a more adequate substitute for the originals than was hitherto available.

MARCEL ROETHLISBERGER
University of Geneva

ROBERT ENGGASS, *Early Eighteenth-Century Sculpture in Rome*, University Park, Pa., Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976. Pp. xv + 243; 252 ills. $60

Robert Enggass's purpose, as stated in the preface to his book, is to introduce his readers to early 18th-century Roman sculpture in the hope of spurring further serious investigation of the subject. The book is designed to provide the reader with basic information, i.e., the identity of the sculptors, the locations and dates of their works, a bibliography, and a corpus of good illustrations. Enggass has aimed at achieving his goal by compiling a catalogue of the work produced by 21 sculptors for public places in Rome between ca. 1685 and ca. 1730. For each sculptor he has written a brief biography, an often chatty, even gossipy summary of what is known about the artist's life and work. He notes the scope of the sculptor's career, the patrons for whom he worked, and the amount and kind of work he produced for export to other parts of Europe. Each biography is followed by catalogue entries for documented works by the artist in the city of Rome. The catalogue is preceded by an introduction which is intended to supplement it by giving an overview of the material catalogued. The second volume of the book is composed of 244 excellent plates, many made from photographs commissioned for this book. The plates fulfill the author's central purpose: they introduce the reader to the sculpture of the early 18th century and reveal surprisingly high quality and great variety of personal styles.

Unfortunately, Enggass's strictly monographic approach in the catalogue creates problems and distortions. The most important sculptural commissions of the period were for statues and reliefs that decorate large spaces and monuments. In such cases it was normal practice to divide the work among several sculptors. For example, seven sculptors carved the twelve colossal statues of Apostles in the nave of S. Giovanni in Laterano, seven sculptors shared in the decoration of the chapel in the Monte di Pietà, and twelve sculptors carved the 18 statues of the Founders of the Monastic Orders in the niches of the nave, transepts, and tribune of St. Peter's. The monographic treatment of individual artists hides the relationships or lack of relationships between statues produced for the same site. It also clouds our understanding of the history of each commission and the relationship of the sculpture to the overall design of the monument.

The monographic treatment of the catalogue also causes some omissions as well as a good deal of repetition. For example, only ten of the twelve statues of Apostles carved for the nave of S. Giovanni in Laterano are discussed in catalogue entries. Of the two omitted, one, Giuseppe Mazzuoli's *Saint Philip*, is discussed in the introduction (p. 40), where Enggass notes that the statue is not like any of the others and that he is not dealing with Mazzuoli's work in detail because Mazzuoli "is really a high baroque sculptor who lived beyond his time. . . ." This is a weak argument considering that Mazzuoli's birth year, 1644, is only two years earlier than that of Jean-Baptiste Théodon, whose biography and work are discussed in the catalogue. The other statue not mentioned in the catalogue, Lorenzo Ottoni's *Saint Thaddeus*, is hardly cited at all in these volumes. Ottoni's name is mentioned in a list of sculptors who carved the Lateran Apostles (p. 21), but his statue is neither discussed nor illustrated. We are left to guess the reason for the omission of the statue and of Ottoni from the catalogue. His dates, 1658–1738, show him to be a contemporary of Théodon.

Enggass's handling of the Apostle statues also exemplifies the kind of redundancy found in the book. The relationship of Carlo Maratti, who was commissioned to make designs for all twelve statues, and the sculptors who carved the statues is discussed twice in the introduction (pp. 21, 39ff.) and in ten separate catalogue entries. In addition, guide books and other sources in which all the statues are mentioned are listed ten times over in the bibliographies that follow the entries.

Enggass is aware of most of these problems, as we can see from his preface (p. xii):

> It is the nature of a catalogue to break projects up into separate parts. In the introduction I have put some of these parts back together. This is especially important in the case of the large monuments where several sculptors may contribute individual pieces that are components of the work as a whole: the *Altar of St. Ignatius* in the Gesù, for example, or in the Corsini Chapel. I have also dealt with some of the problems and solutions that we come across in this period with sculpture of different types: the free-standing male figure, the female allegory, the relief, the tomb. . . .

Unfortunately, he has not dealt with early 18th-century sculpture in the manner so stated. Important decorative ensembles such as the Altar of Saint Ignatius, the Corsini Chapel, and the Chapel in the Monte di Pietà are not discussed as a whole but are broken up into separate parts.

The introduction is divided into two sections, the first dealing with history and patronage, the second with style. The first opens with a discussion entitled, "Ecclesia Triumphans," but which might better have been called, "The Papacy's Bleakest Hour." Enggass traces the history of the Church from the pontificate of Innocent XI (1676–1689), a period in which there was a successful military campaign against the Turks in Eastern Europe, through that of Clement XII (1730–1740), who "watched helplessly, suffering one humiliation after another, as armies of the Catholic powers violated over and over again, the territorial integrity of the papal states" (p. 16). Indeed, the picture of Rome and the papal government described by Enggass is so bleak that it leaves the reader in wonder that any art was commissioned in the period covered by the book. The chapter also offers a good summary of our knowledge of patronage in early 18th-century Rome and of the role of the French in Rome during the same period.

The general title of the second part of the introduction, "The Style," is misleading. The section is not a unified account of the stylistic development of sculpture in early 18th-century Rome. It is a series of separately titled, short essays which hardly begin to unravel the stylistic trends of the period. The opening essay is a discussion of Antonio Raggi (1624–1686), a follower and collaborator of Bernini and an artist who also worked with Baciccio in the decoration of the vaults of the Gesù and with Carlo Fontana in a few of his early Roman projects. Enggass attributes the development of an anti-naturalistic, Mannerist style to Raggi and gives him credit not only for influencing other sculptors in the 1680's but also for designing the eight stucco statues in the two chambers flanking the sanctuary of S. Ignazio. Enggass credits the design to Raggi because the four agitated figures in the chamber to the right of the sanctuary are far less classicizing in style than we should expect of the artist who executed them in 1685–86, Camillo Rusconi. Furthermore, Enggass notes that the statues in the chamber to the left of the sanctuary are similar in design to those by Rusconi al-

though they were modeled by four different sculptors, so that one supervising talent may be inferred.

Enggass cites no document or contemporary source as evidence of Raggi's involvement in the project and I see no reason to accept his hypothesis. I have noted elsewhere ("The Angels of the Ponte S. Angelo: A Comparison of Bernini's Sculpture to the Work of Two Collaborators," *Art Journal*, xxx, 1971, 252–59; and *The History and Decoration of the Ponte S. Angelo*, University Park, 1974, 71–77) that Raggi rarely designed his own sculpture, much less that of others. Stuccoes similar to those in S. Ignazio had been modeled by Raggi and other sculptors for the decoration of the clerestory windows of the Gesù as part of Baciccio's highly successful decoration of the vaulting of that church. Baciccio was responsible for the success of the project and probably supplied designs for the statues. Hence, an attribution of the design of the stuccoes in S. Ignazio to Baciccio, who was still working in the Gesù in 1685, would be worth considering. On the other hand, I see no reason why Rusconi and the other sculptors could not have designed the statues themselves.

The second essay is devoted to the Apostle figures in the Lateran. Enggass begins the section by comparing Bernini's Baroque style with the Baroque Classicism of Algardi and Duquesnoy. He implies that Baroque Classicism is the dominant style of the early 18th century and notes that the classicism of most of the statues in the Apostle series is the result of the drawings supplied by Maratti and the tight control over the project by a papal commission. He then discusses individual statues and explains how they vary stylistically according to the manners of the individual sculptors.

The third essay, "Some Statues by Le Gros," introduces the reader to the quality and variety of that master's work. Enggass emphasizes the sculptor's French origin, which he sees reflected in Le Gros's de-emphasis of the form of the body beneath the drapery and his use of pose and drapery in an expressive manner. The essay falls short of giving a balanced view of Le Gros's style because it is limited to statues. Neither the artist's most Baroque work, the group *Religion Overthrowing Heresy* on the Altar of St. Ignatius, nor his most lyrical work, the relief *Saint Louis Gonzaga in Glory* in S. Ignazio, is discussed in this section. Both works date from the second half of the 1690's and could be used as examples of the expressive variety of which Le Gros was capable.

The fourth topic, the statues of the founders of the monastic orders in St. Peter's, introduces the reader to a series of important statues rarely discussed by art historians. Unfortunately, Enggass considers only four of the statues. The others, including Michelangelo Slodtz's famous statue of Saint Bruno, dated 1744, do not fit within the chronological limits of the book. In addition, the four statues that are discussed are all quite different stylistically. The reader is left with the impression that the sole reason for evaluating them as a group is their location within the same church.

The fifth section, "Marble and Bronze Reliefs," has shortcomings that are typical of the book. Here Enggass discusses a large number of reliefs in chronological order. He refers to differences in size and media and locates the reliefs within the spaces for which they were commissioned. Despite all of this, the reader is given neither a clear view of the development of relief during the early 18th century, nor of the development of individual sculptors. The reason for this failing is a lack of unity in the handling of the material. The treatment is broken into mini-essays, beginning with an account of the bronze narrative reliefs for the Altar of St. Ignatius in the Gesù. These seven reliefs, all of which were designed by Andrea Pozzo in 1695, are analyzed and compared, as are two larger marble reliefs on the walls flanking the altar. The relationship of the reliefs to the altar as a whole is not discussed. All of the reliefs are small in scale and minor iconographical elements compared to the larger architectural and sculptural portions of the altar.

Enggass next turns to the major marble reliefs, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and *Flight into Egypt*, carved by Pierre-Etienne Monnot in 1695–99 for the Capocaccia Chapel in S. Maria della Vittoria. They are well analyzed but are not compared to Domenico Guidi's marble group, the *Dream of Saint Joseph*, which they flank and with which they are meant to be seen. In addition, the author might have taken the opportunity to compare the Capocaccia Chapel with Bernini's Cornaro Chapel, which faces it in the opposite transept of the church. Such a comparison between High Baroque and Late Baroque use of sculpture in chapel decoration might have helped to clarify the relief style of the later period.

From Monnot's over-life-size reliefs, Enggass jumps to two small reliefs that are parts of papal tombs in St. Peter's, and then to the reliefs of Le Gros. The longest portion of this final mini-essay is properly devoted to the *Saint Louis Gonzaga in Glory* of 1698–99 in S. Ignazio, one of the masterpieces of the period. Enggass discusses the relief from a technical point of view as well as a stylistic one but does not leave the reader with a clear understanding of the artist's sources, his contribution, or even of the expressive quality of the work.

The last essay, "Tombs and Cenotaphs," begins with a well-written discussion of papal tombs and their place in the tradition of such tombs which began with Bernini and Algardi during the High Baroque. The author's account of Camillo Rusconi's Tomb of Pope Gregory XIII of 1715–1723 in St. Peter's is especially good, because it clarifies the manner in which the monument is meant to be seen. There are also briefer discussions of a few cenotaphs and small tombs.

Clearly, the introduction to Enggass's book is not a unified treatment of the development of Roman sculpture in the early 18th century. Instead, the catalogue and plates are the best parts of his work and serve, as the author intended, as an introduction to the subject. The plates are excellent, and the biographies of individual artists are not only useful but also enjoyable to read. In addition, the catalogue entries supply a great deal of information.

MARK S. WEIL
Washington University

FRANK R. DIFEDERICO, *Francesco Trevisani: Eighteenth-Century Painter in Rome*, Washington, D.C., Decatur House Press, 1977. Pp. 124; 153 ills. $50

For this *catalogue raisonné* of Trevisani's paintings, Frank DiFederico has discovered and assembled quantities of essential data, to which he has given a clear and logical organization. He also makes a basic contribution by publishing two versions of Pascoli's key biography, hitherto known only indirectly. In addition, he prints a biography by Nicolas Pio and another by Francesco Moucke, also not accessibly published before, thereby increasing the base of available sources.

In the introductory text, which is unfortunately only 28

pages long. DiFederico outlines very well the *fortuna* of Trevisani's reputation as an artist and goes a long way to reestablishing it on a sound, unprejudiced foundation. Much less satisfactory, however, is DiFederico's account of this Venetian's development amid the various conflicting trends that emerged during his long career in Rome. Although the author shows some originality in stressing a certain classicism in Trevisani, one's expectations that he will examine it in relation to other rival trends or movements are not fulfilled. It is indeed surprising that he omits without explanation any discussion of Trevisani and the Rococo, although he mentions that Herman Voss and Decio Gioseffi studied the relationship (p. 4). DiFederico may wish, of course, to question the conventional wisdom that Trevisani was an initiator of the Rococo in Rome, or that the Rococo flourished there, but if that is his aim he should give his reasons, or at least give some recognition to the problem he has posed, even if only to argue against its importance. The Rococo is less tangible and coherent in Rome than in Venice or Paris, but scholars like Wittkower,[1] Clark,[2] and Griseri[3] all recognized its presence in the work of Trevisani. Although no one would claim that the latter was a fully Rococo artist, like Tiepolo or Boucher, yet he could be representative of an initial stage of that movement, in which some of its principal characteristics were emerging, although still entangled with lingering traits of the late Baroque. This initial stage has been called the *barochetto*, and indeed Andreina Griseri speaks of Trevisani's *barochetto ambizioso*.[4] DiFederico not only fails to distinguish this phase entirely, but also neglects Trevisani's importance for subsequent generations of painters in Rome, omitting the problem of his influence on Conca and Giaquinto, especially on the latter, who brought the Rococo to full fruition. Omitted also is Michele Rocca, the most Rococo painter before Giaquinto, and a contemporary of Trevisani's in Rome. Possible relations between them are worthy of investigation, since Rocca is more Rococo than Trevisani in form, but less so in color and texture.

DiFederico's neglect or refusal to consider the Rococo would be more defensible if he had proposed another stylistic interpretation to account for those phases of Trevisani's stylistic development that he admits were not classical. But instead of proposing alternative trends, he characterizes such phases of Trevisani's style as "personal" (p. 20), or as "more lyrical, emphatic or sentimental" (p. 14), vague terms that do little to define his style or relate it to a general trend. Thus we are left with no clear characterization of his style in the long period from 1719 to the 1730's, not to mention earlier stages before 1715, the high watermark of his classical phase.

In analyzing Trevisani's crucial commission in S. Silvestro in Capite (1695–96), DiFederico points to two artists whose contemporary commissions in the same church were significant for Trevisani. One was Giuseppe Chiari, who was close to his master, the classicizing Carlo Maratti; the other was Ludovico Gimignani, who was in charge of the entire decoration of S. Silvestro. How Trevisani was influenced by the former DiFederico leaves somewhat unclear in his monograph, whereas in a very good article in the *Art Bulletin* he made the explicit claim that "the connection with Chiari is particularly significant because it indicated the first time since Trevisani's arrival in Rome that he can be definitely and securely associated with contemporary Roman art and with the Maratti circle."[5] In the monograph, however, the claim is restricted by omitting the last phrase, thereby diminishing the importance of Maratti's influence through Chiari. Trevisani's debt to the other artist, Gimignani, is said to be his color scheme, his "clear sunlit colors," which Gimignani owed in turn to Venetian painting, especially to Veronese, whom he had studied on a trip to Venice in 1669–1670 (p. 13). It is in Trevisani's paintings in S. Silvestro that his color scheme altered profoundly, undergoing "the most decisive stylistic change of his career" (p. 12). His palette shifted then from a dark chiaroscuro "to clear light cool tones," a change especially manifest in the *Road to Calvary*. Noteworthy is the statement that "the most decisive change" in Trevisani's career took place in his color, which is hardly a classical element, especially if its derivation is ultimately from Veronese. The "decisive change," then, is not toward Roman classicism, but toward Venetian colorism. DiFederico's theory that Gimignani led a new wave of Venetian colorism following his return to Rome raises still another difficulty. Considering that the latter had returned from Venice in 1670, or a quarter of a century before the S. Silvestro commissions of 1695, it is extraordinary that his light Venetian color should have taken so long to have an impact in Rome, especially on Trevisani, himself a Venetian. Trevisani had arrived in Rome in 1678, or in ample time to be influenced by Gimignani, who was prominent enough to receive numerous commissions throughout the last three decades of the 17th century. On the other hand, one may wonder whether Gimignani was an artist powerful enough at the end of the century to divert established artists from rival trends in Rome. Among such trends was Baciccio's dynamic late Baroque, which derived of course not from Venice, but from Genoa and Correggio. More directly related to Trevisani was the tenebrist trend still flourishing in Rome, Venice, and elsewhere, which had passed through many evolutions since its origins with Caravaggio. Trevisani himself provides an example of this chiaroscuro style, which he had learned from his master, Antonio Zanchi, one of its leading exponents in Venice. If a new wave of light tonality was spreading in Rome in the 1670's and later, it is remarkable that painters coming from Venice like Trevisani did not transmit it, but rather brought in an opposing dark style, although they must have been just as well acquainted with Veronese as Gimignani. Trevisani was indeed not the only important painter coming to Rome from Venice during this period. Daniel Seiter went there around 1685, and more than once again in the 1690's, each time receiving important commissions. Yet no more than Trevisani did he bring the light tonalities of Veronese, but rather the dark tonalities of Loth and Langetti. Still another tenebrist was Ludovico

[1] Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600–1750*, Baltimore, 1958, 307.

[2] Anthony Clark discusses the Rococo in Rome in his article, "Conca and the Roman Rococo," *Apollo*, LXXXV, 1967, 328f. Although Clark introduces Trevisani in this article in relation to Conca, DiFederico does not use it or list it in his bibliography.

[3] Andreina Griseri, *Le metamorfosi del barocco*, Turin, 1967, esp. chap. XIII, "Il Rococo da Roma a Venezia."

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] "Francesco Trevisani and the Decoration of the Crucifixion Chapel in San Silvestro in Capite," *Art Bulletin*, LIII, 1971, 61.

David, who also studied in Venice and then went to Rome in the early 1690's, where he painted a spotlit *Nativity* in S. Andrea at Quirinale.

The lack of any important artist to transmit light Venetian color to Rome after 1670 leads one to doubt that a new wave ever existed and to doubt that the change in Trevisani's style was of Venetian origin. Influence from Venice up to about 1700 was on the tenebrist side, which could unite with the indigenous tenebrist trend already mentioned. Painters even of the school of Cortona contributed to the latter; they, like Pietro Berrettini, could shift from a dark to a light style according to circumstances. Thus Lazzaro Baldi painted in a light tonality in S. Giovanni a Porta Latina and in a dark one at S. Pudenziana. But the chiaroscuro of Baldi would have had less impact on Trevisani than that of the more powerful, if brutal, style of Giacinto Brandi. Although DiFederico in his article on S. Silvestro rightly recognized Brandi as pertinent to Trevisani's style, he omits him from the text of the monograph without any explanation. Yet Brandi may well have exerted some influence even on later paintings by Trevisani like the Munich *Saint Michael and the Fall of Lucifer* (ca. 1715), which in some aspects recalls Brandi's painting at Monte Giordano.

The tenebrist trend, then, could have been influential enough in the last third of the 17th century to have counteracted an opposing trend like that supposedly led by Gimignani. If the latter's light tonality came from Venice, DiFederico does not explain why Trevisani was not influenced by the same source, since he was trained in Venice. Further, it is curious that he was affected 17 years after he left the city, and then only indirectly through the mediation of Gimignani. Some other cause must have been operating on Trevisani to explain why the change in his style came so long after his Venetian sojourn, and why indeed his new color scheme, though light like Gimignani's, is still quite different. In fact, it could be maintained that Trevisani's change of color scheme was a change not only from tenebrism, but also from the tonalities both of Gimignani and of another artist much closer in style to Trevisani, but not sufficiently discussed by DiFederico, namely, Filippo Lauri. Both he and Gimignani shared the heritage of Cortonism and its lighter tonalities, which had sufficient affinities with 16th-century Venice to predispose them to the colors of Veronese rather than of Zanchi. If Lauri did not paint in a very light style, yet he was no tenebrist, and his smaller pictures are close enough to Trevisani's to have been confused with them. Around 1695, however, Trevisani seems to move away from Lauri's style as well as from tenebrism.

If we accept, at least provisionally, DiFederico's hypothesis of a pivotal change around 1695, three questions seem to follow: (a) Is a similar change to be found in other artists in Rome around the same time? (b) Is Trevisani's change only in color and tonality? (c) What is the relation of the change to Trevisani's classicism which is stressed so much by DiFederico? The answers to these questions should point to the significance of the change, both for contemporary developments and for future trends. Among older artists of eminence, a lighter color scheme is discernible in Maratti's paintings, but the alteration is not striking, partly because his tonality had not previously been very somber, and partly because many of his works of around 1700 are not definitely datable. The most pertinent example of a lighter and indeed softer color is the *Holy Family* in Vienna, dated 1704. Great changes, however, in the color scheme of so classicizing an artist are not to be expected. A deeper change is to be observed in the great Baroque leader Baciccio, as Robert Enggass has shown in analyzing his "détente" phase. For example, from the rich, golden highlights of the Gesù, Baciccio's color turned to a pale, cool tonality applied with a powdery texture in the Maddalena Altarpiece of 1698.[6] A development closer to Trevisani's is to be seen in the work of Benedetto Luti, from the dark chiaroscuro of the early 1690's to a much lighter palette of blue, gray, pink, and white after the turn of the century. DiFederico regards this palette as cold and eminently classical, forgetting that the Rococo can be cool, especially where there is a pastel effect like Luti's, whereas what is classical need not be cool, as may be seen in the paintings of Sacchi, Maratti's master. On the other hand, DiFederico's ambiguous characterization of Luti's style, suggesting that his foreground figures are clear, simple, and compact, but his backgrounds painterly, atmospheric, and even dynamic, is justifiable on the supposition that Luti is an artist in transition, belonging to a phase in which a new style is emerging.

These few examples indicate that Trevisani's decisive change may have been part of a general change beginning around the turn of the century and leading toward the Rococo. If he could be shown to have been the first to change, then he could perhaps be regarded as one of the initiators of this new trend, which with the appearance of new artists on the scene could gather momentum. Sebastiano Conca, arriving in 1706 from Naples where a similar lightening of tone had been taking place, was obviously a newcomer, but earlier than he and more Rococo still was Michele Rocca.[7] Probably already in Rome by 1700, Rocca introduced a kind of form that was a fresh offspring of the school of Parma, but a glance at his contribution leads to the second question, whether indeed this general change encompassed more than color values. Certainly Trevisani's change of style was not simply a new colorism, for he developed a sense of texture, which is a quality ignored by DiFederico, important though it is for a colorist. Trevisani's texture heightens the sense of warmth and intimate charm that savors of the Rococo. DiFederico does notice a sense of intimacy in the artist's depictions of miracles and martyrdoms, but not the piquant touch of Trevisani's Louvre *Madonna and Child* (No. 36), or of the later *Birth of the Virgin* (No. 65). This intimacy is related to the light touch and small format that Trevisani inherited from Lauri but gave further development after 1700. If by comparison with Rocca's insubstantial forms Trevisani's figures seem solid enough, should we attribute this difference to the latter's classicism?

This raises a fundamental problem underlying the third question: what is this classicism DiFederico attributes to Trevisani, whose most decisive change of style was in the non-classical element of color? The problem is complicated by DiFederico's negligence in defining "classicism." One

[6] Enggass, "The Painting of Baciccio," Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, University Park, Pa., 1964, 93f.

[7] For Rocca, see the exh. cat., *Painting in Italy in the Eighteenth Century: Rococo to Romanticism*, ed. John Maxon and Joseph J. Rishel, Art Institute of Chicago, 1970, 208.

gathers from the general context, however, that in painting he does not mean by "classicism" a return to the antique, but a classical style in a vaguely Wölfflinian sense. Yet paradoxically, the source of this classicism DiFederico claims to find in the return to the antique that the Arcadians promoted in contemporary literature. As a member of the Accademia degli Arcadi and as a preferred protégé of one of its leading members, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, the painter participated, according to DiFederico, in the discussions of the Arcadians to the extent of siding with Gravina in 1711 when the latter demanded a more austere classicism in opposition to Crescimbeni.[8] "The schism within the Accademia degli Arcadi," writes DiFederico, "raised the question of classical models for painters as well as for writers" (p. 18). To maintain this theory, however, the author should produce evidence not only that Trevisani was really influenced by these literary theories, but also that Trevisani's art reflects a return to antique models. As DiFederico admits, however, membership in the Academy did not require subscription to any of its doctrines, or their application to the very diverse fields of individual Arcadians. Neither is there any evidence, direct or indirect, that Trevisani took any interest in the controversies of the Academy, or that the Arcadians ever discussed the arts, not to mention contemporary styles of painting. Moreover, looking at Trevisani's works themselves, one finds little trace of a return to the antique or to antique sculpture.

Apart from the lack of any documentary evidence, however, the situation in painting during the 17th century had been so different from that in literature that classicists would not have felt the same need for a fundamental reorientation of taste. If *marinismo* and other "baroque" manifestations had dominated seicento literature to the point that the Arcadians united to demand a return to antique ideals, the Baroque in painting had been less dominant, in view of the rivalry of the classicizing movement from Domenichino to Maratti, who with his school had finally prevailed over the late Baroque by the end of the 17th century. Trevisani would hardly have felt any need to join the Arcadians in reacting against the Baroque, and indeed nothing in his painting suggests a conscious reaction against it or its leaders. On the contrary, he appears to have initiated a new non-classical trend, involving a change of color scheme that marks the *barochetto* or an incipient Rococo.

DiFederico nevertheless finds Trevisani's distinctiveness in his classicism, a classicism, moreover, unique at the time in not being derived from that of Maratti or his school. The best expression of this classicism is to be seen at Narni in a church that Trevisani decorated about 1714–15. These pictures, representing the life of the Blessed Lucy of Narni, are rendered with "a severe classicism and a strict rationalism closely aligned with a more doctrinal interpretation of the basic tenets of the Arcadian *buon gusto*" (p. 18). What makes these pictures "the most classicistic statement of his career" (p. 17), however, seems to be a classicism that has less to do with the tenets of the Arcadians than with the formal categories of Wölfflin, to judge by such statements as "horizontal and vertical planar elements govern" or "diagonals are of limited and minimal significance," or "the color [is] cold and linear in application" (p. 17). Although DiFederico's characterization of the Narni pictures as classical in a Wölfflinian sense is convincing, yet it seems a little exaggerated in view of the pose of the Blessed Lucy in the painting showing her receiving the stigmata or that of the foreshortened angel rushing in above. Likewise in the Narni version of the *Death of Saint Joseph* the chiaroscuro is conspicuous, and curvilinear rhythms pervade the composition and prevent the horizontals and verticals from becoming really dominant.

The classical elements in the Narni *Death of Saint Joseph*, which are even more pronounced in the earlier version in S. Ignazio (1712), may be interpreted from a point of view quite different from DiFederico's. Instead of regarding Trevisani's treatment as classical in aim and execution, it could be seen as related to an older treatment of the subject, like that by Maratti in 1676 (Vienna). The basic scheme was used by Trevisani only as a framework within which to construct a *barochetto* effect, with chiaroscuro silhouetting, rhythmic elegance, and subtle texture, elements not to be found in the graver, more monumental classicism of Maratti: in short, Trevisani fabricated a *barochetto* image on a classical foundation. This interpretation raises of course the complicated problem of the relation of his classicism to Maratti's. DiFederico distinguishes between the two, agreeing with Wittkower who saw in the latter's classicism not a pure type, but one amalgamated with the Baroque. Trevisani's classicism, as epitomized in the Narni pictures, seems to DiFederico more austere than Maratti's, partly because he does not take into account Trevisani's sense of texture and alteration of proportion toward what DiFederico himself designates as "doll-like" (p. 17). Such a change in proportion points more to the Rococo than to the antique. It also indicates that DiFederico confused two kinds of classicism, that of the Arcadians and that of Wölfflin.

Some of Trevisani's paintings, moreover, seem to have been conceived quite contrary to the tenets of the Arcadians. His erotic rendering of subjects like *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, and *Amon and Tamar*, can hardly be said to be consistent with the Arcadians' reaction against the hedonism and sensuality of the seicento. Belonging to a series painted for Pommersfelden, they were executed in 1709, or after Crescembeni had written a poem honoring Trevisani in 1704, and prior by only three years to his admission as an Arcadian in 1712. This sequence of events indicates that Trevisani was honored by the Academy independently of any consistently classical style he might have exercised. Trevisani apparently felt no need to conform to the precepts of the Academy requiring restraint and decorum. Considering that some of the paintings for Pommersfelden were in course of execution until 1717, they were contemporary with the Narni paintings, a conjunction that makes one question Trevisani's supposed commitment to Gravina's austere classicism, even for a couple of years.

Much depends, however, on the interpretation of specific paintings, like the Dresden *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, also dated by DiFederico to about the same year (1715) as the Narni paintings. DiFederico admires this Ottoboni picture for its "simplicity and clarity" and regards it, because of its "Arcadian sensibility," primarily as a landscape (p. 19). It is not, however, very similar, to contemporary classicising landscapes like those of Orizzonte or Locatelli, contemporaries of Trevisani in Rome. Curiously enough, DiFederico ignores a claim by Busiri Vici that Orizzonte did influence Trevisani's backgrounds, although the latter cites

[8] Most of the important literature on the Arcadians is listed by DiFederico. But see esp. G. L. Moncallero, *L'Arcadia*, 1: *Teorica d'Arcadia. La premessa anti-secentista e classicista*, Florence, 1953.

other paintings as examples.[9] By comparison even with late classicizing landscapes, however, Trevisani's Dresden painting seems rather picturesque, with its abundant foreground foliage framing vignetted openings on varied levels, an effect suggestive of the Rococo landscape later to be developed by Boucher. Savoring of the same atmosphere is the sophisticated casualness of the Virgin resting by the roadside, while cherubs frolic in the branches above. That the same paintings should seem classical to one observer, but Rococo to another, makes imperative the need to define more clearly these basic terms. A general definition of classicism, however, would not be sufficient since, in the author's view, "his [Trevisani's] return to the classical tradition" was "unique" and quite different from that of Maratti or any other contemporary (p. 20). Whether unique or not, Trevisani's landscapes, like his figures, were certainly not designed in a severe unalloyed classical style, as one would expect from the claims made for the contemporary Narni pictures.

It is surprising to learn of an artist who "uniquely exhibited a deliberate stylistic return to classicism," that he was also an early exponent of *sensibilité*. DiFederico does not see any need to explain how the same artist could combine the rational control of the former and the emotional outpouring of the latter. Griseri had already used the term "sensiblerie,"[10] and DiFederico applies it more explicitly to some of Trevisani's altarpieces, both in the first decade of the century and in his late period beginning around 1719. The bright color schemes and rich textures of altarpieces like the *Mass of Bolsena* (ca. 1700) are often imbued with an intense emotional expression, which in DiFederico's eyes anticipates the *sensibilité* "so prevalent later in the eighteenth century" (p. 16). So intense is the emotional involvement that the viewer finds himself "within a special community of feelings" (p. 16). Whatever the similarity in intensity of emotion to manifestations of *sensibilité*, the later movement seems very alien in its secular and often anticlerical sentiments, found in Diderot, Greuze, and the *drame bourgeois*. Is the anguish of the repentant priest at the sight of the miraculous blood an anticipation of the exaltation of nature of the *philosophes?* Even if some connection could be made, however, to designate the priest's suffering as an "early example" of a movement that developed 50 years later, in 1750, it does not explain its occurrence in 1700, an occurrence all the more surprising if Trevisani were influenced by the Arcadians' "reliance on reason" and advocacy of "a more reasonable use of imagery." Would the Arcadians have approved of such emotional outpourings as the priest's "tears streaming down his cheeks" (p. 16)? To account for such manifestations of emotion, need we look so far as the future French *sensibilité*, when there are Roman Baroque examples of streaming tears close by, such as Bernini's *Persephone?* Why are Trevisani's penitent priests and Magdalens more characteristic of enlightened *sensibilité* than of the late Baroque?

DiFederico's failure to see a similarity between late Baroque and his supposed *sensibilité* in the matter of emotional manifestations can also be observed in his characterizations of Trevisani's altarpieces of the 1720's and 1730's. These large paintings with single figures of Saints Francis or Anthony in ecstasy are said to create in their chapels "the environment and atmosphere necessary for a direct, personal, intuitive and extremely humanized devotion characteristic of the Age of Enlightenment's approach to religion" (p. 25). Does DiFederico mean to imply that, on the one hand, the Enlightenment's approach to religion is quite compatible with the traditions and iconography of the Catholic Church as conveyed in these altarpieces, and, on the other hand, that the Catholic hierarchy in papal Rome around 1725 countenanced an approach to religion essentially similar to a deistic Enlightenment that was antagonistic to the institutions of the Catholic Church? In addition, are Trevisani's solitary saints so much more direct, immediate, and personal than those of predecessors like Barocci, Caravaggio, Reni, Guercino, or Baciccio, to mention a few obvious examples? Guercino even painted a Saint Francis (at Cesena) with arms outstretched like Trevisani's Francis in the church of the Stimmate di S. Francesco at Rome, except that the diagonal position of the latter has a more Baroque effect.

If DiFederico's attempt to connect Trevisani with Enlightenment *sensibilité* is unconvincing, one might yet sympathize with his concern to seek a specific explanation for the recurrent emotionalism of the painter's altarpieces, especially in his late phase. Without going further afield, one could consider a contemporary resurgence of religious fervor in the form of Quietism, even if its greatest impact was before 1700. Although Molinos was condemned by the Inquisition in 1687, and the writings of Cardinal Petrucci were censured the following year, still the French controversy over Quietism and the appeal to the pope for judgment between Bossuet and Fenelon could have kept in ferment the religious life of Roman society. Religious painters might have been influenced less by the doctrines themselves than by the fervid emotional climate engendered by Quietism. This emotionalism has, interestingly enough, been regarded as an ultimate source for *sensibilité*,[11] but not as the direct anticipation DiFederico implies. Some attention to Quietism would have improved his argument.

It is indeed remarkable that the cultural situation in Rome around 1700 could have harbored such divergent movements as Quietism and Arcadianism. The former's extreme absorption in feeling and the consequent subordination of reason, so contrary to Arcadianism, could have influenced Trevisani, provided that he was not the austere classicist DiFederico elsewhere claims that he was. In discussing the Aracoeli *Saint Francis*, DiFederico himself uses language suggestive of the atmosphere of Quietism when he says the worshipper is led to "focus on the saint and his experiences as if [the painting] were an extension or mirror of his own religious devotion" (p. 26). The languid attitude of the saint, also marked by DiFederico, makes one recall the doctrine of the passivity of the soul so ardently advocated by the Quietists.

On the other hand, Trevisani might have been inspired by another kind of contemporary work in Rome, the younger Le Gros's late Baroque representation of the dying Saint Stanislas Kostka in S. Andrea al Quirinale (1702–03). Its immediacy and directness, although softened by the languor of

[9] Andrea Busiri Vici, *Orizzonte, Jan Frans Van Cloemen*, Rome, 1974, 131.

[10] Griseri, "Trevisani in Arcadia," *Paragone*, XIII, 1962, 32.

[11] Anita Brookner, *Greuze*, New York, 1972, 8.

death, as well as the avoidance of what DiFederico calls "extreme religiosity of a baroque nature," are qualities that could have made a lasting impression on Trevisani. In fact, compared to what is perhaps the most striking case in Rome of the removal of all barriers for the participation of the observer in personal and spiritual expression, Trevisani's altarpieces seem neither immediate enough, nor untrammeled enough to mirror the worshipper's emotions to the degree DiFederico claims.

Trevisani's late style comprehends, however, a greater variety and complexity than these altarpieces themselves would suggest, whatever their relation to Quietism or to other movements. To characterize the late style as a whole, terms like "personal" or "immediacy" are scarcely adequate, considering such subjects as the Magnanimity of Alexander (La Granja), or the Immaculate Conception (Turin), or the Miracle of Saint Matthew (Pisa), not to mention the ceiling in the Palazzo de Cardis, and the imposing cartoons for the mosaic decoration in the Baptismal Chapel of St. Peter's. A more pertinent term would be *barocchetto*, with its connotation of elegance, subtle modeling, less sustained vigor and heroic stance when attempting monumentality, but elsewhere a tendency to informality and charm.

Although the *catalogue raisonné* is certainly a substantial contribution, a carping critic might find a few omissions or other inadequacies, though not of the first importance. For example, *Hagar in the Desert* (ex-Weisner, New York), illustrated by Griseri as by Trevisani in her *Metamorfosi del barocco*,[12] seems to have been overlooked. Likewise, in the list of unlocated paintings (p. 77ff.), no mention is made of the 25 paintings by Francesco Trevisani listed in an early inventory of the Garde Meuble at Versailles.[13] Other French 18th-century sources need to be searched for the history and identification of numerous other pictures and related versions. For example, the Julienne sales catalogue of 1767 lists a half-length *Christ*, and a *Diana and Endymion* that may have been another version of the painting at Pommersfelden. Eighteenth-century English attributions like the Knole *Saint Peter Delivered from Prison*, bought by the third Duke of Dorset in 1773, should also have been mentioned.

More serious are the problems of attribution arising over insufficient attention to the relations of Lauri and Trevisani. An *Agony in the Garden* was exhibited at Colnaghi's in 1976 with an attribution to Trevisani but was formerly attributed to Lauri when it was in the collection of the Earl of Derby[14] and at the Julienne sale of 1767. Although the notice of 1976 was perhaps too recent for DiFederico's inclusion, the picture's similarity in style to early works by Trevisani under Lauri's inspiration suggests that the relations between the two artists would be a fruitful field of research.

One is also disappointed to find so little research on some of Trevisani's compositional and iconographic types, like the beautiful *Dead Christ Supported by Angels* (No. 58). Without attempting to find the earliest prototypes, one should study Trevisani's distinctive rendering of this motive in relation to some well-known 17th-century examples, like the paintings of Brusasorzi, Guercino, and Orbetto. The last-named artist from Verona did such a *Pietà* which Trevisani could have seen in the Borghese Collection in Rome.

In more strictly iconographical matters, DiFederico seems to misconceive, or at best to formulate negligently, the Catholic doctrines underlying events of the Passion like the Agony in the Garden, especially as represented by Trevisani's version in S. Silvestro in Capite. Contrasting Maratti's and Trevisani's interpretations of this theme, DiFederico speaks of "Christ submitting to his fate" (p. 14), as if a Catholic artist in papal Rome would conceive of Christ, the divine Son of God, as controlled by a pagan force like fate. Hardly less alien to Catholic thought is DiFederico's description of Christ's state of mind in this scene as "peacefully and contentedly beatified . . . when all indecision and uncertainty have been subsumed by Christ's complete submission to the Will of God" *(ibid.)*. Christ did indeed submit to the will of his Father, but not as an indecisive and uncertain human being. According to the Church, his suffering came not from vacillation of spirit, but from the realization that so many would continue to sin despite his Passion and death on their behalf. Equally inappropriate is DiFederico's characterization of Trevisani's Christ as "contentedly beatified." Since the term "beatified" for a Catholic means a degree of holiness below that of a saint, it would be hardly applicable to Christ, the divine Son. Likewise, the Crucifixion was not "inevitable" for 18th-century Catholics, but a free choice of Christ's will, although the burden of suffering for the sins of mankind could have been intense enough to induce the state of exhaustion that Trevisani has tried to express. On the other hand, Maratti chose a different moment of the Agony at Gethsemane, as DiFederico acutely points out, in spite of a certain similarity of pose.[15] The great classicist chose a moment more internally active and expressive of the cross-current between suffering and submission to the will of his Father, whereas Trevisani chose another moment, one between exhaustion and submission, a moment not incompatible with the first but psychologically less interesting.

In summary, the text of the monograph is disappointing especially in relation to the six fine articles DiFederico published previously on Trevisani, and on which it is largely based. Rather than developing or extending their possibilities, he tends to prune away fruitful suggestions with little attempt at reformulation or deeper research. The book as a whole is valuable as the only monograph on the artist, but its contribution to problems of stylistic development, of artistic sources, or of cultural ambience is partial and unconvincing.

FRANCIS H. DOWLEY
University of Chicago

[12] Griseri, as cited in n. 3, fig. 231.

[13] Fernand Engerand, *Inventaire des tableaux du roy par Nicolas Bailly redigé en 1709 et 1710*, Paris, 1899, 628f. Subjects, dimensions, and media are specified for these small pictures, which may have formed a series.

[14] George Scharf, *Catalogue of the Pictures at Knowsley Hall*, London, 1875, No. 399; P. D. Colnaghi & Co., London, *Italian Paintings, 1550–1780, 26 May to 2nd June, 1976*, No. 27. Further checking would of course be necessary.

[15] Maratti's painting (Burghley House) is discussed and illustrated in DiFederico's article cited in n. 5 above, 63, fig. 19.

ANDREW WILTON, *British Watercolours 1750–1850*, Oxford and New York, Phaidon/Dutton, 1977 Pp. 208; 178 pls., 58 in color. $24.95

The study of British watercolors has not often been given the scholarly detective work that the study of Old Master drawings demands; and, indeed, watercolors have been collected as a hobby, like so many postage stamps. As Ruskin recollected "with feelings of considerable refreshment," it was a "simple company of connoisseurs," "in these days of the deep, the lofty, and the mysterious," "who discussed with holiday gaiety, the unimposing merits of the favourites, from whose pencils we knew precisely what to expect and by whom we were never either disappointed or surprised. Copley Fielding used to paint fishing boats for us in a fresh breeze, 'Off Dover,' 'Off Ramsgate,' 'Off the Needles'—off everywhere on the South Coast where anybody had been last autumn. . . ."[1] What Ruskin thought was true for the Society of Painters in Watercolour and its followers could equally well be applied today to many of the visitors to, say, the Annual Exhibition of Watercolours and Drawings at a well-known Bond Street dealer's.

This condescension to watercolor painting has been perpetuated, in some ways, by the standard general works, such as *Early English Watercolours* (whose full title goes on: *and some cognate drawings by artists born not later than 1785*), by Iolo Williams, and the three volumes by Martin Hardie, despite their thorough description of a host of minor and major artists. Watercolors were deliberately treated as separate from paintings in oil, as if they had little to do with the art of the past and very little existence outside their own small world. In such studies, a historical approach was used only to demonstrate the development of a watercolor technique. Some references were made, it is true, to artists such as Claude, Gaspard Dughet, and Salvator Rosa, but they were very general and there was little curiosity as to how these influences were understood and passed on. By dividing the practice of watercolor painting absolutely from oil painting, the total range of watercolor painting and its interaction with interests common to all artists were underplayed. There was even a puritanical approach to the use of bodycolor and other opaque methods, so that it could be stated in one of the standard books, with some signs of agreement, that "every eighteenth century gouache appears to be by the same painter."[2]

More recent studies, however, to which Andrew Wilton's book is a welcome addition, have attempted to show that watercolors cannot be studied entirely in a vacuum. Admittedly, they cannot always be linked to finished works in oil, as is the case with Old Master drawings, because they were so often done as individual works in their own right; but as with the study of certain Dutch draftsmen, the subtleties of connoisseurship can be employed to identify and date a work. One minor artist can be distinguished from another and even be judged qualitatively, as Wilton dares to do. Attempts at dating within an artist's long career can be made, and, even if this connoisseurship appears irrelevant to the modern art historian, then the detective work can be linked to a proper understanding of the weightier themes of higher art, which were the concern of painters in oil and watercolor alike. For we can now see, as Wilton so ably emphasizes in his introduction, that any history of the development of landscape (to choose one aspect), in England or, indeed, in Europe as a whole, must take the humble watercolor into account.

It is the attraction of Wilton's book that he never forgets this in his general survey. His text came from a series of lectures, no bad thing in itself, which, to cover the ground and yet avoid a mere listing of names, dealt with ten particular practitioners of watercolor around whom he grouped additional artists who could be related on the grounds of style and similar interests. On the whole, this treatment of the material works well, although one might quibble with the sequence, which leaps from the traditional beginning with Sandby and the interest in topography to Dayes, and then, not logically to Girtin, his pupil, but sideways and backwards to a chapter on Rowlandson and other caricaturists, such as Mortimer, Gillray, and Burney. De Loutherbourg is also included at this point, for convenience, although this eclectic artist might just as well have been included anywhere, so varied were his styles and interests.

The third chapter, on William Blake, begins paradoxically but correctly with Blake's enemy Reynolds, whose Discourses embody the justification for the attempt at great history painting that preoccupied Blake and a number of artists around him, such as Barry, Fuseli, Benjamin West, Flaxman, and Stothard. Although the personal contribution of Blake is emphasized, in contrast to the attempts by Barry, Fuseli, and Flaxman to work in a wider European context, Blake's own technical debt to engravings and what he learned through them of Mannerist form are overlooked. It is, perhaps, an exaggeration to say that "Blake was as good a draughtsman as his Academic colleagues." Not by their standards can this be justified. Nevertheless, his own individual and increasingly competent use of watercolor in his late works is noted; and his status at the end of his career as a cult figure for Linnell, Palmer, and "the Ancients," Tatham, Finch, and Calvert, is given due mention, stemming as it did, in a typical Blakean situation, from a minor and awkward commission for Dr. Thornton. It is, however, not quite accurate to say that Blake illustrated Thornton's translation of Virgil. What Blake illustrated was, in fact, Ambrose Philip's *Imitation of Virgil's Eclogues*, a rather different achievement, where the Ancient British Shepherd sits by the River Cam and Blake duly draws in a slight but recognizable King's College Chapel. Wilton properly shows, however, that the small scale and intimate charm of these pastoral woodcuts were the inspiration for Palmer.

In some ways Wilton's study of landscape, which is what a history of watercolor is mostly about, might have progressed more smoothly if he had followed from Sandby, with his debt to the Netherlandish tradition of Siberechts, Knyff,

[1] J. Ruskin, "Notes on Prout and Hunt" in *The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, London and New York, 39 vols., 1903–1912, XIV, 389–90.

[2] Quoted by Iolo Williams, *Early English Watercolours*, London, 1952, 1, without citation of source. Williams believed there were two kinds of watercolor, clear and opaque, and he described the latter as follows: "With opaque color—which in its various forms is known by the names of bodycolor, gouache, tempera, or distemper—the lights are produced by mixing with the colors on opaque white pigment, and the spectator does not see through the color to the paper behind it" (p. 1). Williams obviously preferred the clear method.

and Kip, to Alexander and J. R. Cozens and their ideal world, rather than leaving Cozens until the fourth chapter. But this is a matter of opinion. To say, however, that, with the Netherlanders who came to England, the "tradition of Ruysdael and Koninck had run practically dry" seems an injustice to the development of Dutch landscape and an insufficient appreciation of the artists' differences and their effect on later British painting. Girtin copied a Koninck and Constable was enthusiastic about Ruysdael.

Cozens's visionary world, so different from Blake's, had an equally inspirational effect on the next generation of British artists through the collections of Dr. Monro, an effect which is fully discussed in the chapters devoted to Girtin and Cotman that follow. It is at this point that the highest flowering of an art devoted entirely to watercolor is reached, and the contribution of Girtin's short career could not be better summarized. To the interesting theory that he learned from the techniques of Canaletto's drawings may be added the suggestion that he might also have learned from Wilson's use of a similar "dot and dash" technique to represent texture in his oils. Conversely, at the end of his brief career, Girtin used the watercolor technique of a broad wash with the ground showing through, in what seems to be his only surviving oil. Again, the two media interact.

The group of young artists who gained so much from the patronage of Dr. Monro comprised a number of the leading young artists, and Wilton brings out their development well. John Varley's role as a teacher of some of this younger generation is mentioned, and in the short survey Varley's own idealized landscapes are made to stand as representative. It was his role as a teacher to this group that is, perhaps, most important. As John Gage has shown, the development of an interest in sketching out-of-doors, mostly along the Thames, which Varley's teachings emphasized, created around 1810 an almost fanatical approach to realism, an approach which was at the heart of the Romantic Movement and which was appreciated most highly in subsequent years on the Continent. To discuss this would have enlarged Wilton's survey of De Wint, whose realism is not due solely to his Dutch background and happy bucolic nature but which has links closer at hand in the art and the poetry of the time. John Clare, for example, was a great admirer of De Wint's realism.

Although this one aspect of John Varley and the group around him is ignored, nevertheless Wilton's description of his curious younger brother, Cornelius, is admirable. By a brief but apt quotation from the artist he perfectly captures that strange quality of almost naive and totally absorbed observation which led Cornelius to the development of the Graphic Telescope, the better to see things.[3]

If careful and scientific observation and thus a heightened sense of realism can now be seen as part of the Romantic Movement, then Cotman, Crome, the Norwich School, Constable, and David Cox rightly follow in the survey. Constable, however, presents a difficulty. His watercolors, pencil drawings, oil sketches, and finished oil paintings are different aspects of an entire career. He used them for different purposes at different times. His attitude towards finished and unfinished works changed. First one medium and then another were used. Wilton is a little hard on Constable's late oils so that he can stress his late watercolors which are arguably not his most important works. With Cox, too, for all his well-deserved fame as a watercolorist, we should remember equally well his early beginnings and his original, late attempts as an oil painter.

If Constable had a completely integrated career as a watercolorist and an oil painter, so too did Bonington, and here Wilton gives a very succinct account of the interplay of French and English artists, Bonington, Francia, Delacroix, Prout, Shotter Boys, Callow, and W. J. Müller, in this other phase of the Romantic Movement. Although Wilton has not always mentioned it where it would have been appropriate, here he properly draws attention to the interaction of the different media in Bonington's career and the Romantic historicism that could draw on Dutch and Venetian painting for subject matter and technique. Although Wilton quotes the specific examples of Rembrandt and Bonington's use of brown ink and wash, he could also have illustrated Bonington's reinterpretation of Rembrandt's themes and compositions. At the end of Bonington's all too brief career there are oils that are painted as if they were watercolors, such as the *Odalisque* in Cambridge.

Here Wilton pertinently asked whether watercolor was really necessary, and answers by posing the dilemmas of J. F. Lewis and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. They wondered how to reproduce nature faithfully and yet create imaginatively at the same time, and also earn enough to live by the laborious method of watercolor which became ever closer to the state of oils. The problem was resolved perhaps only by Turner, the hero of Ruskin who in turn was responsible for complicating the answer for succeeding artists. Turner is also Wilton's hero, and it is therefore fitting that he comes last in the book. The range of his genius is shown, from oil to watercolor: Turner moved between them at will, but his art was always more than a concentration on medium alone.

The survey concludes with a select bibliography, brief biographies of the artists, and notes on the 178 plates, 58 of which are in more than passable color. The biographies and notes are arranged alphabetically with comments on the style and status of the works selected. The plates are arranged to follow the main text so that one can see the lectures, as it were, in spite of the occasional whims of the designer who has occasionally rearranged the order of the artists as mentioned. The notes give added comment about the individual works.

In his introduction, Wilton politely apologizes for excluding Ibbetson, Thirtle, and J. D. Harding. There are other omissions but in general the artists should not be missed. The author might have had a separate chapter on the varied treatises on watercolor painting whose effect has been felt until recently by professionals and amateurs alike. The activities of the watercolorists as teachers, what they taught and why, perhaps deserved consideration. Although Wilton refers the reader to Hardie, where the development of pigments and papers is discussed, he does not mention the development of color theories out of the artists' empirical practice.

The plates on the whole are surprisingly good for lithographic reproduction which is so often insensitive to the

[3] The Graphic Telescope was a portable device patented by Cornelius Varley in 1811, which projected an image of the subject onto the paper by means of mirrors. It was an improvement upon the *camera lucida* and *camera obscura*.

nuances of watercolor. In this respect the old traditions of Phaidon have been carried on to Oxford from Italy where the plates and text were printed. Canaletto's view of the Thames from Somerset House (pl. 3) has been reversed, which gives an interesting new slant to the Sandby above it, painted from the same viewpoint. The selection of illustrations is always interesting and contains many watercolors not reproduced before.

As a general survey, this book is to be warmly recommended. By his enthusiasm and careful choice of words, Wilton manages the difficult task of simplification without being unfair to the artists' developments and interests. One must hope, however, that his book is the last general survey devoted solely to British watercolors and that any subsequent illustrated volume on British art of the 18th and 19th centuries will consider patiently all the arts in depth, in order to do full justice to all aspects, sociological, literary, and historical, of what is a fascinating period in the history of the arts in Britain, when they were the equal of any in the world. Perhaps we may look forward to the Romantic Pelican, stuffed and garnished but not too expensive.

MALCOLM CORMACK
Yale Center for British Art

JOHN WILMERDING, *American Art, (The Pelican History of Art)*, New York, Penguin Books, 1976. Pp. 326; 299 black-and-white pls. $40

The inclusion of a history of American art in the Pelican History of Art series is a sign of the relatively recent legitimization of American art as ground for research and writing. A steady improvement of scholarship in all areas of the field has been observable in theses, specialized articles, assorted monographs, book-length exhibition catalogues, and anthologies of contemporary art criticism. Scholars in the related fields of social and intellectual history have enriched our knowledge of patronage, taste and literary parallels.

Consistently the Pelican editors have selected prominent scholars like John Wilmerding as contributors to the series. To *American Art* Wilmerding brings the craft and methods he has applied to the study of Fitz Hugh Lane, Robert Salmon, and Winslow Homer and of American marine painting. These works present thoroughly researched narratives of biographical facts and patronage and descriptive analyses of the paintings. Brief comparisons with works by contemporaries and allusions to stylistic sources in paintings by past masters dominate the texts. Detailed checklists, notes, and appendixes provide well-organized reference tools for the researcher. In short, Wilmerding adheres to conventions of positivist history, with only occasional interludes of standard stylistic interpretation and a minimum of concern for the relationships between the work of art and its cultural or historical context.

Conforming to these same conservative practices in his *American Art*, Wilmerding surveys the history of painting, sculpture, graphics, and photography from the earliest Colonial period to the Bicentennial. Part I recounts developments during the settlement and establishment of the American colonies, starting with illustrated charts and watercolor records of the first encounters with the New World. Wilmerding here also briefly assumes the role of interpreter to establish two themes that he considers formative in shaping the development of American art. A "sense of the practical" would prevail in America, its art from time to time being wed to science. And, from the first settlers to the present-day astronauts, "journeying to an unknown frontier came to be identified with the image and impulse of America." Technological progress and commercial growth and expansion have continued as the motivating forces of the United States.

Blanketed by this cultural characterization, the succeeding chapters of Part I fall into a pattern of narratives of events, biographical notes, descriptive analyses, and stylistic projections. Isolated, sometimes insightful thematic points are made infrequently. A concise factual account of native American arts at the time of colonization leads into a discussion of the original settler arts of carving and portraiture, these sharing a "decorative strength" that relieves their "austere flatness." From here portraiture becomes the focal point of Wilmerding's examination of the Colonial period. Excessive attention is directed to the marginal dependence of limning on the high art of portraiture in 17th-century England, in the work of such immigrants from the Low Countries as Van Dyck, Lely, and Kneller. The Boston career of Copley and the accomplishments of Benjamin West abroad receive particular recognition.

Although these chapters on the Colonial period supply basic information, the author might have chosen an emphasis more sympathetic to the intriguing aspects of primitivism. In contrast to Oskar Hagen's infatuation in *The Birth of the American Tradition in Art* with the absence of "civilized" European sophistication in Colonial portraiture, Wilmerding shows no appreciation for the positive characteristics of the provincial and primitive as such. The well-known portrait of the centenarian, Anne Pollard (1721), is described as crude in execution, "although the strong modelling of the face and upper torso hint of later Baroque developments." The primitive abstraction of the ancient woman's appearance is otherwise accounted for by the tenuous assertion that "only the pious Puritan temperament and the rocky New England coast could have produced such an expression of endurance as this." The portraits by John Smibert are excused for their lack of penetration, rather than being appreciated for their redeeming primitive traits, born of the artist's inability to differentiate the characters of individual sitters; and his figures' enlivening differences in posture, placement, and relationship to the spectator are emphasized. Citing unspecified paintings by Raphael and Lely as sources, Wilmerding praises the portraits of "notable Bostonians" as Smibert's most successful when they approximate "the fresh brushwork and full modelling of the most up-to-date European styles."

Ironically, the more advanced achievements of Copley are not judged by European standards, in the chapter, "The Colonial Triumph." For the most part, Copley's Boston career is treated as a straightforward narrative, with conclusions about style drawn from passing references to his Colonial predecessors. Copley's ability to convey "familial affection," in keeping with his sensitivity to "inner characters," is justly praised. But among the exiled Boston master's ambitious paintings in London, only *Watson and the Shark* was selected for consideration. Its bizarre subject and misproportioned forms disregard the conventions of history painting in the Grand Manner, and it foretells the new fascination with the Terrible Sublime, a fact that Wilmerding registers all too laconically as "an unexpected first signal of the coming romantic movement."

Dramatizations of recent events occupy a prominent posi-

tion in Benjamin West's large production of paintings, between the eclectic classicism of his early efforts in London and the Burkean sublimity of *Death on the Pale Horse*. Consequently, more attention might have been given to his early, near masterpiece, the *Death of General Wolfe*, which established a taste, thereupon acquired by Copley, for pictures of contemporary battles, and slighted the biblical and classical themes sanctioned by the Academy. Commending West's "range and authority" as George III's court painter, and his guidance of many young American artists, Wilmerding closes Part I with no mention of West's rather embarrassing difficulties in drawing the figures that overcrowd his huge canvases.

The steady rhythm of uncritical accounts established in the chapters dealing with the Colonial period continues throughout those sections of the book devoted to 19th-century art, from artists of the Federal period to the urban realists of the early 20th century. In place of firmly established conclusions, generalizations dominate the discussion of Federal artists. John Trumbull's art is ambiguously characterized: he is said to have drawn on "the moral seriousness and clarity" of West's earlier work. Recognizing "the need for expressive romantic feeling," he realized it could better be fulfilled through "the vocabulary of the sublime." Thus his painting stood at "an interesting transitional moment between eighteenth-century classicism and nineteenth-century romanticism." Gilbert Stuart gains a highly debatable accolade for "delineating psychological presences with sensitivity and an unrivaled perception." That his several versions of Washington seek "to peel away his sitter's identity" might be questioned when they are compared with the more intimate, if less technically proficient, series of portraits by Charles Willson Peale. John Vanderlyn fares better thematically in a brief interpretation that locates his *Marius Amid the Ruins of Carthage* in a specific context, by linking it with the tragic career of his patron and friend, Aaron Burr. At this isolated point Wilmerding digs deeper than usual. Vanderlyn's *Marius* would then seem to assert itself as an event in history as well as an aesthetic object, as part of a complex process of socio-aesthetic and psychological revelation.

Dealing with the Federal period, Wilmerding once more is occupied with stylistic problems, making a series of detached observations and missing the opportunity to reflect on concerns peculiar to the historic time and place. Among artists of the period, aspirations toward more ambitious history paintings grew, fed by sojourns in Europe and the misguided encouragement of Benjamin West. Yet the United States had neither the means nor the facilities to support such projects at that time. In view of these conditions, the landscapes produced by Vanderlyn, Trumbull, Washington Allston, and Samuel F. B. Morse could have been more fully appreciated as the expressive release from a melancholy brought about by the frustrating and impractical pursuit of academic heights in America.

Following an informative if digressive note on the sudden emergence of the daguerreotype, Wilmerding surveys the alternative subject of landscape with a diligently documented succession of biographical and stylistic vignettes and accompanying observations on the artist's changing attitudes toward nature. Wilmerding observes that, as the wilderness gave way to the frontier and agrarian visions retreated in the wake of industrial urbanization, the landscape painters provided the nation with pictures evoking easy sentiments of harmony and order, morality and spirituality, and didactic inspiration. Evaluation of these landscapes could have been elaborated, for the innovative among them evince increasingly individualistic points of view through their respective interpretations of physical nature. Therefore a thematically directed treatment might have delved beneath the readily observable elements of the Sublime to explore the relevance of Cole's *Course of Empire* to his fundamentalist, millenarian fears for the future of the United States. Moreover, to categorize this Anglo-American's imaginatively dramatic landscapes as idealistic views of nature, comparable to the nature of the Transcendentalists, is misleading. To the contrary, it is not the "awful wilderness" of Cole's art but the persistently detailed forest interiors of Asher B. Durand that parallel Emerson's "divine dream" of a nature permeated by the energy of the Supreme Being. In the first of ten letters on landscape painting published in *The Crayon* in the mid-1850's, Durand directly reflects Emerson's convictions when he writes: "Let him scrupulously accept whatever she [nature] presents him, until he shall, in a degree, have become intimate with her infinity." Letting nature paint the greater part of the picture, Durand makes his presence felt less than does Cole, whose stormy didacticism exposes the sin-ridden artist and viewer alike to the tangible forces of a vengeful nature.

Although Wilmerding acknowledges the landscapes of Frederick Edwin Church as records of New World nature at its most monumental, records inspired by Alexander von Humboldt, he predictably favors the innocuous coastal "luminism" of John Kensett, Fitz Hugh Lane, and Martin J. Heade as immanently America's own. The claim for this style as distinctly indigenous would falter if it was compared with the early *Freilichtmalerei* of such German painters as Karl Gustav Carus and Karl Friedrich Schinkel. In any event, spacious landscapes full of light and sharply focused details are made to qualify provisionally as expressions of "Jacksonian optimism and promise, the sense of national unity and expansion." This is the banner under which folk art, Horatio Greenough's heroic, Zeus-like marble *Washington*, genre painting, and Western mountain scenes are subsequently discussed.

At its best, the consideration of genre painting delivers insights drawn directly from representative works and identifies general similarities with contemporaneous American literature. Greater attention might have been given to distinguishing the varieties of genre, at the expense of some of the seemingly less productive search for precedents. A pronounced contrast exists between the academic anecdotalism of Richard Caton Woodville, or John Quidor's whimsical interpretations of Washington Irving, and the more genuine genre, a regionalism of subject matter, of William Mount of Setauket, Long Island, and George Caleb Bingham in Missouri. Mount and Bingham depicted local life as they themselves lived it, and that life serves as the basic impetus for their art regardless of their stylistic ancestry or "quotations," from painters of the Renaissance and 17th-century Holland, or Bingham's possible borrowings from Mount.

Relatively free of art-historical manipulations, the paired chapters that treat Winslow Homer and Thomas Eakins situate their interpretations of human perseverance in a context of changing national mood. A new sobriety in the wake of the Civil War (Mumford's "Brown Decades") replaced the "celebratory optimism" that Wilmerding stresses in the light of luminism. After following Eastman Johnson from *plein-air* rural nostalgia indoors to the shadows of *The Funding Bill*, he describes Homer's gradual maturation as an artist

who immersed himself in a struggle of survival against the great forces of nature. Although Wilmerding has no difficulty recognizing the epic proportions that Homer assigned to the challenge of nature and to the fisher folk who met it, his review of the formal devices and sources working to create this impression might have taken the attitudes conveyed by the imagery into more thorough consideration. Without the aid of divine mercy or the comfort of religious morality, Homer's Grand Banks fisherman must rely on physical prowess and self-control to confront the sea. The monumental image for Homer, however, is a vision of woman in iconic conjunction with the sea, a universal life-source symbol, which evolved from his early fashion-fragile ladies. A male-female polarity, distinguishing the active life from the contemplative, might also be discerned in Eakins's studies of intelligence. It is not quite enough to write that Eakins records "a countenance of aching sadness and spiritual pain" as he isolates and ages his female subjects. From a socially critical perspective, he shows them brooding in brown interiors, seeking relief from doubt through their musings, as men confidently assert themselves in the roles of rowers, surgeons, and scientists.

The fashionable art of virtuoso brushwork imported from Munich by Frank Duveneck and William Merritt Chase, or practiced internationally in portraits by Cecilia Beaux and John Singer Sargent encourages a directly responsive, visual kind of appreciation. The eye does sometimes fail, and the author unaccountably sees "the powerful physical and psychological realism of Velazquez" in Whistler's *Arrangement in Grey and Black No. 1: The Artist's Mother* and in *No. 2: Thomas Carlyle.* In the case of Mary Cassatt's impressions of women and children, "a subconsciously American strain" is identified by Wilmerding, and defined as a "hard realism and palpability of mass and space," a description more appropriate to the disciplined draftsmanship of a Degas group portrait of the 1860's, or that of a Fantin-Latour.

In the art of George Inness and Albert Ryder, the division of emphasis between spiritual content and form as content anticipates the future direction of 20th-century art. Although he hints knowledgeably at the Swedenborgian mysticism reflected in the mature glaze technique and composition of Inness's late landscapes, Wilmerding loses sight of Ryder's art, especially his nocturnal marines, as a precedent for later developments in American abstract painting. He refuses once more to adopt and develop a theme coherently through a large amount of interrelated material. Instead, a conventional summary of Ryder's career comes at the end of a succession of summaries labeled "The Inner Eye," on unorthodox artists such as William Rimmer, William Page, Elihu Vedder, Ralph Blakelock, and Thomas Dewing. Wilmerding's hurried treatment of Ryder's enigmatic art fastens onto its literary allusions to the point of suggesting that we should compare even his moonlit sea abstractions with the "equally hermetic and symbolic poems of Emily Dickinson."

From here on, the remaining chapters of the book accelerate to become an increasingly erratic summary of American art in the 20th century. The painters who exhibited as The Eight in 1908, plus Robert Henri's prize student George Bellows, are presented under the title, "Approaches to Modernism." Yet nowhere in the chapter do their token attempts to come to terms with avant-garde painting appear. For instance, Glackens, Henri, and Luks adopted the triadic color chords of the Maratta system, while Sloan went a step further by combining this system with a cross-hatching screen technique for his disastrous, abstract nudes. The first generation of American abstractionists is burdened with the label "Cubism," and the painter is made either to conform to its tenets or to suffer the accusation of misunderstanding the revolutionary changes that the art of Picasso, Braque, and Delaunay had instituted by 1912. It must be understood and respected that Marin, Hartley, Maurer, Joseph Stella, Demuth, O'Keeffe, and Stuart Davis assimilated techniques of Cubism and Futurism into their personal means of expression. But to assume that they were attempting to duplicate the European modernists distorts their healthy eclecticism and robs them of their individualism in subject matter and content. They were, after all, working in the best American tradition of independent choice.

The multileveled interpretations of urban existence by Edward Hopper, "a descendant of Fitz Hugh Lane's earlier luminist canvases," are bypassed with a cursory stylistic note attached to a confusing chapter on the 1930's, a chapter that lists Ben Shahn as a Regionalist and Philip Evergood as moving much closer to "a style of pure surrealism" than Morris Graves or Mark Tobey. Chapter 25 rushes "Toward Abstraction" through a smattering of biographical sketches and fragmented stylistic generalizations that skim over the sculptors Nadelman, Lachaise, Flannagan, and Noguchi, while obscuring the vital contributions to the climactic stages of abstract painting in the late 1940's and 1950's of Arthur B. Dove, Milton Avery, Georgia O'Keeffe, Arshile Gorky, and Hans Hofmann.

Neither the pattern nor the pace changes throughout the pages covering the major painters and sculptors who brought about the triumph of abstract art in the United States. In rapid reference to Jackson Pollock's mature period from 1947 to 1951, Wilmerding writes, "in no sense is Pollock's painting any longer illustrational or representative: even more significant, it is also not figurative." When was Pollock's painting ever "illustrational"? To say it is not "representative" must be a typographical error. And to overlook the return of figurative elements in Pollock's stain paintings of the early fifties suggests that another glance need be taken.

The essential dichotomy in theory and criticism created by Harold Rosenberg and Clement Greenberg in the center of the Abstract Expressionist arena, if incorporated into a discussion of Pollock, De Kooning, Kline, Still, Rothko, and others, would assure us an immediate frame of reference. But the two critics enjoy no recognition here. Instead, the standard comparisons of Barnett Newman's expansive fields of color with the panoramic extensions of 19th-century landscapes come up once again, while Clyfford Still's jagged verticalities must recall Frederick Church's erupting *Cotopaxi.* Other even more coincidental connections are made, as transitions grow weaker among the random thumbnail sketches of abstract sculptors in the fifties.

Individually, the descriptive characterizations of works by Louise Nevelson, Rauschenberg and Johns, Richard Lindner, Robert Indiana, and Richard Anuskiewicz, offer agreeable appreciations. But judged as essays, the chapters that contain them lack thematic structure. The significance of Johns's flags-in-the-abstract, divorced from emotional associations, for the detached "object" art of the sixties, represented by Kenneth Noland and Frank Stella, is clouded in the rush to finish. Pop Art as genre painting, rather than as urban realism or social commentary, Black Art, one American Indian, Photo-Realism, Claes Oldenburg, George Segal, Albers and Kelly, Color Field, Earth Art and Body Art, all run out together as so many beads on a tangle of strings. The

sensation of expansive energy dear to the American's heart could be a redeeming characteristic of these last pages as they suddenly end with Robert Smithson's *Spiral Jetty*. A statement quoted from Eva Hesse too might appropriately be applied as an approach to this mass of material: "Chaos can be as structured as non-chaos."

A comprehensive history of a nation's art should attempt some kind of synthetic overview of the whole, as well as give creative appreciation of a work and its artist. Some moments do await the persevering reader of Wilmerding's *American Art*, especially in his widely separated discussions of photography, from the daguerreotype to Diane Arbus. Descriptive characterizations enriched with inspired insights may simply embellish a text, however, and lend little to its progress. To avoid such ephemeral results, interpretative themes or points of view are wanted, even if based on hypotheses essayed within the larger framework of socio-cultural inquiry. Such an approach is especially desirable for the study of visual arts in the United States, considering the consistent need for evaluating them face to face with European art. Much of the satisfaction experienced in an American work derives, actually, from its deviations from Old World norms. This independence merits emphasis, which too often suffers from the conventional art-historical preoccupation with sources and lines of direct stylistic influence. One hoped that Wilmerding's *American Art* would have incorporated its rich variety of material into a panoramic review of American art, as the expression of individual cultural experiences. Instead, it is a compendium of chronologically arranged information and casual observations, and fails to accomplish any more than did a half-dozen surveys before it. Occasionally specialized and more often generalized, its thirty short chapters not only lack balance, but leave direct relationships between the works of art and their peculiarly American context to mere inference. Since the paperback revolution and its continued provision of reasonably priced monographs, anthologies, catalogues, and concentrated studies of periods and movements, a handbook such as this seems an overpriced anachronism.

JAMES M. DENNIS
University of Wisconsin, Madison

List of Books Received

(September, 1978 through December, 1978)

ALEXANDER, J.J.G., *The Decorated Letter*, New York, Braziller, 1978. Pp. 119; 70 ills. $10.95 paper

ANDERSON, WILLIAM, AND CLIVE HICKS, *Cathedrals in Britain and Ireland (From Early Times to the Reign of Henry VIII)*, New York, Scribner, 1978. Pp. 184; 286+ ills. $17.50

ANDREAE, BERNARD, *The Art of Rome*, New York, Abrams, 1977. Pp. 655; 900 ills. $85

ANDREWS, WAYNE, *Architecture, Ambition, and Americans: A Social History of American Architecture*, rev. ed., New York and London, Free Press (Macmillan), 1978. Pp. xxx + 332; 183 ills. $15.95

BARASCH, MOSHE, *Light and Color in the Italian Renaissance Theory of Art*, New York, New York University Press, 1978. Pp. xix + 232; no ills. $22.50

BARON, FRANK, *et al.*, *Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574); Essays on the History of Humanism During the Reformation (Humanistische Bibliothek*, Ser. I: Proceedings, Vol. XXIV), Munich, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1978. Pp. 255; 1 ill. DM. 68

BECK, JAMES, AND GINO CORTI, *Masaccio: The Documents (Harvard Center for Italian Renaissance Studies)*, New York, Augustin, 1978. Pp. 60; no ills. $12

BRIGSTOCKE, HUGH, *Italian and Spanish Paintings in the National Gallery of Scotland*, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, 1978. Pp. 220; 46 ills. £4

BROUDE, NORMA, ed., *Seurat in Perspective (Artists in Perspective Series)*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1978. Pp. xi + 180; 36 ills.

BRUNNSÅKER, STURE, AND TORGNY SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, eds., *From the Gustavianum Collections in Uppsala 2, 1978: The Collection of Classical Antiquities; History and Studies of Selected Objects (Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations*, IX), Uppsala, Uppsala University, 1978. Pp. 137; 22 ills. S.Kr. 54

BUCHANAN-BROWN, JOHN, *Phiz! Illustrator of Dickens' World*, New York, Scribner, 1978. Pp. 207; 216 ills. $14.95

CLAY, JEAN, *Modern Art: 1890–1918*, New York, Vendome, distr. Viking, 1978. Pp. 320; many ills. $45

COHEN, ARTHUR A., ed., *The New Art of Color: The Writings of Robert and Sonia Delaunay*, New York, Viking, 1978. Pp. xvii + 257, 18 ills. $19.95

COLEMAN, EARLE JEROME, *Philosophy of Painting by Shih T'ao; A Translation and Exposition of His Hua-P'u (Studies in Philosophy*, XIX), The Hague, Paris, New York, Mouton, 1978. Pp. 147; no ills. DM. 37

COMITO, TERRY, *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance*, New Brunswick, N.J., Rutgers University Press, 1978. Pp. xiii + 278; 20 ills.

DONNAN, CHRISTOPHER B., *Moche Art of Peru: Pre-Columbian Symbolic Communication*, rev. ed., Los Angeles, Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles, 1978. Pp. xvi + 206; 274 ills.

ESMEIJER, ANNA C., *Divina Quaternitas: A Preliminary Study in the Method and Application of Visual Exegesis*, Amsterdam, Royal Van Gorcum, 1978. Pp. xii + 263; 108 ills. D.Fl. 97.50

DAVIDSON, CLIFFORD, AND DAVID E. O'CONNOR, *York Art: A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art Including Items Relevant to Early Drama*, Kalamazoo, Mich., Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University, 1978. Pp. v + 214; 49 ills.

DELL'ARCO, MAURIZIO FAGIOLO, *Great Baroque and Rococo Sculpture (Reynal's World History of Great Sculpture)*, New York, Reynal in assoc. with Morrow, 1978. Pp. 192; 180 ills. $25

DEVAMBEZ, PIERRE, *Great Sculpture of Ancient Greece (Reynal's World History of Great Sculpture)*, New York, Reynal in assoc. with Morrow, 1978. Pp. 191; 192 ills. $25

DREY, RUDOLF E. A., *Apothecary Jars: Pharmaceutical Pottery and Porcelain in Europe and the East 1150–1850*, London and Boston, Faber & Faber, 1978. Pp. 249; 100+ ills. $37.50

ELDERFIELD, JOHN, *Matisse in the Collection of the Museum of Modern Art*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1978. Pp. 232; 130 ills. $25 cloth, $12.50 paper

FLEMING, GORDON, *The Young Whistler 1834–66*, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1978. Pp. 264; 30 ills.

FRONGIA, MARIA LUISA, *Il Simbolismo di Jean Delville*, Bologna, Pàtron, 1978. Pp. 150; 27 ills. L. 3900

FUCHS, R. H., *Dutch Painting*, New York and Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1978. Pp. 216; 197 ills. $12.95 cloth, $6.95 paper

GABORIT, JEAN RENÉ, *Great Gothic Sculpture*, trans. Carole Sperri and Lucia Wildt, New York, Reynal in assoc. with Morrow, 1978. Pp. 191; 192 ills. $25

GARGAN, LUCIANO, *Cultura e arte nel Veneto al tempo del Petrarca (Studi sul Petrarca*, V), Padua, Editrice Antenore, 1978. Pp. xiv+ 352; 18 ills.

GIOSEFFI, DECIO, ed., *Scultura Altomedioevale in Friuli*, Bologna, Cassa di Risparmio, 1978. Pp. 50 + unnumbered pl. pp.; many ills.

GODFREY, RICHARD T., *Printmaking in Britain: A General History from Its Beginnings to the Present Day*, New York, New York University Press, 1978. Pp. 244; 152 ills. $24.50

GOLDBERG, NORMAN L., *John Crome the Elder*, 2 vols., New York, New York University Press, 1978. Vol. I, 347 pp.; Vol. II, 166 pp.; 16 color ills., 243 black-and-white ills. $60 the set

GOSLING, NIGEL, *The Adventurous World of Paris 1900–1914*, New York, Morrow, 1978. Pp. 240; 166 ills. $17.95

GRABAR, OLEG, *et al.*, *City in the Desert: Qasr al-Hayr East*, 2 vols. (*Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs*, XXIII-IV), Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University, 1978. Vol. I, ix + 215 pp.; Vol. II, vii + 296 pp.; many ills. $45

GRABAR, OLEG, *The Alhambra*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1978. Pp. 233; 120 ills. $15

GREENHALGH, MICHAEL, *The Classical Tradition in Art*, London, Duckworth, 1978. Pp. 271; many ills. $24.95 cloth, $9.95 paper

HAUGE, VICTOR AND TAKAKO, *Folk Traditions in Japanese Art*, Washington, D.C., International Exhibitions Foundation, 1978. Pp. 272; 230 ills. $19.50

HEDBERG, GREGORY, *et al.*, *Victorian High Renaissance: George Frederic Watts, 1817–1904; Frederic Leighton, 1830–96; Albert Moore, 1841–93; Alfred Gilbert, 1854–1934*, Minneapolis, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1978. Pp. 207; 113 ills.

HIBBARD, HOWARD, *Michelangelo: Painter, Sculptor, Architect*, New York, Paris, Lausanne, Vendome, 1978. Pp. 220; 694 ills. $40

HODNETT, EDWARD, *Francis Barlow: First Master of English Book Illustration*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, New York, University of California Press, 1978. Pp. 237; 107 ills. $35

HOLLANDER, ANNE, *Seeing Through Clothes*, New York, Viking, 1978. Pp. xvi + 504; 346 ills. $25

HUTTER, HERIBERT, *Styles in Art: An Historical Survey (Universe History of Art Series)*, New York, Universe, 1978. Pp. 189; 281 ills. $8.95

JAFFÉ, MICHAEL, pref., *Cambridge Portraits: From Levy to Hockney*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press for Fitzwilliam Museum, 1978. Pp. xi+ 112; 94 ills. $19.95 cloth, $5.95 paper

KAHR, MADLYN MILLNER, *Dutch Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, New York, Harper & Row, 1978. Pp. 322; 220 ills. $22.50 cloth, $8.95 paper

KARLSTROM, PAUL J., *Louis M. Eilshemius: Selections from the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden*, Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution Press for the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden and Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service, 1978. Pp. 108; 85+ ills.

LAURITZEN, PETER, AND ALEXANDER ZIELCKE, *Palaces of Venice*, New York, Viking, 1978. Pp. 256; many ills. $35

LAWALL, DAVID B., *Asher B. Durand: A Documentary Catalogue of the Narrative and Landscape Paintings (Garland Reference Library of the Humanities*, LXXIV), New York and London, Garland, 1978. Pp. liii + 338; 250 ills. $50

LEVITINE, GEORGE, *The Dawn of Bohemianism: The Barbu Rebellion and Primitivism in Neoclassical France*, University Park, Pa. and London, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978. Pp. xi + 196; 53 ills. $18.95

LIGHTBOWN, RONALD, *Botticelli*, Vol. I: *Life and Work*, Vol. II: *Complete Catalogue*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1978. Vol. I, 199 pp.; 76 ills.; Vol. II, 231 pp.; 270 ills. $120

LINCOLN, LOUISE, ed., *The Art of Norway 1750–1914*, Madison and Minneapolis, University of Wisconsin and Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1978. Pp. 233; 263 ills. $17 cloth, $12 paper

LUTTRELL, ANTHONY, ed., *Hal Millieri: A Maltese Casale, Its Churches and Paintings*, Malta, Midsea, 1976. Pp. 143; 45+ ills. $10.50

MAASKANT-KLEIBRINK, MARIANNE, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the Royal Coin Cabinet, The Hague; The Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Collections*, 2 vols., The Hague, Government Publishing Office, Netherlands, 1978. Vol. I, 380 pp.; Vol. II, 189 pp.; 1172+ ills. G. 400

MACDOUGALL, ELISABETH B., cat. by NAOMI MILLER, *Fons Sapientiae: Garden Fountains in Illustrated Books, Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries*, exh. cat., Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks for the Trustees of Harvard University, 1977. Pp. xii + 84; 46 ills.

MAUQUOY-HENDRICKX, MARIE, *Les Estampes Des Wiérix; Conservées au Cabinet de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier*, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, 1978. Pp. xxxviii + 278; 827 ills. B.Fr. 1,000

MICHELL, GEORGE, ed., *Architecture of the Islamic World; Its History and Social Meaning*, New York, Morrow, 1978. Pp. 288; 758 ills. $50

MORGAN, H. WAYNE, *New Muses: Art in American Culture, 1865–1920*, Norman, Okla., University of Oklahoma Press, 1978. Pp. xiv + 232; few ills. $14.95

MÜLLER-WIENER, WOLFGANG, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls: Byzantion-Konstantinupolis-Istanbul bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen, Verlag Ernst Wasmuth for Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1977. Pp. 534; 631 black-and-white ills., ca. 125 diagrams. DM. 198

OHLGREN, THOMAS H., compiler and ed., *Illuminated Manuscripts and Books in the Bodleian Library: A Supplemental Index*, New York and London, Garland, 1978. Pp. xxxii + 583; some ills. $60

OWEN, ROBERT DALE, *Hints on Public Architecture*, repr. (New York, Putnam, 1849), New York, Da Capo, 1978. Pp. 176; 114 ills. $49.50

PAVONE, MARIO ALBERTO, *Paolo de Majo: Pittura e devozione a Napoli nel secolo dei "lumi" (Studi e testi di storia e critica dell'arte*, III), Naples, Società Editrice Napoletana, 1977. Pp. 181; 42 ills. L. 10,000

PECK, WILLIAM H., *Egyptian Drawings*, New York, Dutton, 1978. Pp. 208; 189 ills. $29.95

Phaidon Encyclopedia of Art and Artists, New York, Dutton, 1978. Pp. 704; many ills. $35

PUPPI, LIONELLO, *The Villa Badoer at Fratta Polesine (Corpus Palladianum*, VII), (Centro Internaz, 1975), University Park, Pa. and London, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978. Pp. 228; 123 ills. $30

ROGERS, MILLARD F., JR., *Spanish Paintings in the Cincinnati Art Museum*, Cincinnati, Cincinnati Art Museum, 1978. Pp. 79; many ills.

ROSENFELD, MYRA NAN, *Sebastiano Serlio on Domestic Architecture: Different Dwellings From the Meanest Hovel to the Most Ornate Palace; The Sixteenth-Century Manuscript of Book VI in the Avery Library of Columbia University*, Cambridge, Mass. and London, MIT Press with the Architectural History Foundation, New York, 1978. Pp. 81 + unnumbered pl. pp.; many ills. $69.95

ROWLANDS, JOHN, *Rubens: Drawings and Sketches*, London, British Museum Publications Limited for the Trustees of the British Museum, and Scribner, 1978. Pp. 176; 243 ills. $17.50

SCHMIDT, SIEGFRIED J., *Das Experiment in Literatur und Kunst*, Munich, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1978. Pp. 140; 12 ills. DM. 28

SHANGRAW, CLARENCE F., *Origins of Chinese Ceramics*, New York, China Institute in America/China House Gallery, 1978. Pp. 104; 45 ills.

SHEARD, WENDY STEDMAN, AND JOHN T. PAOLETTI, eds., *Collaboration in Italian Renaissance Art*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1978. Pp. xxi + 268; 103 ills. $20

SKOVGAARD, BENTE, *N. A. Abildgaard: Tegninger*, Copenhagen, The Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, 1978. Pp. 136; 116 ills.

STOICHITĂ, VICTOR LERONIM, *Pontormo Si Manierismul (Curente Si Sinteze*, XIX), Bucharest, Editura Meridiane, 1978. Pp. 192; 68+ ills.

THOMPSON, COLIN, AND HUGH BRIGSTOCKE, *National Gallery of Scotland Shorter Catalogue*, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, 1978. Pp. 169; no ills. 80p.

VAN DER KEMP, GÉRALD, *Versailles*, New York, Paris, Lausanne, Vendome, 1978. Pp. 256; 195 ills. $40

WINZINGER, FRANZ, *Albrecht Altdorfer die Gemalde: Tafelbilder, Minaturen, Wandbilder, Bildhauerarbeiten, Werkstatt und Umkreis*, Munich, Hirmer Verlag and Piper, 1975. Pp. 163; 210 ills., 48 color pls. DM. 360

WITT, SIR JOHN, *A Checklist of Painters c 1200–1976, Represented in the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London*, London, Mansell, 1978. Pp. xvi + 337; no ills. $34.50

WOHL, HELLMUT, *Portuguese Art Since 1910*, exh. cat., London, Royal Academy of Arts with the Anglo-Portuguese Society and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1978. Pp. 178; many ills.

Notes for Contributors

Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor of *The Art Bulletin*. Contributors are urged to prepare their manuscripts as nearly as possible in conformity with the rules below. *The Art Bulletin* follows William Strunk, Jr. and E. B. White, *The Elements of Style*, 2nd ed., New York, 1972, in matters of style. Articles improperly prepared will be returned to the author for retyping. In cases of doubt as to form, contributors may consult the Managing Editor. Corrections on galleys costing over 10% of the cost of composition will be billed to the author.

Form of Manuscripts

(1) Contributors should retain a copy of their manuscripts, since the original will not be returned with the galley proofs.

(2) All manuscripts must be typewritten, double spaced, on one side of the paper only, on sheets 8½" × 11" of regular weight, numbered consecutively, with wide margins and approximately 250 words of copy per page.

(3) The name of the institution with which the author is connected should be typed at the end of his contribution; brackets will be used to denote that the author is a student at that institution.

(4) Material to be printed in italics should be underlined in the typescript. This includes titles of works of art, titles of books, poems and periodical publications, and technical terms or phrases in a foreign language; it does not include direct quotations in a foreign language, foreign titles preceding proper names, place names, names of buildings, or words anglicized by usage.

Footnotes

(1) Footnote references in the text should be clearly designated by means of superior figures placed after punctuation.

(2) Footnotes should be numbered consecutively and typed *double-spaced* on separate pages subjoining the article.

(3) All references must be verified before the manuscript is submitted for publication.

(4) The form of references to books should be as follows:

M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, New Haven, 1929, 60f.

C. Diehl, *Manuel d'art byzantin*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1925, IV, 324–45.

(5) the form of references to periodical literature should be as follows:

W. Sauerländer, "Die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Westportale von Notre-Dame in Paris," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, XVII, 1959, 1–55.

(6) The *first* citation should be complete (as in **4** and **5** above). Subsequent citations should use the shortest intelligible form of author and title. Thus:

Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, 65, pl. 3.

Diehl, *Manuel*, IV, 482.

Or, in the case of articles: author, journal, and date, thus:

Sauerländer, *Marburger Jahrbuch*, 1959, 21–23. (Do not use *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.* or abbreviations for periodicals.)

A bibliography should be furnished of works cited frequently or cited a second time after an interval of six or more footnotes. Follow the form for first citations shown above under **4** and **5**. A complete bibliography may sometimes be useful. Works listed in the bibliography can be cited in the first and subsequent footnotes in the shortest possible way, e.g., "Sauerländer, 21." If there are two works in the bibliography by the same author, cite, "Sauerländer, 1959, 21."

Illustrations

(1) Good photographs made directly from the work to be reproduced are essential. All photographs will be returned.

(2) Drawings should be in India ink on white drawing paper. Photostats are unacceptable.

(3) Each photograph or drawing should be clearly marked with the name of the author and the figure number on the reverse. Marking should be done lightly with a soft pencil. Do not type or write heavily: the marks will show through on the finished plate. If only part of the illustration is required, the area to be reproduced should be outlined lightly in pencil on the reverse side.

(4) Contributors are responsible for obtaining permission, whenever necessary, for the reproduction of photographs and for reproduction costs.

(5) A separate list of illustrations must accompany the manuscript when submitted. Captions should be stated as briefly as possible. Thus:

1. Castiglione, *Crucifixion*. Genoa, Palazzo Bianco (photo: Frick Art Reference Library)
2. Roman sarcophagus, *Death of Meleager* (detail). Paris, Louvre (photo: Alinari)
3. Tree of Vices, Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 9220, fol. 12 (from Hofstätter, *Lake Middle Ages*, pl. 4)

Book Reviews

The Art Bulletin will not consider unsolicited manuscripts for book reviews. Book reviews represent solely the opinions of the reviewers, who have complete freedom, within the limits of scholarly discourse, to set forth their own evaluations of the publications assigned to them for review. In order to insure maximum usefulness, it is desirable that every review include a factual description of the contents of the work under review, as distinguished from the reviewer's critical estimate of its merits. Book reviews should be prepared in the same style as other contributions to *The Art Bulletin*. Use a current issue as a model for author, title, etc.

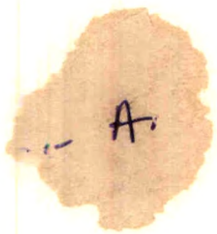
Letters to the Editor

Any letter to the Editor that comments on a contribution to *The Art Bulletin* is submitted to the author of the contribution in question in order to permit a letter of reply to be published concurrently if desired. Writers of letters to the Editor are therefore requested to enclose a carbon copy or photocopy. Letters should follow the requirements for manuscripts set forth above.

THE ART BULLETIN

June 1979

THE ART BULLETIN



A Quarterly Published by
The College Art Association
of America

June 1979
Volume LXI
Number 2

Editor-in-Chief
KATHLEEN WEIL-GARRIS
New York University

Managing Editor
ANNE H. HOY
54 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10024

Book Review Editor
JUERGEN SCHULZ
Brown University

Editor, Monograph Series
ISABELLE HYMAN
Washington Square and University College, New York University

Editorial Board
The Editorial Board includes the members of *The Art Bulletin* Committee, which is composed of the former editors-in-chief of the journal, the past and present editors of the Monograph Series, and the following advisory members:

RICHARD BRILLIANT (through 1980)
Columbia University

JAMES CAHILL (through 1983)
University of California, Berkeley

WALTER CAHN (through 1983)
Yale University

CAECILIA DAVIS-WEYER (through 1983)
Tulane University

COLIN EISLER (through 1983)
New York University

ILENE FORSYTH (through 1980)
University of Michigan

CREIGHTON GILBERT (through 1983)
Cornell University

OLEG GRABAR (through 1980)
Harvard University

EVELYN B. HARRISON (through 1983)
New York University

JULIUS HELD (through 1980)
Barnard College, Columbia University, Emeritus

HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK (through 1980)
New York University

GEORGE LEVITINE (through 1983)
University of Maryland

THOMAS MATHEWS (through 1980)
New York University

EDITH PORADA (through 1980)
Columbia University

RICHARD H. RANDALL, JR. (through 1980)
Walters Art Gallery

W. R. REARICK (through 1983)
University of Maryland

THEODORE REFF (through 1980)
Columbia University

ROBERT ROSENBLUM (through 1983)
New York University

JOHN ROSENFIELD (through 1980)
Harvard University

ANGELICA RUDENSTINE (through 1983)
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum

DAMIE STILLMAN (through 1983)
University of Delaware

ROBERT THOMPSON (through 1983)
Yale University

SIR FRANCIS WATSON (through 1983)
The Queen's Advisor on Works of Art

JOHN WILMERDING (through 1980)
National Gallery of Art

The Art Bulletin Committee
JAMES S. ACKERMAN
DAVID R. COFFIN
ANNE COFFIN HANSON
HOWARD HIBBARD
ISABELLE HYMAN
H. W. JANSON
GEORGE KUBLER
CHARLES L. KUHN
RENSSELAER W. LEE
BATES LOWRY
JOHN R. MARTIN
DONALD POSNER
LUCY FREEMAN SANDLER
J. CARSON WEBSTER

Manuscripts
submitted for editorial consideration should conform to the practices set forth in "Notes for Contributors" available from the offices of the College Art Association of America. Articles improperly prepared, even though accepted for publication, may be returned for retyping. All manuscripts should be sent by certified or insured post, with self-addressed envelope and prepaid return postage, to Kathleen Weil-Garris, Institute of Fine Arts, 1 E. 78th Street, New York, N.Y. 10021. Please enclose sufficient amount in check or money order if insured return of parcel is desired. *The Art Bulletin* cannot consider manuscripts lacking return postage or unsolicited manuscripts for book reviews.

Books for Review
should be addressed to the Book Review Editor, *The Art Bulletin*, College Art Association of America, 16 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022.

The Art Bulletin
is available only through membership, open to all interested persons and institutions, in the College Art Association of America. For information about membership or individual back issues, write the College Art Association of America, 16 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022.
Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices.

©1979, College Art Association of America, Inc.

Contributing Institutions

University of Alberta
Arizona State University
University of Arizona
Barnard College
Boston University
Brown University
Bryn Mawr College
Case Western Reserve University
University of Chicago
Columbia University
Cornell University
Duke University
Emory University
University of Illinois
Indiana University
The Institute for Advanced Study
University of Iowa
Johns Hopkins University
University of Louisville
The Maryland Institute
Michigan State University
University of Michigan
University of Minnesota
University of Missouri
Mount Holyoke College
University of New Mexico
State University of New York, Binghamton
New York University
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Northwestern University
Oberlin College
Ohio State University
University of Oregon
Pennsylvania State University
University of Pennsylvania
University of Pittsburgh
Princeton University
University of Rochester
Rutgers, The State University
Smith College
Stanford University
Tulane University
Vanderbilt University
Vassar College
University of Washington
Wellesley College
Williams College
Yale University

The Baltimore Museum of Art
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
The Brooklyn Museum
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute
Cleveland Museum of Art
Fogg Art Museum
The Frick Collection
The J. Paul Getty Museum
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum
The Hispanic Society of America
The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston
Indianapolis Museum of Art
Kimbell Art Museum
Los Angeles County Museum of Art
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Minneapolis Institute of Arts
Montreal Museum of Fine Arts
The Pierpont Morgan Library
The Museum of Modern Art
National Gallery of Art
The National Gallery of Canada
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art
Art Gallery of Ontario
Philadelphia Museum of Art
The Phillips Collection
Portland Art Museum
Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design
St. Louis Art Museum
The Toledo Museum of Art
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts
Walters Art Gallery
Whitney Museum of American Art

Benefactors

The Art Dealers Association of America, Inc.
Carnegie Corporation Fund
Samuel H. Kress Foundation
Robert Lehman Foundation, Inc.
Sotheby Parke Bernet, Inc.

Patrons

Henfield Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. William K. Simpson
Eugene Victor Thaw
Wildenstein & Co., Inc.

Supporters

Harry N. Abrams, Inc.
Mr. & Mrs. Gilbert S. Edelson
Richard L. Feigen & Co. Inc.
The International Art Registry, Ltd.
Mrs. Alice M. Kaplan
Rensselaer W. Lee
Richard Harrison Martin
Perls Galleries
The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection
Alexandre P. Rosenberg
Charles Scribner III
Wittenborn & Company

* Supporters contribute $100 to $499 per year to the College Art Association; Patrons give $500 to $999 per year; Benefactors subscribe annually for $1,000 or more. The College of Art Association is not a private foundation as defined in Section 509 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code.

Contents

Volume LXI Number 2 June 1979

Articles

The Illustration of Cod. Sinai. Gr. 339	JEFFREY C. ANDERSON	167
The Paintings in the Sala de Justicia of the Alhambra: Iconography and Iconology	JERRILYNN D. DODDS	186
Nostra Conversatio in Caelis Est: Observations on the *Sacra Conversazione* in the Trecento	RONA GOFFEN	198
An Augustinian Interpretation of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling, Part 1	ESTHER G. DOTSON	223
Rubens and Aguilonius: New Points of Contact	JULIUS S. HELD	257
Politics, Prints, and John Singleton Copley's *Watson and the Shark*	ANN UHRY ABRAMS	265
Meissonier's *Souvenir de guerre civile*	CONSTANCE CAIN HUNGERFORD	277
Meryon's Mystical Transformations	JAMES L. YARNALL	289

Reviews

Britt Haarløv, *The Half-Open Door, A Common Symbolic Motif Within Roman Sepulchral Sculpture*	JAN BIAŁOSTOCKI	301
L. Grodecki, *Gothic Architecture*	PETER J. FERGUSON	303
Wolfgang Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300–1460)*	DEBRA PINCUS	304
Carroll William Westfall, *In This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning In Rome, 1447–55*	ELISABETH B. MACDOUGALL	309
Neri di Bicci, *Le Ricordanze (10 Marzo 1453–24 Aprile 1475)*	EVE BORSOOK	313
Bernard Dorival, *Philippe de Champaigne, 1602–1674*	ANN SUTHERLAND HARRIS	319
Rensselaer W. Lee, *Names on Trees: Ariosto into Art*	CHARLES DEMPSEY	323
David Bindman, *Blake as an Artist* Morton D. Paley, *William Blake* Geoffrey Keynes, *The Complete Portraiture of William and Catherine Blake*	JERROLD ZIFF	326
Toskanische Impressionen: Der Beitrag der Macchiaioli zum europäischen Realismus, exh. cat. *I Macchiaioli nella cultura toscana dell'Ottocento*, exh. cat.	NORMA BROUDE	328
Philippe Jullian, *The Symbolists*	ANN H. MURRAY	332
Letters to the Editor		336

The Illustration of Cod. Sinai. Gr. 339

Jeffrey C. Anderson

With some notable exceptions, little is known of the way in which medieval manuscript cycles were devised. Some are clearly composite works, whereas others appear to be complete *de novo* creations. The analysis of any particular cycle raises questions of patronage, workshop organization, and library or other resources available at the time—all issues upon which little factual information can be brought to bear. In the following pages I wish to examine a densely illustrated Middle Byzantine manuscript at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai, Cod. gr. 339, in an attempt to demonstrate how a known patron went about satisfying his wish for a particularly luxurious work for presentation. The text of the manuscript is that of the so-called liturgical edition of selected homilies by the fourth-century Cappadocian Father, Gregory of Nazianzen. Of all the surviving manuscripts of the liturgical edition—as distinct from the examples containing the complete works, like the remarkable Paris. gr. 510 made for the Emperor Basil I—the Sinai Gregory and the similarly illustrated Paris. gr. 543 have been considered as the best witnesses to a highly influential, but now lost, archetype made independently of Paris. gr. 510 sometime in the tenth century. The theory of the archetype must in the end be evaluated, but the complexity of stylistic, iconographical, and historical issues dictates a method of investigation whereby various threads must be separated and individually traced before the knot, where patronage, date, and workshop come together, can be undone.[1]

The Date

The Sinai Gregory contains two scribal entries, one at the beginning and the other at the end of the text proper. The first is a dedicatory inscription on fol. 3r (Fig. 1) written in five lines of gilt uncials over the entire leaf. It reads:

ἀφιερώθ(η) ἡ παροῦσα βίβλο(ς) τῆ μονῆ τ(ῆς) Παντανάσσ(ης) ἁγί(ας) Θ(εοτό)κου τῆ ἐν τῆ νήσω τ(ῆς) Ἁγ(ίας) Γλυκερί(ας) παρὰ τοῦ καθηγουμ(ένου) τ(ῆς) βασιλικ(ῆς) μον(ῆς) τοῦ Παντοκράτορο(ς) τοῦ μοναχοῦ κυροῦ Ἰωσὴφ τοῦ Ἁγιογλυκερίτου.

That is: "This book was dedicated to the Monastery of the Holy Theotokos Pantanassa on the island of Hagia Glykeria by the abbot of the imperial Monastery of the Pantocrator, the monk Joseph Hagioglykerites."

The statement is a straightforward one of dedication: the Abbot Joseph Hagioglykerites presented the manuscript to the Monastery of the Theotokos Pantanassa on the island of Hagia Glykeria.[2] From Joseph's surname one may conclude that he was from the island of Hagia Glykeria. In addition to his simply being from this particular island, it is likely that he was once a monk in the Monastery of the Pantanassa. There is no evidence for this hypothesis, but it is an attractive one that becomes increasingly satisfying as the unfolding richness of the manuscript suggests that the donor had some particular, close bond with the recipient.

The second entry, on fol. 437v (Fig. 2) at the end of the last homily, is like a regular Byzantine subscription in location and appearance, but it gives neither the name of the scribe nor the date of writing. Rather, it is a twelve-syllable metric entry that in essence does little more than repeat the information given in the dedication on fol. 3r, albeit in a more rhetorical form. It reads:[3]

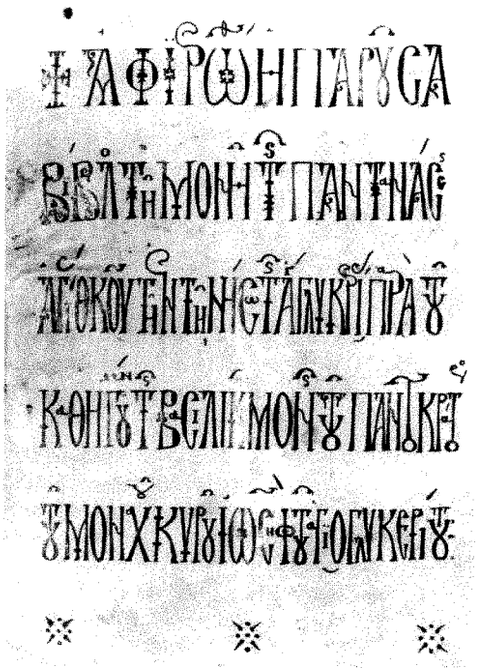
τ(ὴν) χρυσοτευκτόστικτον | ἀργυφῆ βίβλον, ἣν ἐκρότησε τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ τελ(ῶν) στόμα τ(ῶν) ποιμενάρχ(ῶν) Γρη(γόριος) ἀκρότ(ης), τεύξ(ας) μοναστ(ὴς) Ἰωσὴφ ἀρχηγέτ(ης) μο(νῆς) μοναστ(ῶν) Παντοκράτ(ο)ρ(ος) Λόγ(ου), τ(ῆς) Παντανάσσ(ης) τῆ μο(νῆ) δῶρ(ον) νέμει εἰς λύτρ(ον) εἰς κάθαρσι(ν) ἀγνοημ(ά)τ(ων).

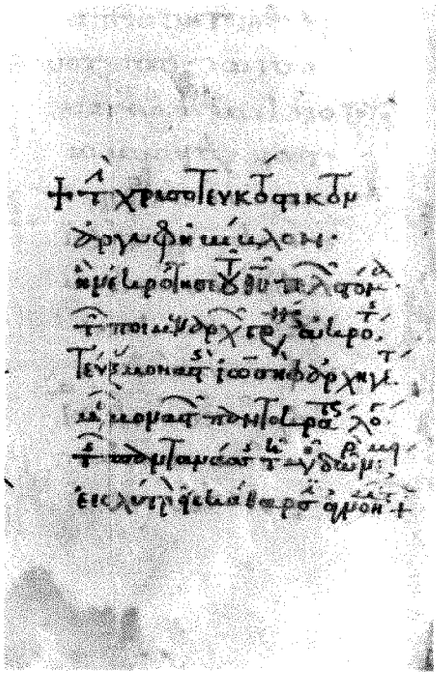
[1] This article is based on one chapter of my Ph.D. dissertation, "An Examination of Two Twelfth-Century Centers of Byzantine Manuscript Production," Princeton University, 1975. It is with pleasure that I reiterate my acknowledgements to Princeton University and Dumbarton Oaks, The Center for Byzantine Studies, for their support during the periods of research and writing; to Professor Hugo Buchthal for his comments and encouragement; and to Professor Kurt Weitzmann, who first brought the initials of Sinai. gr. 339 to my attention, for his invaluable assistance as teacher and advisor.

All photographs of Sinai. gr. 339 are reproduced through the courtesy of the Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria expedition to Mt. Sinai; reproductions of other manuscripts are either after G. Galavaris (cited in note 27) or by permission of the respective library. The line drawings of initial letters are by the author and are intended for the purpose of formal analysis only.

[2] For this monastery see R. Janin, "Autour du cap Acritas," *Echos d'orient*, XXVI, 1927, 290–91.

[3] I am greatly indebted to Professors John Duffy and Ihor Ševčenko for advice in the transcription and translation of this entry.





1 Dedication page, Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, gr. 339, fol. 3r (courtesy Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mt. Sinai)

2 Dedication page, Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 437v

That is: "The monk Joseph, leader of the Monastery of the Pantocrator-Logos,[4] who made the silver-white book dappled with wrought gold, which Gregory, the highest of the chief shepherds,[5] acting as the mouthpiece of God, composed, gives [it] to the Monastery of the Pantanassa as a gift for the redemption and cleansing of [his] faults."

The active verb is "to give" and the emphasis is again on the donation. The motivation for the offering is here revealed as the donor's wish for redemption, a commonplace in such pious donations.[6] Joseph's pride, however, is apparent as he points out the silvery quality of the parchment and the many gold initials that dot the leaves.[7] The verb of particular interest is the participle in line five, "who made." Owing to its imprecision, it is not, to my knowledge, commonly used in subscriptions, where the main verb usually refers to either the writing of the text or, as is suitable to a note at the end of a book, its completion.[8] By "who made" we must surely understand "who had the book made," for Joseph's role was that of patron only; had he labored as the scribe, he would have stated so specifically.[9] Despite the two entries, therefore, we lack the primary documentation: who made the manuscript, where it was made, and when. From what is known about the Pantocrator Monastery and Joseph Hagioglykerites, it is possible to establish limits on the work's date. The rest is speculative, although within bounds determined by the analysis of the miniatures.

The Pantocrator Monastery, once comprising monastic quarters, a hospital, and three churches, was among the most impressive of Middle Byzantine *fondations*

[4] Not the form usually used, as in the dedication on fol. 3 or in the *typikon* and elsewhere, but used also in line 4833 of Ephraim's versified history; see *Ephraemius Monachus Imperatorum et Patriachorum* (*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*), ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1840, 118.

[5] Joseph refers to Gregory's having been Bishop of Constantinople in 381. Theodore Prodromos refers to the Patriarch as *ho megas poimenarchēs* in one of the historical poems (I, 23); see W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos historische Gedichte* (*Wiener byzantinistische Studien*, XI), Vienna, 1974, 178.

[6] See, for example, the similar phrase in the colophon of Jerusalem, Greek Patr. Lib., Panagia, cod. 1 (K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200* [*Monumenta Palaeographica Vetera, First Series*], V, Boston, 1936, 213).

[7] The terms are obscure. The interpretation of the otherwise untested compound *chrusoteuktostikton* as a reference to the gold initials meaning gold-spotted seems apposite in view of the size and multiplicity of the gold letters in this manuscript (see below page 171). I have taken *arguphē*, on account of its juxtaposition with *chrusoteuktostikton*, as referring to the parchment.

[8] Using the Lakes' *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts*, I–X, as a convenient collection of Middle Byzantine colophons, I have searched in vain for another example of the verb *teuchō* so used. In contrast, I note that of the over three hundred manuscripts in their selection that contain an actual colophon, roughly 38% of them use a form of *graphō*, 29% of *teleō*, another 18% of *graphō* and *teleō*. Other verbs include *plēroō*, alone or in combination with *graphō* or *teleō*; *eileō* and *lambrano* (*telos*) also occur. It should be added that the lexicographical distinction between "to write" and, for example, "to finish" is considerably blurred by the context in which "to finish" occurs as well as by the common use of a phrase like "by the hand of. . ." with it.

[9] Joseph's role as abbot of the monastery does not, at least in theory, disqualify him from having also been a scribe or painter; examples of the former are fairly numerous.

pieuses[10] The church complex began with the southernmost structure, the Pantocrator, built by Nicephorus Bezalee, architect to the Empress Irene of Hungary (d. 1124).[11] At some later date her husband, John II Comnenus (1118–1143), decided to add the northern church, the Eleousa, and another dedicated to the Archangel Michael to connect the two and act as a funerary chapel for the imperial family.[12] To insure maintenance of memorial services, the Emperor established the monastery whose *typikon* is dated 1136, when one assumes that the monastery began to function.[13] Corroborating evidence for this date is found in the report of Anselm of Havelberg, emissary of Emperor Lothar II to Constantinople in June, 1136, who writes of seeing seven hundred monks at the monastery.[14] Thus, the earliest possible date for Joseph's abbacy, and so also for Sinai. gr. 339, is 1136.

From what little can be reconstructed of Joseph's career it is possible to add to the chronology. When Emperor Manuel Comnenus (1143–1180) negotiated for the transfer to Constantinople of the famous icon of Saint Demetrius and the cloth covering the Saint's tomb, he did so through the agency of one Joseph of the Pantocrator Monastery. The story of Joseph's mission and return to Constantinople in 1149 is related in the *synaxarium* Cod. Sabba 179. In the *synaxarium* Joseph is called "our most pious father and leader";[15] this, in connection with the assumption that in so delicate an affair (John II had tried unsuccessfully to obtain the Saint's remains) Manuel would have sent a high monastic official, leads to the conclusion that in 1149 Joseph Hagioglykerites was Abbot of the Pantocrator.[16] Although no list of Pantocrator abbots survives, the facts known permit some speculation regarding Joseph's tenure. The Pantocrator *typikon*, which carefully sets forth the rules of the monastery, stipulates that the abbots were to be chosen by ballot from among the monks of the Pantocrator or those of its *metochia*, of which the Pantanassa is not one.[17] The relevant passage begins with the words "after my death [i.e., that of John II Comnenus] you will choose . . .,"[18] which strongly imply that the Emperor intended to appoint the abbots. It would therefore not be surprising to find that during the period from 1136 to 1143 there might have been an abbot not from the mother house or one of its affiliated institutions. In office by 1149, Joseph may well have been appointed before 1143, perhaps even as the first abbot of this prestigious monastery. Although this information cannot be used to modify the *terminus post quem* of the Sinai Gregory, it does endow the date of 1136 with some greater significance.

The edition of P. Leone of the letters of John Tzetzes has brought to light evidence for the date of Joseph's death. The Abbot was a friend and correspondent of Tzetzes who writes in one of his letters of the deaths of two ecclesiastics.[19] One is identified by the scholiast as John Kolpotos, the bishop of Ephesus who died around 1155.[20] The second, to whom Tzetzes refers only obliquely, the scholiast identified as Joseph, Abbot of the Pantocrator Monastery. We may conclude, along with P. Gautier, that Joseph died around the same time, ca. 1155.[21] Within this period of practically two decades, from 1136 to ca. 1155, it is possible by using stylistic parallels to arrive at a more closely circumscribed date for the Sinai Gregory. For ease of exposition, I have divided the painted decoration of the manuscript into its various components: the headpieces and frames, the figural initials, and the narrative compositions.

[10] Only the churches, now the Zeyrek Camii, survive with part of a handsome *opus sectile* pavement and some fragments of stained glass to suggest their past brilliance; a discussion of the architecture appears in all the standard handbooks—most recently that of T. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey*, University Park, Pa., 1976, 71–101—although to date the most significant contribution to the understanding of the Pantocrator churches is that of A. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XVII, 1963, 335–64 (with references).

[11] H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae . . . (Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris)*, Brussels, 1902, 890, l. 30; see also the verses published by G. Moravcsik, "Szent László leánya és a Bizánci Pantokrator-Monostor," *Mitteilungen des Ungarischen Wissenschaftlichen Instituts in Konstantinopel*, VII–VIII, 1923, 44, ll. 27–38.

[12] Nicetas Choniates, *Historia (Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae)*, ed. I. Bekker Bonn, 1835, 66, ll. 5–7. This order of construction has been verified by archaeological investigation; see Megaw, "Recent Work," 344.

[13] P. Gautier, "Le Typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantokrator," *Revue des études byzantines*, XXXII, 1974, 131.

[14] The figure seven hundred is unquestionably too high to reflect the actual number of Pantocrator monks. Anselm may be reporting some inaugural service or celebration, although his words (*Patrologiae Cursus Completus . . . Series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, CLXXVIII, Paris, 1896, 1156: "In monasterio quod dicitur Pantocratoros . . . vidi septingentos ferme monachos sub regula beati Antonii militantes. . . .") indicate that he considered the seven hundred to be Pantocrator monks; his figures for other monasteries are unreasonably high as well.

[15] A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta Hierosolumitikes stachuologias*, IV, St. Petersburg, 1897, 242, ll. 20–21.

[16] So also: V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Turin, 1967, 252, n. 48; V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin*, V, 3, Paris, 1972, No. 1907 (on a seal of Joseph Hagioglykerites); Gautier, "Typikon," 22.

[17] Gautier, "Typikon," 67, 69–71; unless, of course, as Gautier points out, the Monastery of the Theotokos Pantanassa had come to be assigned to the Pantocrator as a *metochion* between 1136 and 1149.

[18] *Ibid.*, 67, l. 622.

[19] Ep. XCIV: *Ioannis Tzetzae Epistulae*, Leipzig, 1972, 138, ll. 1–2.

[20] The date of 1155 has been established by J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès, lettres et discours*, Paris, 1970, 15–16, who argues that John Kolpotos must have died around 1155 since this is the date when his successor to the metropolitan see of Ephesus, George Tornikes, took office; one assumes that the see was not without a metropolitan for a substantial length of time.

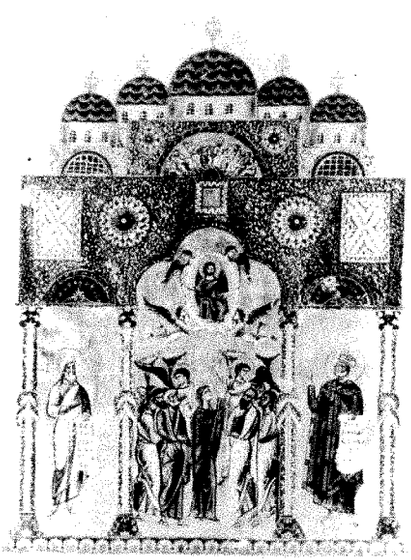
[21] "Typikon," 22.

3 Gregory of Nazianzen, Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 4v

The Headpiece and Frame Ornament

The first example of ornament in the Sinai Gregory is the frame of the author portrait on fol. 4v (Fig. 3). Inspired by Christ, Gregory (the "mouthpiece of God") composes a homily while seated within a grandiose edifice that is strikingly similar to that of the frontispiece miniatures in the two twelfth-century Kokkinobaphos manuscripts, Paris. gr. 1208[22] and Vat. gr. 1162 (Fig. 4). The building in the Sinai Gregory is more complex than that in the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts; at the roof line an increased number of architectural forms are juxtaposed in a paratactic manner, compromising structural logic but creating a flatter and more decorative image. Gregory appears to be seated in a narthex or porch raised on a plinth with two fountains set into niches. At either side of this projecting form are archways that afford twin garden vistas. Yet despite these additions, the inspiration is unmistakable.[23] The knotted colonettes and their capitals and bases, the doorways and moldings, the speckled panels of polychrome marble revetment, all, in addition to the basic idea behind the frame, take their inspiration directly from a type most closely paralleled in the Kokkinobaphos homily manuscripts, a type certainly invented in the center responsible for those two works.

Like the frame of the Gregory portrait, several of the headpieces rely on patterns developed in the workshop of the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts.[24] The main decora-



4 Frontispiece, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1162, fol. 2v (photo: Bibl. Vat.)

[22] H. Omont, "Miniatures des homélies sur la Vierge du moine Jacques (Ms. grec. 1208 de Paris)," *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures*, XI, 1927, pl. 2. These parallels have been drawn before; see A. Xyngopoulos, "Hē mikrographia en archei tou Sinaitikou kodikos 339," *Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinōn Spoudōn*, XVI, 1940, 134.

[23] The building enframing the Ascension in the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts has been identified as the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople (A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche: Zwei Basiliken Konstantins*, II, Leipzig, 1908, 200); other examples of particular buildings represented in Middle Byzantine manuscripts are known; see R. Krautheimer, "A Note on Justinian's Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople," *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II (*Studi e testi*, 232), Vatican City, 1964, 265–70, and A. Grabar, "Quelques notes sur les psautiers illustrés byzantins du IXe siècle," *Cahiers archéologiques*, XV, 1965, 61–82. It is possible that the two most obvious changes made by the painter of Sinai. gr. 339 to his supposed model were intended to make the image suggest the Pantocrator. The added complexity of forms at the roof line perhaps reflects, even if only figuratively, the painter's view of the three-part monastic church. The wall with fountains in niches may refer to the perimeter wall (mentioned in the *typikon*, ed. Gautier, 65, l. 584, and by a pilgrim visiting Constantinople around 1300: Moravcsik, "Szent Lázzló," 75) and to the two fountains with lamps which, according to the *typikon* (ed. Gautier, 75, ll. 759–60 and 75, ll 767–68), were accessible to passersby. Probably neither of these fountains is to be identified with that mentioned by J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les Églises de Constantinople*, Paris, 1913, 186 (which they saw "en contrebas dans un bâtiment en face de la porte de l'entrée"), which may have been used for liturgical rites.

[24] A discussion of the most important of these manuscripts appears in Lazarev, *Storia* (as cited in note 16), 192–93; a more complete treatment is found in Anderson, "An Examination" (as cited in note 1), 1–165.

tive motif of the headpiece on fol. 5r of Sinai. gr. 339 (Fig. 5) is an over-all pattern of small-scale leaves and flower petals whose only focus is a minor one, the vase resting on acanthus leaves below the insert for the Anastasis. This first pattern in the Sinai Gregory is similar to that used for the first headpiece in manuscripts of the mature phase of production in the Kokkinobaphos workshop: Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 3r (Fig. 8); Paris. gr. 71, fol. 25r; and Oxford, Christ Church College, Wake-gr. 32, fol. 6r.[25] In its use of multiple frames, however, the headpiece on fol. 5r of the Sinai Gregory is particularly close to that on fol. 134r of the Vatican Kokkinobaphos (Fig. 6) where the decorative motifs and their order are exactly the same; the only change lies in the use of the mosaic pattern as a border for the inserted miniature. The headpiece on fol. 54r of the Sinai Gregory (Fig. 7) might appear to have been derived from the same model, but it follows more closely the type that, in fact, is used as the first headpiece in the mature-phase Kokkinobaphos manuscripts. It may be compared with that in the Vatican Kokkinobaphos, fol. 3r (Fig. 8), or even more satisfactorily with the first in Paris. gr. 71 (Fig. 10). In the headpiece in the Paris Gospel book, which I believe can be dated slightly later than the Vatican Kokkinobaphos,[26] the leaves appear somewhat less random in their distribution, as if they were being redrawn into a geometric pattern. In the headpieces of both the Paris Gospels and the Sinai Gregory, deer flank the acanthus at the bottom, and the inserts are framed by a cyma pattern; in both, the bottom finial at the outside is larger than the one near the gutter of the manuscript page. Yet the outside framing motif as well as the form of the finials in the Gregory manuscript page are closer to these same elements in the Vatican Kokkinobaphos.

Further parallels exist between the Sinai Gregory and the manuscripts of the Kokkinobaphos workshop: compare the frame of the miniature on fol. 381v of Sinai. gr. 339[27] with the headpiece on fol. 55r of the Vatican Kokkinobaphos,[28] or the headpiece and finials on fol. 397r of Sinai. gr. 339 (Fig. 9) with the same decorations in Paris. gr. 71, fol. 150r.[29] These patterns were in use in the period when the Vatican Kokkinobaphos and Paris Gospels were made: in the fifth or perhaps the sixth decade of the twelfth century.[30] The style of the patterns as they appear in the Sinai Gregory is quite similar to that of the ornament in the Paris and Vatican manuscripts. Leaves and petals are exactingly rendered in tight, compact arrangements. Because of the congruence of motifs—similar even in minor variations—and their style of execution, the Sinai Gregory may be dated around the same time, the forties or early fifties of the twelfth century.

Not all the ornamental patterns used in Sinai. gr. 339 appear in the manuscripts of the Kokkinobaphos workshop. The geometric motifs with vines and flower petals on fols. 108r, 217r, and 341v[31] are traditional ones of the Middle Byzantine period. The painter of the Sinai Gregory, faced with a large number of headpieces to execute, relied on a number of sources of ornamental patterns. His one outstanding source, however, came from the Kokkinobaphos workshop, a center whose inventions he greatly admired and faithfully copied. The influence of the Kokkinobaphos workshop is apparent in the initial ornament of Sinai. gr. 339 as well.

The Initials

The initials in the Sinai Gregory offer the most immediate insight into the decorative impulse behind the work. When Joseph proudly describes the manuscript as "gold-dappled," he is accurately characterizing its appearance, for each leaf has at least two gold initials per side. In addition, a painted figural letter occurs every few pages. There are 220 figural, and only three non-figural, painted initials in the Sinai Gregory, and these are quite outnumbered by the gold letters. The polychrome initials fall into two groups: those which are narrative illustration and those which are fanciful ornament. The narrative initials all appear at the start of homilies and are often redundant in the sense that they repeat the subject of the headpiece miniature. Examples are the Anastasis on fol. 5r (Fig. 5), the Pentecost on fol. 54r (Fig. 7), the Baptism of Christ on fol. 197v,[32] and the almsgiving on fol. 341v (Fig. 31). The painter of the Sinai Gregory may have independently adapted the miniature compositions for initials, since this sort of reduplication is not uncommon in manuscripts of various types at this time; it occurs in Gospel books like Parma, Bibl. Pal., MS 5[33] and Psalters like Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, MS 3.[34] There are also earlier Gregory manuscripts with the subjects of framed miniatures repeated in the initials. Mt. Athos, Dionysiou, Cod. 61[35] is one example whose miniatures and narrative initials often parallel those in Sinai. gr.

[25] Anderson, "An Examination," figs. 47, 59.

[26] *Ibid.*, 53–59.

[27] G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (*Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, VI), Princeton, 1969, fig. 392.

[28] C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo Monaco (cod. Vatic. gr. 1162) e dell'Evangeliario greco Urbinate (cod. Vatic. Urbin. gr. 2)* (*Codices e Vaticanis selecti, series minor*, I), Vatican City, 1910, pl. 22.

[29] Anderson, "An Examination," fig. 53.

[30] See above note 26.

[31] Galavaris, *Gregory*, figs. 388, 390, 391.

[32] *Ibid.*, figs. 387, 389.

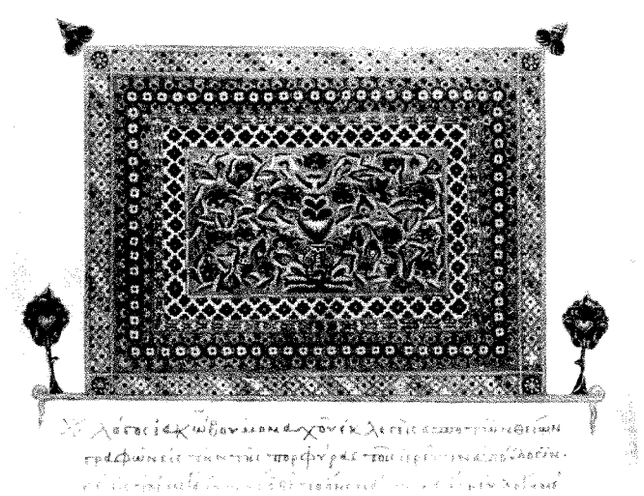
[33] Lazarev, *Storia*, fig. 244 (showing the Evangelist Luke, repeated in the facing, full-page miniature).

[34] S. Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XIX, 1965, figs. 11, 24, 30.

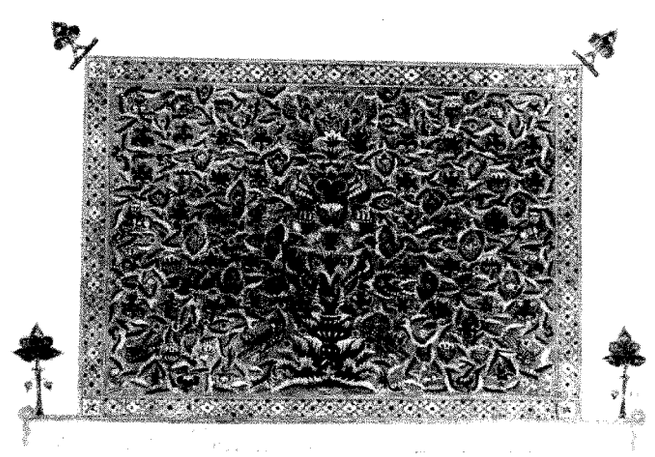
[35] Galavaris, *Gregory*, 207, with earlier bibliog.

5 Opening leaf of "On Easter" (Orat. 1), Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 5r

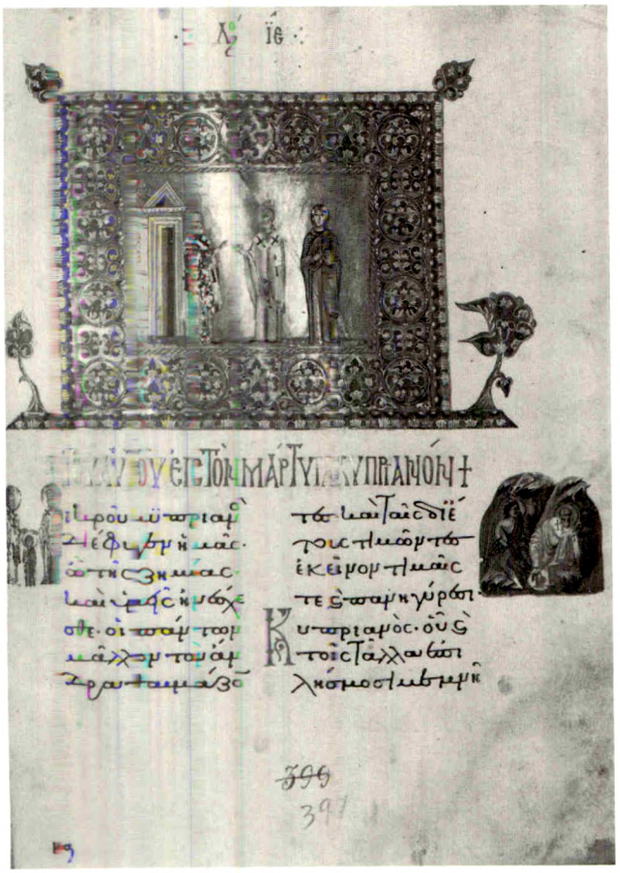
7 Opening leaf of "On Pentecost," Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 54r



6 Headpiece, Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 134r



8 Headpiece, Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 3r



9 Opening leaf of "On Saint Cyprian," Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 397r

10 Headpiece, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 71, fol. 25r (photo: Bibl. Nat.)

339. In the alpha with the Anastasis on fol. 2r of Dionysiou Cod. 61,[36] the gates of Hell are crossed as they are in the initial of Sinai. gr. 339 (Fig. 5), although not in the headpiece on this same leaf. (This raises the possibility that separate models may have been used for the otherwise similar compositions in the Sinai manuscript.) The epsilon with the figures of Christ, Gregory, and Habakkuk at the start of Oration 45 is also the same in these two manuscripts (Figs. 28, 29). Other corresponding initial compositions are those at Oration 38, the Nativity of Christ in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 91r, and Dionysiou Cod. 61, fol. 70r;[37] the scene of almsgiving at Oration 45, Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 341v, and Dionysiou Cod. 61, fol. 142r (Figs. 31, 32); and the mu with Justina, Cyprian, and Gregory at Oration 24, Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 397r (Fig. 9), and Dionysiou Cod. 61, fol. 165r,[38] the latter with Christ instead of Gregory. The significance of these similarities—which in initial decoration stop with the narrative letters—may best be left to the section of this essay dealing with the narrative compositions.

The other figural initials occurring throughout the homilies' texts do not serve as literal illustration. They are used in conjunction with gold letters to set off the beginnings of most sentences.[39] When a sentence ends within the last third of a line, the remainder of that line is left empty and the next sentence begins on the following line with a decorated letter in either gold or polychrome. On the other hand, if a sentence terminates within the first two-thirds of a line, the next begins directly after it. The decorated initial is then the letter starting the next line, even if it comes in the middle of a word. As the scribe wrote the text, he planned for the initials by omitting the letters according to this system. As he did so, he made a notation of the deleted letter for the chrysographer and/or painter to follow. These notations are placed toward the gutter for the inner text column; those for the outer column were along the outside edge, but they have been trimmed away by a binder.[40] Facing so great a task, the painter relied not simply on his own ingenuity, but also on two different sources for models of initial letters; one of his models came from the Kokkinobaphos workshop.

Of the surviving manuscripts from the Kokkinobaphos workshop, the Paris Kokkinobaphos (Paris. gr. 1208) offers the greatest number of examples of the figural letters in this workshop's repertory. Among these letters are some rare types that are not, to

[36] *Ibid.*, fig. 356.

[37] *Ibid.*, fig. 384 and, for initial, S. Pelekanides, P. Christou, C. Tsioumis, and S. Kadas, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, I, Athens, 1974, fig. 110.

[38] Galavaris, *Gregory*, fig. 375.

[39] I here use the word "sentence" rather loosely to denote the major divisions of the text.

[40] This is not an unusual practice; for example, it is also used in the Turin Gregory, discussed below.

my knowledge, found in earlier Byzantine manuscript ornament. There is, for example, the tau on fol. 92v (Fig. 11, a) whose cross-stroke is two deer leaping from what appear to be cornucopia. They flee from a cheetah partially hidden behind the flower-petal hasta. On fol. 140r of Sinai. gr. 339 (Fig. 11, b) is an iota that clearly derives from this same letter type; only the deer are omitted for the sake of forming a different letter. The tau in the Paris Kokkinobaphos gives some indication of the spirit of the letters used in that workshop. They are courtly in tone—almost in a Western medieval sense, although not obviously so—for even though they rarely rely on human forms, their subjects are generally ones of hunting with trained falcons or cheetahs. The ultimate models for these letters are of no interest here and, in fact, a consideration of the ultimate models would raise problems beyond the scope of a single article; suffice it to say that although hunting treatises do exist, even contemporary ones, no illustrated example from this period survives. Neither is it possible here to survey other art forms like monumental painting and sculpture which provide examples of similar decorative forms. At issue are the painter's immediate sources.

The scenes of falconry adapted in the Kokkinobaphos workshop for use as initial letters provided numerous *exempla* for the painter of the Sinai Gregory. On fol. 162v of Sinai. gr. 339 is an epsilon with the same two groups as the same letter on fol. 8r of Paris. gr. 1208 (Fig. 12, a, c). The epsilon on fol. 28r of the Gregory manuscript (Fig. 12, d) has the hare as the cross-stroke, but without the swooping falcon as the upper bow. In this letter, the single bird at the bottom is simply the falcon without its prey, the partridge; this is a variation that appears in another Kokkinobaphos workshop manuscript, in the epsilon on fol. 100r of Paris. gr. 71 (Fig. 12, b). Further transformations of this letter type occur in the sigma on fol. 207r of the Sinai Gregory (Fig. 12, e) with its single bird, perhaps a parrot. Finally, the delta on fol. 223r of Sinai. gr. 339 is clearly taken from a type seen in the same letter on fol. 56r of the Paris Kokkinobaphos manuscript (Fig. 13, a, b), but one that is also related to the group used as the lower stroke in some epsilons (Fig. 12, a, c).

Similar circular forms of the epsilon and sigma also occur in both manuscripts. Compare, for example, the falcon and hare group found on fol. 168v of the Paris Kokkinobaphos with that on fol. 43r of the Sinai Gregory (Fig. 14, a, b). In this letter the falcon is repeated to form the lower bow. It is, however, the simpler animal compositions that are the most versatile. Among these are the various letters formed by the long-legged falcon, usually represented perched on a sphere. On fol. 117r of the Paris Kokkinobaphos, the bird, with outstretched wing and tail, forms a kappa like the one on fol. 10r of the Sinai Gregory (Fig. 15, a, b). On fol. 272r of the Sinai Gregory the painter has slightly inclined the bird's body and legs to make a chi (Fig. 15, c); and the sigma on fol. 249r is drawn by altering even further the position of the wings and tail (Fig. 15, d). In order to decorate a greater number of letters, the bird is simply represented twice. The eta on fol. 80v of the Vatican Kokkinobaphos is formed of two falcons facing one another with a snake for the cross-stroke (Fig. 16, a), and the eta on fol. 122r of the Sinai Gregory uses the raised wings as a cross-stroke (Fig. 16, b). On fol. 300v the nu is made by extending and raising the wing of the bird at the left (Fig. 16, c). Finally, the painter of the Sinai Gregory fashions an omicron on fol. 198v by bringing the birds tails and beaks together (Fig. 16, d). The parallels drawn so far are mostly between the Gregory and the earlier of the two Kokkinobaphos manuscripts, the one in Paris; yet in the examination of the headpiece designs, it was the Vatican Kokkinobaphos, not the Paris example, that offered the best comparisons.

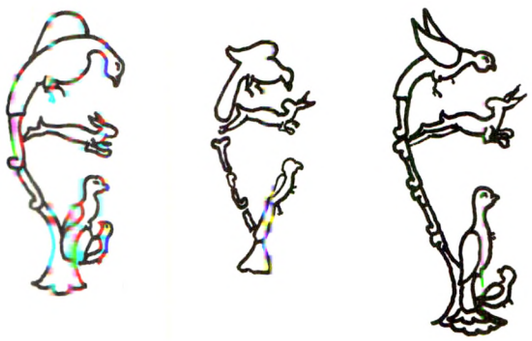
A final series of comparisons to initial letters found in the manuscripts from the Kokkinobaphos workshop is required in an evaluation of the link between these two centers. On fol. 150r of Paris. gr. 71 there is a rampant griffin (Fig. 17, a) that does not occur in either of the two Kokkinobaphos homilies manuscripts, although a similar letter appears on fol. 14v of the Sinai. gr. 339 (Fig. 17, b). Likewise, the two canines on fols. 6r and 210r of the Christ Church Gospels (Fig. 17, c, e) are closely paralleled by examples in the Sinai Gregory, on fols. 405r and 243r (Fig. 17, d, f). It becomes clear that the means by which these types, both initial and headpiece, were transmitted to the center responsible for Sinai. gr. 339 was not the Vatican Kokkinobaphos, which lacks many of the letter forms, or, in fact, any of the known works of the Kokkinobaphos workshop. The existence of a sheet of decorative models is suggested, but one may better examine this possibility after the narrative compositions have been discussed.

The painter of the Sinai Gregory was a resourceful artisan who was able to expand the repertory of Kokkinobaphos initials by taking animals out of context and, while preserving their poses, using them singly or in new combinations to satisfy the formal requirements of other letters. In so doing, he occasionally lost the sense of the original composition, as in the case of the iota mentioned above (Fig. 11, a and b). Even allowing for the painter's creativity, rather mechanical though it was, a source from the Kokkinobaphos workshop cannot account for all the letter types in the Sinai Gregory.

There remains a series of figural initials of a spirit quite different from that of the Kokkinobaphos letters. A number of these initials have close parallels in another Gregory manuscrip, one dating from the later eleventh or perhaps early twelfth century: Turin, Bibl. Naz. univ., Cod. C.I.6[41] On fol. 9r of the Turin Gregory there is a delta formed of a dog playing a flute that is similar to the alpha on fol. 223r of the Sinai Gregory (Fig. 18, a, b). Despite the change from canine to sim-

[41] Galavaris, *Gregory*, 260, with earlier bibliog.

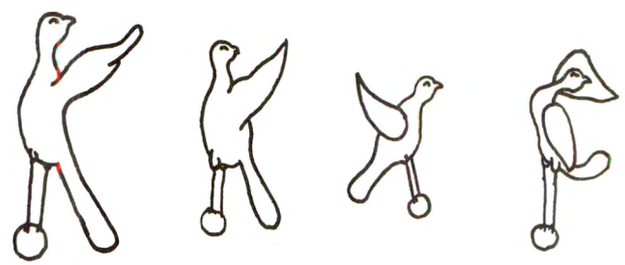
11a Initial tau in Paris. gr. 1208, fol. 92v (drawing by author) **b** Initial iota in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 140r



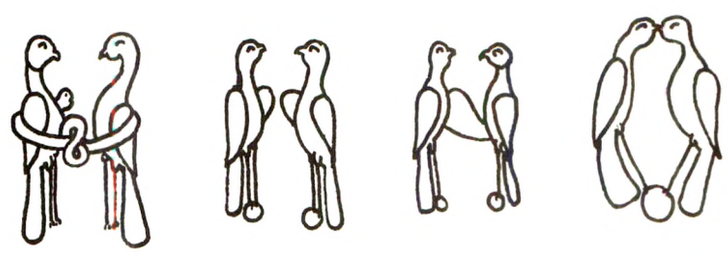
12a Initial epsilon in Paris. gr. 1208, fol. 8r **b** Initial epsilon in Paris. gr. 71, fol. 100r **c** Initial epsilon in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 162v **d** Initial epsilon in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 28r **e** Initial sigma in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 207r

13a Initial delta in Paris. gr. 1208, fol. 56r **b** Initial delta in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 223r

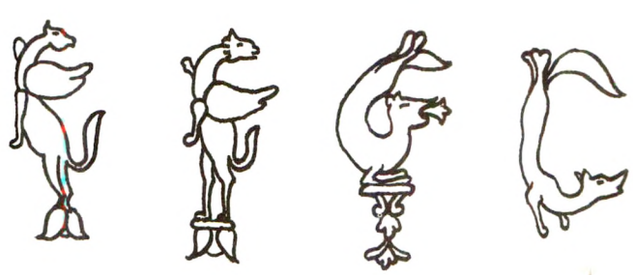
14a Initial epsilon in Paris. gr. 1208, fol. 168v **b** Initial epsilon in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 43r

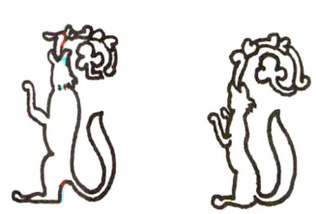


15a Initial kappa in Paris. gr. 1208, fol. 117r **b** Initial kappa in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 10r **c** Initial chi in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 272r **d** Initial sigma in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 249r

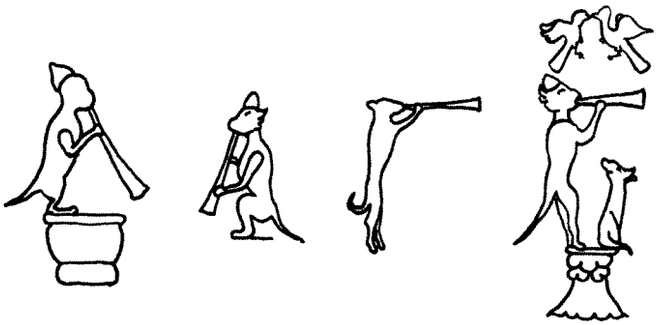


16a Initial eta in Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 80v **b** Initial eta in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 122r **c** Initial nu in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 300r **d** Initial omicron in Sinai. gr. 339, vol. 198v

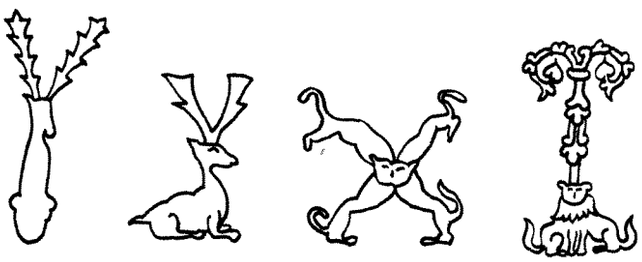




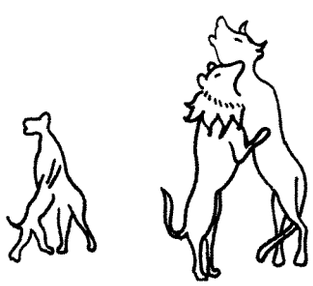
17a Initial epsilon in Paris. gr. 71, fol. 150r **b** Initial epsilon in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 14v **c** Initial epsilon in Oxford, Christ Church Coll., Wake gr. 32, fol. 210r **d** Initial sigma in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 405r **e** Initial beta in Wake gr. 32, fol. 6r **f** Initial beta in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 243r



18a Initial delta in Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, cod. C.I.6, fol. 9r **b** Initial alpha in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 223r **c** Initial gamma in Taur. C.I.6, fol. 74r **d** Initial epsilon in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 122v



19a Initial upsilon in Taur. C.I.6, fol. 67v **b** Initial upsilon in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 332r **c** Initial chi in Taur. C.I.6, fol. 77r **d** Initial tau in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 148v



20a Initial alpha in Taur. C.I.6, vol. 80r **b** Initial lambda in Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 276r

ian, possibly made by the painter of the Sinai Gregory, the poses are similar and both animals wear a small bowl-shaped cap. A variation of this type occurs in the Turin Gregory in the gamma of fol. 74r (Fig. 18, c) wherein the animal stands erect. Although again substituting a monkey for the dog, the Sinai Gregory painter was able, by adding more animals, to use this same pose in the epsilon on fol. 122v (Fig. 18, d).[42]

Another case of similar letters is the upsilon with a long-horned antelope: Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 332r, and Cod. Taur. C.I.6, fol. 67v (Fig. 19, a, b). In the Turin manuscript the animal is seen head-on, in the Sinai one, in profile. The painter of the Sinai Gregory altered the pose to make the animal more readily recognizable, although in doing so he threatened to compromise the formal requirements of the letter. At the base of the tau on fol. 148v of the Sinai Gregory are two lions depicted as sharing one head, just as the chi on fol. 77r of the Turin Gregory has four lions with a single head (Fig. 19, c, d). On fol. 276r of Sinai. gr. 339 is a lambda with a lion leaping at the throat of a bull (Fig. 20, b). This scene of violence is unmatched in any of the more aristocratic hunting scenes in the Kokkinobaphos workshop repertory, one that centers on the chase with trained animals. This letter, however, is paralleled by the alpha on fol. 80r of the Turin manuscript showing a lion attacking a bear (Fig. 20, a).

The Turin Gregory contains a wealth of intriguing initials, many of them genre scenes,[43] but of this repertory, it was the initial letters with animals that interested the painter of the Sinai Gregory. Some forms, like that of the antelope, to my knowledge occur only in these two Middle Byzantine manuscripts. The exact nature of the relationship between the Turin and Sinai manuscripts must await the analysis of the Sinai Gregory miniature cycle. The ornament of Sinai. gr. 339, though, provides a sound basis for an evaluation of the entire manuscript. Analysis of it has suggested that one model was used for the narrative initials at the start of the homilies, another from the Kokkinobaphos workshop for some headpieces and a considerable number of initials, and, finally, the Turin Gregory or a work related to it for many of the letters not found in manuscripts of the Kokkinobaphos group.

The Miniature Cycle

Sinai. gr. 339 is one of the most densely illustrated Gregory manuscripts to have survived. G. Galavaris, in his study of what Gabriel Millet called the "liturgical edition," proposes a tenth-century archetype from which the others descend along several lines.[44] Those aspects of the decoration which point to several sources, however, urge a reexamination of the miniature cycle. The miniatures of Sinai. gr. 339 themselves offer the decisive clue toward the solution of the problem of models: their style. Traces remain of two different painting styles, ones not attributable to two different painters, but to a single painter who closely fol-

[42] This initial was published by A. Grabar, "Une Pyxide en ivoire à Dumbarton Oaks. Quelques notes sur l'art profane pendant les derniers siècles de l'empire byzantin," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XIV, 1960, fig. 34 1.

[43] A selection appears in Galavaris, *Gregory*, figs. 19, 21–27, 29–36, 38–43, 45, 47–60.

[44] *Ibid.*, 177–92; for the stemma of the illustration recension, see p. 193; on the date of the archetype, see pp. 191–92. Objections to Galavaris's recension have been raised by others; see the reviews of his book by C. Walter, in the work cited below, note 60, and C. Mango, *Art Bulletin*, LIV, 1972, 346.

lowed certain aspects of the miniatures he was copying. The style in which the faces in the Sinai Gregory are painted remains constant throughout the manuscript. The impression is one of softness, particularly in the carefully shaded areas around the cheeks, eyes, and hairline. The hair itself appears to be an indistinct but plastic mass emphasized by an area of shadow on the flesh around the hairline. This style is one that recalls miniatures in eleventh-century manuscripts like Vienna, Nationalbibl., Theol. gr. 154,[45] or Jerusalem, Greek Patr. Lib., Cod. Staurou 108.[46] Basically, it derives from the method of rendering features that was popular in the second and third quarters of the eleventh century; the result may be contrasted with the hard, even plasticity of faces in manuscripts of the Kokkinobaphos workshop, like Vat. Urb. gr. 2,[47] or the Paris[48] and Vatican Kokkinobaphos manuscripts (Fig. 4).

It is primarily in the drapery articulation that two manners become apparent. The first is seen clearly in the headpiece miniature on fol. 341v (Fig. 31) illustrating the homily "On Love of the Poor" (Orat. 14). The figures' garments are painted in solid colors with the folds marked by thin, straight dark lines. There are few areas of light tone used in this scheme, and the contrast with the vigorous interplay of light and dark lines that is typical of the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts could hardly be greater. Instead of painted highlights, chrysography is often used by the painter of the Sinai Gregory to articulate drapery patterns in conjunction with the dark lines. In the miniature on fol. 341v, or that on fol. 397r (Fig. 9), gold lines begin on the ridge of a fold and run parallel to define a plane, or they may radiate from a specific point, like a knee or elbow. The effect of the chrysography is to flatten the appearance of the figure, although the gold itself lends an additional air of sumptuousness to the miniatures. As with the soft style employed in painting the faces, this particular manner of rendering drapery has antecedents, for example, the Vind. theol. gr. 154 already mentioned.

The second manner of drapery painting is most clearly seen in two of the larger marginal illustrations, Mamas milking the goat, on fol. 53r,[49] and the martyrdom of Saint Cyprian, on fol. 397r (Figs. 9, 21). In the martyrdom scene, Cyprian's *sticharion* is painted in a manner similar to that of the Evangelists' drapery in the tenth-century Gospel book in London, Brit. Lib., Add. MS 28,815.[50] This is a style unusual in the Middle Byzantine period. Drapery painted in this way is primarily articulated with highlights which often curve on a diagonal around the body to define its plasticity. Other stylistic elements of the martyrdom scene contrast with aspects of the framed miniature on this same leaf: the broken and energetic outline of Cyprian's body, for example, contrasts with the static silhouettes of the larger figures. These features are apparent in the miniature with Saint Mamas as well, a bucolic scene that might warrant exposition in a considerably less nervous style. The presence of these two manners on one leaf, fol. 397r, is significant, for surely, as the treatment of the faces indicates, the framed miniature, initial, and marginal illustration are all the work of the same painter. The two manners suggest not different painters but the use of different models.

A link to one of the models used by the painter of the Sinai Gregory is formed by the scene of the martyrdom of Saint Cyprian in the illustrated Gregory manuscript in Moscow, State Hist. Mus., Cod. 146 (Fig. 22).[51] Galavaris dates the Moscow Gregory around the year 1000 on the basis of the headpiece ornament, which is mostly gilt jigsaw-style with some polychrome.[52] He is quite correct in the direction of his argument, but there is one unusual aspect of the Moscow Gregory that he overlooks: the odd location of many of its miniatures. Only one, the first on fol. 1v, is full-page size;[53] the others are either marginal vignettes or are unframed and painted in the spaces remaining at the ends of columns. The homily "On New Sunday" (Orat. 44) ends part of the way down the right column on fol. 29v. The scribe naturally left the last four lines of the leaf blank and began the next homily, "On Pentecost" (Orat. 41), at the top of the facing leaf, fol. 30r. When the Pentecost miniature was added, the only space available was at the tail of the right column on fol. 29v.[54] This suggests that when written, the manuscript was not intended for illustration, hence the necessity to insert this and other illustrations wherever possible. The style of the miniatures confirms a dating later than that of the text and headpieces; as a comparison with the scenes in the Sinai. gr. 146,[55] dated 1075, indicates, the miniatures may have been added as late as the last quarter of the eleventh century.[56]

In the scene of the martyrdom of Cyprian in the Sinai

[45] F. Buberl and H. Gerstinger, *Die byzantinischen Handschriften*, II, *Die Handschriften des 10.-18. Jahrhunderts* (*Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, VIII, 4), Leipzig, 1938, 21–34, pls. 10, 11.

[46] A. Grabar, "Un Rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, VIII, 1954, 163–99, figs. 1–23.

[47] Stornajolo, *Miniature* (as cited in note 28), pls. 83–91.

[48] Omont, "Miniatures" (as cited in note 22).

[49] Galavaris, *Gregory*, fig. 381.

[50] K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935, 20, figs. 136–8.

[51] Cod. Mosq. Vlad. 146 = Sabba 61: Galavaris, *Gregory*, 229–31, with earlier bibliog.

[52] *Ibid.*, 230–31.

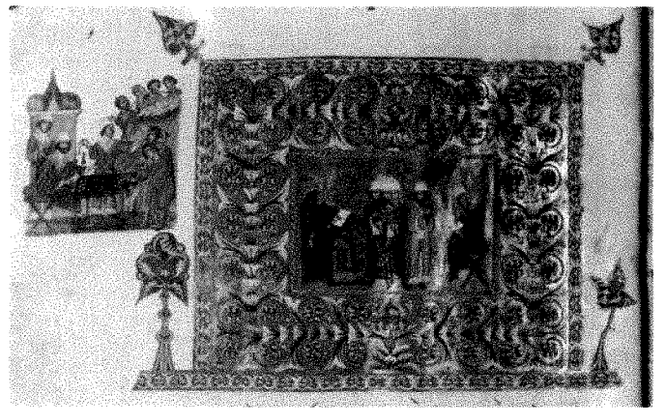
[53] *Ibid.*, fig. 1.

[54] *Ibid.*, fig. 6.

[55] K. Weitzmann, "Sinajskaja psaltir' c illjustacijami na poljax," *Vizantija, Južnye Slavjane i Drevnaja Rus'; Zapadnaja Europa: Iskusstvo i kul'tura. Sbornik ststej v čest' V. N. Lazareva*, Moscow, 1973, 112–31.

[56] A date in the third quarter of the 11th century is also proposed by Lazarev, *Storia*, 189.

21 Detail of Fig. 9



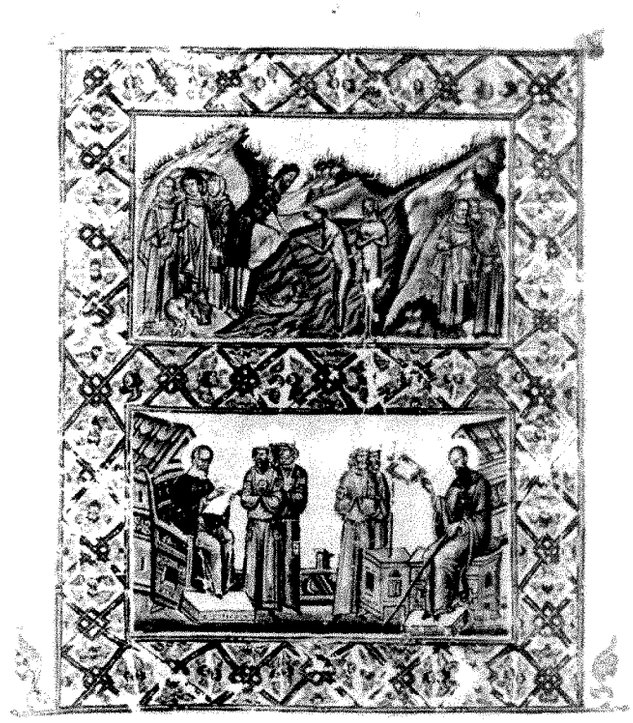
23 Detail of opening leaf of "To Julian the Tax Collector," Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 73v

22 Illustration of "On Saint Cyprian," Moscow, State Historical Museum, gr. 146, fol. 50v (after G. Galavaris)

24 Illustration of "To Julian the Tax Collector," Mosc. gr. 146, fol. 61v

25 Illustration of "To Julian the Tax Collector," Taur. C.I.6, fol. 47r (after G. Galavaris)

26 Illustration of "To Julian the Tax Collector," Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 543, fol. 102v (after G. Galavaris)



27 Illustration of "On Baptism," Paris. gr. 543, fol. 213v

and Moscow Gregory manuscripts (Figs. 21, 22), the basic poses of the figures are the same, and there is also a similar landscape in both. It consists of a foreground plane slanting upward to the left and ending in an outcrop of rocks, and two hills acting as a backdrop to the shallow foreground space. Small details like the tree at the right and the belt of the executioner's scabbard swinging over his wrist show that these two representations belong to the same tradition. But the manner in which the painter of the Moscow Gregory delineates the drapery indicates that the exact relationship between these two works is closer than mere adherence to the same iconographical tradition. The energetic drapery manner which is characteristic of only a handful of scenes in the Sinai Gregory, is typical of all the miniatures in the Moscow manuscript. In fact, those scenes in the Sinai Gregory with the energetic drapery manner are ones with virtually the same compositions as their counterparts in the Mosq. gr. 146: the Doubting Thomas and the *Encaenia* on fol. 23v of Moscow and on fol. 42v of Sinai;[57] the scene of Mamas on fol. 29v of Moscow and on fol. 53r of Sinai;[58] the scene of Julian the tax collector on fol. 61v of Moscow and on fol. 73r of Sinai (Figs. 24, 23); the martyrdom of the Maccabees on fol. 40v of Moscow and on fol. 381r of Sinai.[59] Finally, there is the identical scene of the martyrdom of Cyprian in these two manuscripts.

Of the related compositions in these two manuscripts, three in particular are important for specifying the link between them: Julian the tax collector, the *Encaenia*, and the martyrdom of the Maccabees. They appear with similar compositions in only one other Middle Byzantine Gregory manuscript, the Turin Gregory,[60] which, I believe, dates from the later eleventh or perhaps early twelfth century. In all three manuscripts (Figs. 23–25), the scene showing Julian seated before a table, a scribe behind him, another subaltern with a balance and two groups of taxpayers, the obliging and the recalcitrant, is virtually the same. The Moscow and Sinai examples are precisely the same, down to the centrally planned building behind Julian which appears in the Turin Gregory as a simple basilica. The representation of the *Encaenia* in these three works is identical, but the martyrdom of the Maccabees scenes are again slightly different. Moscow and Sinai agree, but the painter of the Turin Gregory, certainly working from a similar model, has attempted to integrate the figures into a continuous landscape.[61] The Moscow and Turin

[57] Galavaris, *Gregory*; compare figs. 3, 4 with 380.

[58] *Ibid.*; compare figs. 5 and 381.

[59] *Ibid.*; compare figs. 7 and 392.

[60] The existence of some particular relationship among these three manuscripts was suggested by C. Walter, "Liturgy and the Illustration of Gregory of Nazianzen's Homilies: An Essay in Iconographical Methodology," *Revue des études byzantines*, XXIX, 1971, 207.

[61] Galavaris, *Gregory*, fig. 37.

manuscripts are throughout so close in style and composition—notwithstanding the slight differences pointed out above—that they must surely be products of the same workshop. In fact, the slight compositional differences between some of the miniatures bespeak the same relationship; they indicate a familiarity with workshop models that engendered a certain liberty in copying. Related by both style and iconography, the Moscow and Turin manuscripts represent one distinct tradition of Middle Byzantine Gregory illustration.

There are two ways of accounting for the relationships among the Moscow, Turin, and Sinai manuscripts: one is by arguing that all three were produced in the same workshop, the other by arguing that the painter of the Sinai Gregory used as a model a work from the center responsible for the Moscow and Turin manuscripts. If the latter alternative is maintained, then a third, intermediary manuscript must be assumed. This hypothetical manuscript would have had miniatures like those in the Mosq. gr. 146 and initials like those in Taur. C.I.6. No matter which of the alternatives is finally adopted, the information gained from the analysis of the three works bears on the assessment of the Moscow Gregory. Whereas it is certain that the text and pictures are separated in time by some years, perhaps as many as twenty-five or more, some of its scenes were apparently designed as marginal vignettes, and not just painted in the margins simply because the painter did not have adequate space for a larger miniature. Among these, the *Encaenia* and the Vision of Habakkuk are in the margins of both the Turin and Sinai Gregory manuscripts, and were probably also in the margin of the model (whatever its exact nature) used by the painter of Sinai. gr. 339. Other compositions, like the martyrdom of the Maccabees and Julian the tax collector seem more appropriate as text-column miniatures; the former appears as such in all three manuscripts, whereas the latter so appears only in the Turin Gregory. Thus, the models used by all these painters were surely ones of mixed format.

There remain the narrative scenes in the Sinai Gregory that are not related to ones in either the Moscow or the Turin manuscript. The narrative initials in Mt. Athos, Dionysiou, Cod. 61 have already been cited for their close parallels; the miniatures in Dionysiou Cod. 61 warrant examination as well. The two manuscripts share a similar page layout and there is a general correspondence in miniature and initial compositions in the opening leaves of Orations: 1, the Anastasis; 41, the Pentecost; 38, the Nativity of Christ; and 39, the Baptism of Christ.[62] The examination of two, less familiar illustrations, those of Orations 45 and 54, will, I think, suffice to show the relationship between these two works.

The opening page of Oration 45 on fol. 9v of Sinai. gr. 339 (Fig. 28) combines compositions from two different sources. At the start of the homily, the initial epsilon, which contains Christ, Gregory, and Habakkuk, is the same as that on fol. 4r of the Dionysiou manuscript (Fig. 29). The core of the marginal illustration is taken from the model of the Moscow-Turin workshop, as a comparison with the scene on fol. 4v of Mosq. gr. 146 demonstrates (Figs. 28, 30). The painter of the Sinai Gregory, however, has embellished the composition by using material from another source, one like the title miniature of this same homily in Dionysiou Cod. 61. He added the heavenly host around the angel in the glory and the figure of Habakkuk holding the scroll to bring the vignette into agreement with the text, the opening sentences of which read:

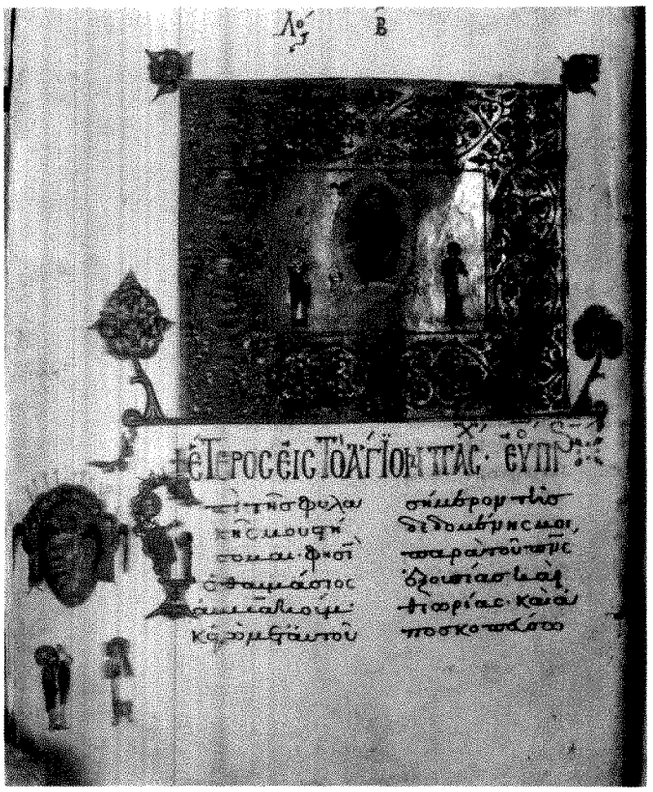
> I will stand upon my watch saith the venerable Habakkuk; and I [Gregory] will take my post beside him today on the authority and observation which was given me of the spirit; and I will look forth and will observe what shall be said to me. Well, I have taken my stand, and looked forth; and behold a man riding on the clouds and he is very high, and his countenance is as the countenance of an angel, and his vesture as the brightness of piercing lightning; and he lifts his hand toward the East, and cries with a loud voice. His voice is like the voice of a trumpet; and round about him is as it were a multitude of the Heavenly Host; and he saith, Today is salvation come into the world.[63]

The changes that the painter of the Sinai Gregory made in the marginal illustration enabled him, in turn, to alter the framed miniature of the Vision of Ezekiel, and, by so doing, to make explicit the sense of the text, that the "man riding on the clouds" is Christ. The painter has retained the figures of Habakkuk and Gregory, so that compositionally the miniature continues to bear some resemblance to the title scene in the Dionysiou Gregory. Examples of the Vision of Ezekiel are known in Middle Byzantine manuscript painting; the miniature on fol. 11v of the twelfth-century Gospel book in Venice, Bibl. Marc., gr. Z 540, is one example.[64] The issue is, however, to what extent might another Gregory manuscript have played a role in this change. The painter of the Dionysiou Gregory followed a literal construction of the opening words of the text, but the substitution of Christ for the man whose "countenance is as the countenance of an angel" had already taken place

[62] *Ibid.*, figs. 356, 378; 359; 382; 364; 384; 365, 389.

[63] Changing the personal pronouns to lower case, I have taken over the translation of P. Schaff and H. Wace, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, ser. 2, VII, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1955, 422.

[64] Lazarev, *Storia*, fig. 262. Galavaris, *Gregory*, 121–22 for discussion.



28 Opening leaf of "On Easter" (Orat. 45), Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 9v

30 Illustration of "On Easter" (Orat. 45), Mosq. gr. 146, fol. 4v

29 Opening leaf of "On Easter" (Orat. 45), Mt. Athos, Dionysiou Monastery, cod. 61, fol. 4r (after G. Galavaris)

in other Gregory manuscripts: for example, Jerusalem, Greek Patr. Lib., Cod. Taphou 14;[65] Paris, Bibl. Nat., Coisl. 239;[66] and Mt. Athos, Panteleimon, Cod. 6.[67] The latter is particularly significant because even though it lacks the figure of Gregory, Christ's mandorla is flanked by angels depicted full length and clad in Byzantine imperial regalia, as are those surrounding his mandorla in the Sinai marginal illustration.

The illustration to Oration 54, "On Love of the Poor," again shows the painter's dependence on a manuscript with compositions close to those of Dionysiou Cod. 61; and again, there are parallels with the Panteleimon Gregory. The initial alpha of both the Sinai and Dionysiou manuscripts shows Gregory distributing alms (Figs. 31, 32). Under the influence of the model from the Moscow-Turin workshop,[68] the painter of the Sinai Gregory expanded the composition of the initial into the margin; added are the figures of a blind man and an amputee, which in their poses are related to figures in the framed miniature. The miniature itself has both a composition and several figures that find specific parallels in the main illustration in the Dionysiou Gregory. Saint Gregory stands at the left before an architectural device addressing a group—inscribed "brothers in Christ" in the Athos manuscript—which is headed by an amputee with

[65] Galavaris, *Gregory*, fig. 100.

[66] *Ibid.*, fig. 181.

[67] *Ibid.*, fig. 138. Lazarev, *Storia*, 213, dates this manuscript—to my mind correctly—to the end of the 11th or early 12th century.

[68] See the marginal composition in the Mosq. gr. 146, fol. 219v: Galavaris, *Gregory*, fig. 17.

31 Opening leaf of "On Love of the Poor," Sinai. gr. 339, fol. 341v

33 Detail of opening leaf of "On Love of the Poor," Mt. Athos, Panteleimon Monastery, cod. 6, fol. 257r (after G. Galavaris)

32 Opening leaf of "On Love of the Poor," Athos, Dionysiou, cod. 61, fol. 142r

hand-crutches and a man with a dark beard gesturing toward another with white hair who steps forward. The structure of this composition, unwittingly obscured by the painter of the Sinai Gregory, is revealed through a comparison with the illustration of this same homily in Panteleimon Cod. 25 (Fig. 33). Here, as in most of the other miniatures in the manuscript,[69] the scene is limited to a few figures painted against a blank gold background; yet owing to the wide ornamental frames, the compositions seem more lapidary than sparse. This simple composition of Gregory with three beggars is, I believe, the immediate basis for the Dionysiou Cod. 61 miniature. The painter of the Dionysiou Gregory chose not to frame his miniatures with bands of ornament; consequently, the picture space is an awkwardly long rectangle. In addition, the painter seems uncomfortable leaving broad areas of blank gold background, so he regularly paints architectural backdrops and small groups of people to fill out what are essentially simple compositions. In the illustration to Oration 54, despite these added elements, the three invalids remain strong visual components related by pose and costume to those in the Panteleimon Gregory. The miniature in the Sinai Gregory reflects aspects of both Athos manuscripts. The poses of the invalids and their positions relative to that of Gregory are better reflected by Panteleimon Cod. 25, whereas the main outlines of the composition and the specific invalids (the young amputee, the youthful blind man, and the older, crippled

[69] *Ibid.*, figs. 137–39, 143, 144, 146–49, 172–76, 179, 180.

hunchback) are elements closer to ones in the Dionysiou Cod. 61 scene.[69a]

Many miniatures in Sinai. gr. 339 and Dionysiou Cod. 61 are compositionally very close, yet the care with which the Sinai Gregory painter copied a model similar to the Moscow Gregory indicates that discrepancies must be accounted for. The occasional, small detail present in the Sinai and Panteleimon miniatures, but not in those of the Dionysiou manuscript, suggests that an explanation paralleling the one proposed for the similarities with the Moscow and Turin manuscripts should be adopted: that Sinai. gr. 339 was either produced in the same center as that responsible for the Dionysiou and Panteleimon manuscripts, or was made with the knowledge of a now-lost work from this center. It is certain that the page layout in the Athos manuscripts, with their miniatures spread across both columns of text, offered the basic model for the Sinai Gregory. In addition, the painter generally adapted the compositions of this model—whether purchased, borrowed, or familiar from workshop tradition—for his own framed scenes, and only occasionally chose instead the composition of his other model as that to be enframed above the text. Several of the headpieces in the Sinai Gregory, absent from manuscripts of the Kokkinobaphos group, appear in the Panteleimon Gregory,[70] although the reservation given above concerning the coincidence warrants repeating: these patterns are common ones. Nevertheless, the use of wide ornamental frames in both the Sinai and Panteleimon Gregory manuscripts, where they are wholly or mostly lacking in the Moscow, Turin, and Dionysiou manuscripts, may bear on the final evaluation of the model. Finally, the style of many of the framed scenes in Sinai. gr. 339 is related to that of the Dionysiou manuscript; figures are tall and elegantly proportioned, their drapery occasionally falling into broad, facet-like planes. These similarities, along with the extensive use of gold backgrounds—like those of the miniatures in Panteleimon Cod. 25—are not, however, quite as strong as those between Sinai. gr. 339 and the Moscow and Turin Gregory manuscripts in those scenes which are compositionally related. One twelfth-century stylistic current is conspicuously absent, that of the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts. The frontispiece miniature from Vat. gr. 1162 (Fig. 4) may serve as a comparison. Its tall, energetic figures are rendered with a hard plasticity, and their features caught in intense expressions. In fact, the stylistic differences are so great that two conclusions are permitted: the first is that Sinai. gr. 339 is not a product of the Kokkinobaphos workshop; the second is that the contact between the painter of the Sinai Gregory and the Kokkinobaphos workshop was not an illustrated Gregory manuscript, for it would surely have had some stylistic impact on the Sinai miniature cycle. As an explanation of this singular situation—wherein influence appears in ornamental forms only, and does not extend to any other aspect of the book's manufacture—I would like to posit the existence of a model book. This object, produced in the Kokkinobaphos workshop and used by the painter of the Sinai Gregory, may have been of various forms, loose leaves, a notebook, or bound gatherings, but it most probably contained only drawings of initials and headpieces.[71]

Conclusion

In the execution of this commission, the painter of the Sinai Gregory faithfully followed the miniatures in the two, now-lost pictorial models from which he was working. His careful adherence to their compositions necessarily gives rise to undeniable similarities with those other works produced in the workshops responsible for his models. With no regard for stylistic or historical considerations, G. Galavaris interprets this relationship as indicating that all five manuscripts analyzed here (viz., the Sinai Gregory and the other examples in Moscow, Turin, and the Athos Monasteries of Dionysiou and Panteleimon) to a greater or lesser extent reflect the very full cycle of a tenth-century archetype. Yet the Sinai Gregory painter was faithful to his models to the extent that their styles are discernible as well, and it is this aspect of his work that compels rejection of Galavaris's theory. Behind the painter and his models is the presence of the patron. It was his wish to present the monks of the Pantanassa monastery with a splendid gift, as his proud reference to its decoration (fol. 437v)—of specificity unusual in Byzantine colophons—makes clear. His position of authority in a powerful institution, and perhaps his personal wealth, enabled him access to the books necessary to the production of what must have been the most sumptuous Gregory manuscript made in almost three centuries; for by the middle of the twelfth century, examples of several rich traditions of Gregory illustration were available to an influential Constantinopolitan. The question that arises is: where did Joseph have the manuscript made?

[69a] It is possible that in this expansion of the scene, the painter of the Dionysiou Gregory consulted what may be the ultimate source of this composition, one of Christ's healing scenes. For example, compare Figure 32 with the illustration of Mt. 21.14 in Paris. gr. 74, fol 41v (H. Omont, *Evangiles avec peintures byzantines du* XI*e siècle*, Paris, n.d., pl. 35).

[70] *Ibid.*, figs. 144, 173, 389, 390; 143, 392; 176, 391.

[71] Unfortunately, little is known of the manufacture and use of model books in the Middle Ages; for discussion see R. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books*, Haarlem, 1963; on the rather late, paper sheet at Yale (University Library, MS 553) see K. Snipes, "A Preliminary Study of the Yale Menologium Pattern Sheets," *Yale University Library Gazette*, XLII, 1968, 140–53, and, with further information on the material, W. Cahn and J. Marrow, "Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at Yale," *Yale University Library Gazette*, LII, 1978, 273–74.

The task of establishing the names and locations of the major centers of Byzantine manuscript production is seriously hindered by the lack of information. This situation has necessitated the use in this paper of invented workshop names based on the present locations of selected manuscripts or on one outstanding work. For the Sinai Gregory, a specific attribution has already been made, the Pantocrator Monastery itself. Galavaris, who put forward this attribution, argues that although the dedication (fol. 437v) indicates only that Joseph made the manuscript, it is obvious that he did so in the monastery in which he was abbot at the time.[72] As has been indicated, it is most unlikely that Joseph made the manuscript in the way in which we understand the word. Neither is there any literary testimony known from the *typikon* or elsewhere regarding a scriptorium or painting center associated with the monastery. It is possible, if not likely, that Joseph deemed it more practical to patronize some center known for the high quality of its work than to establish one in his own monastery. The attribution can neither be sustained nor rejected; the evidence for it must be weighed against that for the other possible attributions.

Of the three possible attributions suggested here, one, the Kokkinobaphos workshop, has already been rejected. The other two are the centers responsible for the pictorial models. By adopting either of these, one releases Joseph from the burden of having to provide his painter with an armload of books to copy. He would at most have had to furnish only the model for the decoration and another Gregory manuscript with miniatures. In fact, a good case can be made for the manufacture of the Sinai Gregory in the same center as that responsible for the Moscow and Turin manuscripts. The strongest, possibly compelling, argument for this attribution arises from the analysis of the illustration cycle of the fourteenth-century Paris. gr. 543 referred to in the introduction.[73] At first viewing, the Paris Gregory would appear to be a copy of Sinai. gr. 339 with certain additions necessitated by a change in format. The scenes in the Paris Gregory are uniformly arranged two to a leaf to make up full-page miniatures facing the start of each homily. Although H. Belting has discussed this format with respect to the history of Palaeologan illumination,[74] it is important to note that it is anticipated by the one full-page miniature in the Moscow Gregory, and that in this case, the illustration to Oration 1, "On Easter," the subjects and compositions correspond closely to those of Paris. gr. 543.[75] For the argument I intend to pursue here, certain differences between the cycles of the Sinai. gr. 339 and Paris. gr. 543 are negligible. For example, a few subjects in Paris. gr. 543 are not in the Sinai Gregory, but they are in no other Gregory manuscript either and were probably added to the cycle from common sources by the Palaeologan painter.[76] Also, there is at least one case in which the Palaeologan painter moved an illustration designed for one homily to a different location: note the framed illustration to Oration 19 in the Sinai Gregory (Fig. 23); derived from a composition like that on fol. 77v of the Panteleimon Gregory,[77] it shows Gregory and Julian, separated by their secretaries, writing on sheets of parchment. The painter of Paris. gr. 543 has used this composition as his second illustration[78] of Oration 40, "On Baptism" (Fig. 27). As his second illustration of Oration 19, the Paris. gr. 543 painter has retained the figure of Gregory writing, but balanced it with a group of standing figures (Fig. 26)—an essentially meaningless composition. The reason for this change is the same as that for the addition of miniatures: the rigorously standardized format required the addition or invention of scenes. In some cases the problem was solved simply by adding scenes, where in at least one other it required a shifting of iconographical units.

Two compositions in Paris. gr. 543 are of particular importance. One is the illustration of Oration 19, "To Julian the Tax Collector." Both the Sinai and Moscow manuscripts have a small domed structure behind Julian, whereas the Turin and Paris manuscripts show a basilica (Figs. 23–26). The second is the illustration of Oration 15, "On the Maccabees," where a similar split occurs among the four manuscripts; Moscow and Sinai preserve as individual compositions the scenes integrated into a continuous landscape in Turin and Paris.[79] This division, made on the basis of iconographically insignificant details, is not quite as clearly drawn as it might at first appear to be, for, as noted above, the closest parallel for the first illustration in the Paris Gregory is found in Mosq. gr. 146. From this evidence it is possible to conclude that the Paris. gr. 543 is not a simple copy of Sinai. gr. 339. The scenes in Sinai. gr. 339 that were taken from the second model, that represented by the Dionysiou and Panteleimon Gregory manuscripts, however, appear in Paris. gr. 543 without significant change (cf. Fig. 34).[80] The most rea-

[72] Galavaris, *Gregory*, 256.

[73] *Ibid.*, 240–2, with earlier bibliography.

[74] *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (*Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1), Heidelberg, 1970, *passim*.

[75] Galavaris, *Gregory*, figs. 1, 454. This has been recognized and noted by Belting, *Das Buch*, 10, n. 30.

[76] They are: the Resurrection of the Dead, fol. 27v (Galavaris, *Gregory*, fig. 455), Cyprian and the devils, fol. 87v (*ibid.*, fig. 459), and the series of scenes depicting the Creation of Man, fol. 116v (*ibid.*, fig. 462).

[77] *Ibid.*, fig. 147; on the textual basis, see *ibid.*, 42.

[78] Compare the scene of John baptizing here with that on fol. 145 of Mosq. gr. 146 (*ibid.*, fig. 13).

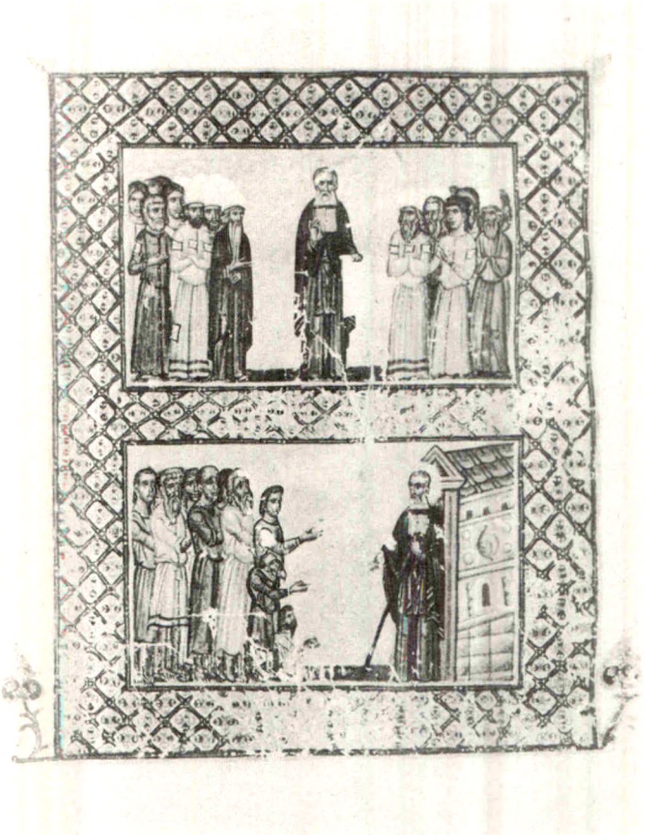
[79] *Ibid.*, figs. 7, 37, 392, 458.

[80] Compare *ibid.*, figs. 383 and 465; 384, 462; 389, 464; 391, 468.

sonable inference from this information is, I believe, that around the middle of the twelfth century Joseph Hagioglykerites approached the painters of the center in which the Moscow and Turin manuscripts were made with his commission for a deluxe Gregory manuscript. At that time another illustrated Gregory manuscript and a set of decorative models were made available to these painters or were obtained by them, and one of the painters combined them into the manuscript intended for presentation to the monks of the Pantanassa Monastery, Sinai. gr. 339. When, in the fourteenth century, the center received the commission for Paris gr. 543, it had on hand the models used for the manufacture of the Sinai Gregory; the painter drew freely on those models which represent the tradition of this center, and the result is the variation in minor compositional matters between the Sinai and Paris manuscripts. The style of the Sinai Gregory is again important, for of the two distinct styles, it is that of the Moscow and Turin manuscripts which is more faithfully rendered.

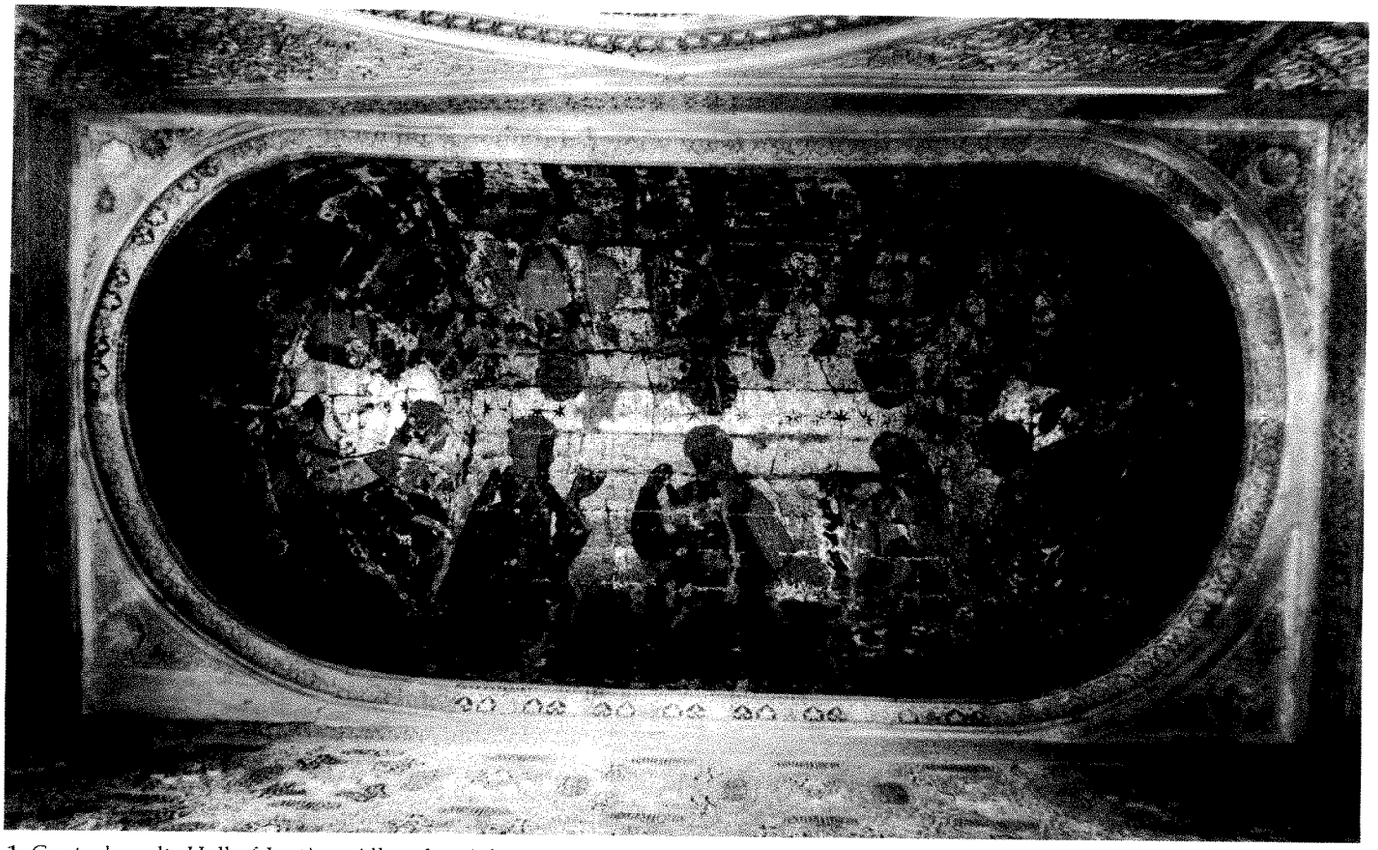
The Sinai Gregory can serve as a touchstone for further attributions.[81] The manuscript is also of considerable interest in itself for both aesthetic and technical reasons. It offers fine examples of how closely some Byzantine painters followed both figural and nonfigural models and it thereby gives insight into the making of one medieval illustrative cycle. Analysis of the work contributes significant information to the issue of the transmission and dissemination of narrative compositions and decorative patterns in the Middle Byzantine period. Thus, although it has been known that those decorative motifs assembled or devised by the painters of the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts became widespread by the fourteenth century, we now know that by the middle of the twelfth century there were two painting centers contributing to their popularity, and that perhaps pattern sheets were involved in the transmission. Finally, it is evident that the Sinai Gregory is another of the dated manuscripts on which the history of Byzantine painting must depend.

The George Washington University



34 Illustration of "On Love of the Poor," Paris. gr. 543, fol. 310v

[81] For example, the liturgical roll in Athens, National Lib., Cod. 2759, and the Gospel book in Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria; for discussion see Anderson, "An Examination" (as cited in note 1), 243–57.



1 Central vault, Hall of Justice, Alhambra (photo: Mas)

The Paintings in the Sala de Justicia of the Alhambra: Iconography and Iconology*

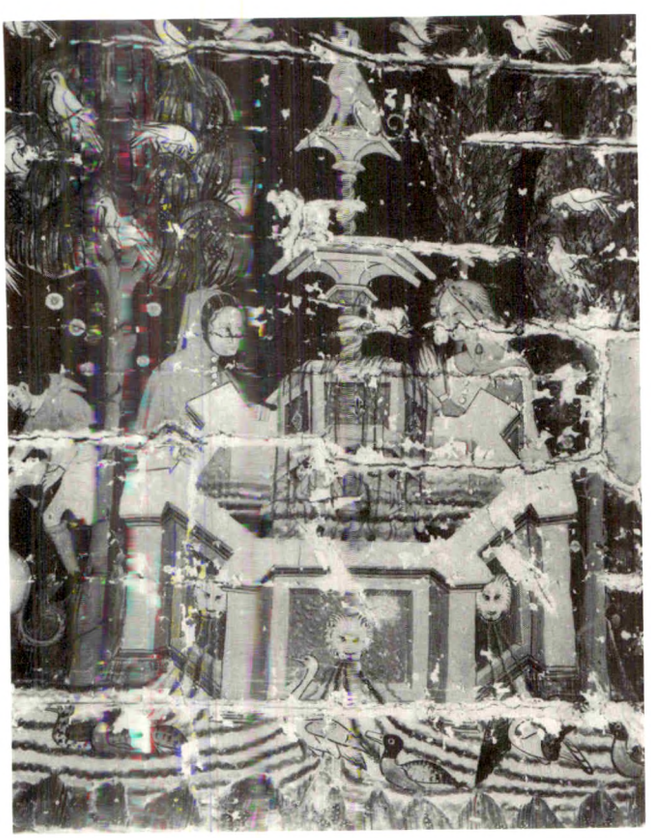
Jerrilynn D. Dodds

In 1354, the Nasrid monarch Muhammad V converted the Alhambra, Granada's hilltop fortress, into a sumptuous palace. The elaborate and sophisticated nature of its decoration attests to the richness of the court culture of this last Islamic dynasty to rule on Spanish soil. Geometrical designs and inscriptions abound in each of the palace's rooms as reminders of the scientific and lyric preoccupations of these fourteenth-century Hispanic Arabs.

In contrast to these dominant decorative themes are three paintings in the Alhambra's Sala de Justicia. They cover the vaults of the hall's three major spaces, each of

*I should like to thank Professor Oleg Grabar of Harvard for first acquainting me with the problem of the paintings of the Hall of Justice, and for constant guidance during the various stages of development of this paper, and Professor Henry Maguire for valuable advice concerning Arthurian iconography.

2 Southern vault, Hall of Justice, Alhambra (photo: Mas)



3 Northern vault, Hall of Justice, Alhambra (photo: Mas)

4 Northern vault, Hall of Justice, Alhambra (photo: Mas)

which corresponds to an entrance to the famous Court of the Lions.[1] The center painting, which lies on a direct axis with the court's fountain, depicts a group of ten men in Arab dress (Fig. 1) and the lateral examples portray romantic fables of chivalric deeds (Figs. 2–4). These paintings pose three major questions which have not been answered satisfactorily despite the large amount of scholarship devoted to them. The problems concern (1) the nationality of the artists involved, (2) the date and patronage of the works, and (3) what the paintings represent, what they were meant to convey.

Torres Balbás tells us that the artist of the two lateral vaults was undoubtedly a Western Gothic painter, probably an Italian.[2] Calvert, after pointing out several strictly Moorish qualities in the works, insists that they were executed by a French war captive.[3] Such historians who suggest a Christian attribution for the Hall of Justice paintings do so on the basis of the paucity of Islamic prototypes; neither Calvert nor Torres Balbás is able to suggest actual Christian comparisons. Rather, these early arguments are based on a folkloric romanticism concerning the struggles that took place between Christian and Arab during the reconquest of Spain, and have little stylistic basis. Even the most complete discussions of the ceilings, like that of Gomez-Moreno,[4] were affected by nationalistic trends in Spanish scholarship, which favored a Christian rather than Moslem attribution for the paintings. Nevertheless, these arguments do pinpoint the most significant problems in suggesting an Islamic artist for the Alhambra paintings: the unprecedented style and subject matter of the lateral paintings, and the simple fact that very little Islamic wall painting is known to have been executed at all during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—the years of Islamic artistic activity at the Alhambra. There are still, however, a number of important questions to be answered before concluding that the Hall of Justice paintings are the work of a Christian artist, questions which touch every aspect of the works—stylistic, iconographical, and technical.

Given the stylistic and iconographical problems, it is not surprising that the first two scholars to suggest an Islamic attribution for the Hall of Justice paintings—Contreras and Bermúdez Pareja—did so solely on technical grounds.[5] Indeed, the first concrete indication of the nationality of the artists of these ceilings is suggested by the technique employed. Each of the vaults of the Hall of Justice is covered with a layer of animal skins fastened together with fragments of bamboo. This leather base was glued to the wooden shell of the vault, and covered with one to three millimeters of gesso, which provided the painting surface. In the case of the central painting, which has a large undecorated field, the gesso was sculptured to form a relief design of leaf and arabesque motifs. The arguments of Bermúdez Pareja and Contreras were based on the paintings' dissimilarity from Christian works, and their relationship to Muhammed V's architecture. Although neither could suggest a parallel for the leather vaults at the Alhambra, paintings executed in a very similar technique can be found in the most Islamic of monuments: the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. The main dome and outer ambulatory ceiling of the Dome of the Rock were ordered restored and painted in 1327/28 by Sultan an-Nasir Muhammad.[6] Their curved surfaces are covered with paintings of vegetal motifs, which like those of the Alhambra's Hall of Justice have gold backgrounds. The paint was applied on a thin layer of gesso which adheres to a surface of palm fibers glued to the wooden shell of the dome or ceiling. The technical procedure is identical to that of the Alhambra leather paintings, as is the logic behind the use of palm fiber and leather. Both methods provide a supple, flexible ground for a curved surface, one that can expand and contract in changing temperature and humidity without cracking the painting surface. An important detail further relates the Dome of the Rock paintings to the central vault of the Hall of Justice: in the Islamic monument a relief of arabesque and flower patterns was carved in the thin gesso layer before the paint was applied, giving the paintings there the same rich sculptured effect of the Alhambra ceiling.[7]

[1] The most recent articles concerning these paintings are by far the best. J. Bermúdez Pareja and M. Maldonado Rodríguez, "Informe sobre las técnicas, restauraciones y daños sufridos por los techos pintados de la Sala de los Reyes en el Palacio de los Leones de la Alhambra," (*Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, VI, 11–18), make some sound points based on a purely technical study and also review early scholarship concerning the paintings. B. Pavón-Maldonado (in *Arte toledano: islámico y mudéjar*, Madrid, 1973) recently presented the first credible stylistic argument. He identifies the coat-of-arms as being of Muhammad V, similar to Don Pedro's but with an Arabic inscription. The thesis, discussed briefly in the text of this paper, that the artists of the painting were the Mudéjar slaves of Don Pedro is attractive, and accords with my ideas concerning the iconography of the paintings. Concerning the interpretation of the paintings, however, I am entirely at odds with Pavón-Maldonado (see note 23). Some other references are: M. Gómez-Moreno, *Guía de Granada*, Granada, 1892, 72–79; R. Contreras, *Estudio descriptivo de la Alhambra*, Madrid, 1878; E. Lafuente Ferrari, *Breve historia de la pintura española*, Madrid, 1946, 81–84; J. Gudiol Ricart, "Pintura gótica," *Ars Hispaniae*, IX, Madrid, 1955, 48; J. Goury and O. Jones, *Plans Elevations . . . of the Alhambra*, London, 1842, pls. 46–48. (Drawings in the latter are often more legible than photographs of the paintings themselves).

[2] L. Torres Balbás, *Ars Hispaniae*, IV, 1949, 120.

[3] A. Calvert, *The Alhambra*, London, 1906, 40.

[4] M. Gómez-Moreno, 72–79.

[5] J. Bermúdez Pareja, 14; Contreras, 252–260. Bermúdez Pareja's work is the source of all technical discussions of the Hall of Justice paintings in this article.

[6] An inscription in the dome's interior surface dates and describes the work. K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Moslem Architecture*, Oxford, 1932, 63, 67.

[7] There is no available analysis of the paint used in the Dome of the Rock ceilings, and so the comparison with the Alhambra paintings must stop there. The Alhambra ceilings were executed in an egg-yolk-base paint, to which was applied a protective wax varnish. Bermúdez Pareja, 17.

5 Wall paintings, 1347, Palais des Papes, Avignon (photo: Bulloz)

Questions of style are less clearcut. At the Dome of the Rock there seem at first to be two styles of painting present in the three vaults. But although the settings of the two lateral paintings are different from that of the central one, the formal qualities of the figures in all three are quite similar. Faces were first outlined in dark brown or black and given a minimal number of simple features. Eyes are almond-shaped, and the only shadowing is found in the beards. The rendering of hands, mouths, and ears remains quite simple and linear. The main difference between the center and lateral paintings lies in their settings, and in the occupations of their figures. In the central vault, the subjects are presented against a gold background, much in the manner of an Islamic miniature, but the lateral vault examples are crowded in varicolored masses on a blue-green field. One vault is austere, with its seated figures gesturing discreetly; the other is busy, full of movement, detail, and disconcerting discrepancies in scale.

Is the style of the lateral paintings really similar to that of Christian works? How do they relate to the paintings to which they have been compared, for instance the paintings of the Palais des Papes at Avignon? On first glance one notes many similarities.[8] Like the fourteenth-century frescoes at the Palais des Papes (Fig. 5), the two lateral vaults of the Hall of Justice have a blue-greenish background that abounds with flora and fauna. The impression made by both works is quite comparable: both depict a lively natural setting in which figures appear in various occupations. But on a closer look the appearance of similarity diminishes. The careful and exact copies of nature that appear in the Avignon frescoes are not to be found in the Alhambra paintings; neither is the great variety. In the paintings of the Hall of Justice, the countless number of plants portrayed at Avignon are reduced to one or two generalized types of flowers, the individualized animals to large quantities of birds and the inevitable rabbit. The same holds true in the figures themselves. The

[8] Calvert, 40.

6 Wall painting, second half 13th century, Seminario Menor, Toledo (photo: Gudiol Ricart)

faces and bodies of the Avignon hunters are curved and volumetric. The figures in the Hall of Justice paintings, on the other hand, are consistently rendered in a flat outline style that lends itself more awkwardly to monumentalization.

There is little doubt, however, that works of art like the Avignon frescoes did serve as formal inspiration for the artist of the Alhambra paintings. The tapestry-like effect of the screens of flowers at Avignon might be suggested in the Hall of Justice only by a few stylized plants, but the desire to attain the same effect is evident. A good example of the common vocabulary of the two groups of artists can be seen in the bird catcher of the Palais des Papes fresco (Fig. 5), who appears as a water drinker in the Hall of Justice, although still perched in a tree (Fig. 4).

These formal attributes are characteristic of a group of painters who were considerably closer to the Alhambra than to Avignon: the Mudéjar artists of central and southern Spain.[9] In the Seminario Menor of Toledo, the former palace of Don Pedro, there survives a fragment of a painting that shares many formal attributes with the Hall of Justice ceilings (Fig. 6). Like the figures in all three Alhambra vaults, the woman of the Toledo painting is rendered with a dark outline which forms almond-shaped eyes, a simple arched eyebrow, and a rounded nose. The paintings share other traits as well: figures have slender hands with long, attenuated fingers outlined in black; their torsos are long and feature rounded, sloping shoulders. The gesturing woman of the Seminario Menor—her hand poised on a solid background—reminds one of the Arabs on the Alhambra's central vault, who calmly gesticulate to one another on a solid gold field. Finally, the bird of the Seminario Menor fragment is rendered with the same proportions and simple style as those of the lateral ceilings of the Alhambra.

7 Illumination from 13th-century Syrian manuscript, *Mukhtar al-Hikam wa-Mahasin al-Kalim* of al Mubashir. Istanbul, Topkapi Museum Library, Ahmet III, 1306, fol. 173v (photo: Richard Ettinghausen)

The two compositions might be compared even more effectively in light of a third work, a miniature painting. Seven sages converse with one another on a leaf from a thirteenth-century Syrian copy of the *Mukhtar al-Hikam* (Fig. 7) now in the Topkapi Museum.[10] They are the authors of the various maxims discussed in the manuscript; Homer, Aristotle, and Galen among them, united magically by the artist on one page for a timeless discussion. Just as in the Alhambra paintings, a

[9] Pavón-Maldonado associates the style and general subject matter of the Alhambra paintings with the painters of Don Pedro's court, but is not able to identify the scenes portrayed, or to suggest a plausible reason for their appearance in the Arab court. His idea that the paintings are a monument to the cooperation and comradeship between Arabs and Christians seems rather unlikely in view of the character of the scenes showing Moslems and Christians together (see below, p. 195), and in light of the imminent *jihad* of Muhammad V. Gudiol Ricart (p. 48) briefly suggested the stylistic parallel in 1946, but did not pursue it.

[10] The *Mukhtar al-Hikam wa-Mahasin al Kalim* of al Mubashshir, Library of the Topkapu Sarayi Muzesi, Istanbul, Ahmet III, 1306, fol. 173v. See: R. E. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, New York, 1977, 74–77.

number of similarly clad Arab gentlemen gesture to one another, conferring in both cases before a solid gold background. Like the fragment from the Seminario Menor, the *Mukhtar al-Hikam* leaf possesses an elegant arabesque that enframes its figures on an otherwise solid ground. Indeed, the Alhambra painting and the fragment from Don Pedro's palace are related not only through traits common to both works, but also through a shared dependence on certain details of the Islamic painting tradition.

Pavón-Maldonado has shown the Toledo fragment to be the work of Don Pedro of Toledo's Mudéjar slaves, and he identifies certain decorative details of the central Hall of Justice painting as characteristic of their work as well. His suggestion—based on stylistic grounds—that Muhammed V made use of Don Pedro's painters is buttressed by a historical connection between the monarchs, for the Christian ruler was one of Muhammed V's mercenary allies.[11]

The terms that have come to represent Spain's intercultural arts—those which describe the artistic intermingling of Christian and Moslem—are very informative ones. They usually take the Arabic name for the particular ethnic or social group that executed the major works of the style. Thus virtually all Christian art of the eighth to eleventh centuries that features the horseshoe arch has been called Mozarabic, the name given to Christians living under Moslem rule, regardless of the actual ethnic affiliation of the artist, or the other stylistic attributes of the monument in question. The same occurs in the case of Mudéjar art, a style named for the Moslem slaves who contributed much to its proliferation. Mudéjar art Islamic-style art ordered by a Christian patron, is only conceivable in the later years of the reconquest. It is the product of a Christian security comforted by heady years of military success against the Moslem foe, as well as the acquisition of Arabic slaves and allies. Although Mudéjar is the name given to the Moslem slaves of Christian masters, there are works of the Mudéjar style executed by Christian artists in which the Islamic tradition is only present in a residue of *horror vacui*.[12] But we must make no mistake about the slaves of Don Pedro of Toledo. Their connections with Islam were strong, and their understanding of the West was even more limited that their ability to imitate French taste.

In sum, the Mudéjar artist's unique cultural situation, that of an Arab serving a Christian, corresponds with what we know of the Alhambra painter. He was expected to treat Christian themes, and perhaps in a style similar to that of fashionable painting of the sophisticated North. At the same time, however, the Mudéjar artist had a firm understanding of the style of the Istanbul *Mukhtar al-Hikam*, of the complex geometric detail that appears in the designs of the swords and garments of the figures in the central vault at the Alhambra. But if we are to believe that the Hall of Justice painters are Mudéjar, we must acknowledge a unique situation. For here, their temporary masters, the patrons of the works of art, were Arabs like themselves, not Christians. Before reaching an understanding of the extent to which these paintings were the product of the background of patron or painter, some idea of their content and iconography must be established.

There are seven independent scenes, or centers of action in the lateral "Northern-style" paintings of the Alhambra. These scenes are visually punctuated by hunting figures which are represented in a much larger scale than the figures of the rest of the vaults. Concerning these scenes, Gudiol Ricart mourns that "no text could possibly explain such an iconography."[13] Indeed, the lack of Islamic precedent or Arabic text relating to any of the representations in the lateral paintings has been a major argument for giving them a Christian attribution, although no Western precedents have been found either. We shall see, however, that there are Western qualities in the iconography of the Alhambra paintings, and that these, like the Northern elements in their style, fail to support such arguments.

Six scenes from the Hall of Justice paintings contain iconography directly attributable to French fourteenth-century tradition. In the southernmost vault, placed between the oversize figures of an Arab and a Christian in hunting poses, is an adaptation of "The Tryst Beneath the Tree" from the legend of Tristan and Isolde (Fig. 3). On an ivory from the Metropolitan Museum in New York, we see the lovers on either side of a fountain with lion's heads as spouts, of which the one in the Alhambra paintings is a more elaborate version (Fig. 8). The significance of the scene seems, however, to have been lost. It is confused by a number of tiny naked people who bathe in the fountain, between the lovers. The Tryst foutain was thus made the scene of a condensed version of the "Fountain of Youth," a popular theme often found on portable objects, like the same casket from the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 9). The bathers of the Alhambra paintings can also be compared to those on an ivory casket from the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (Fig. 10).

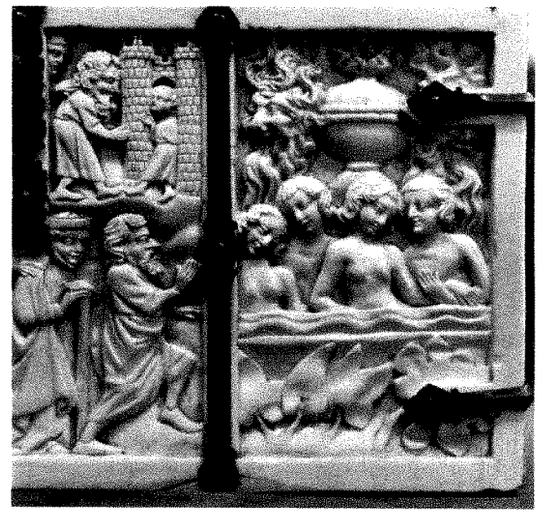
A similar misunderstanding can be found in the northernmost vault. There, the most striking representation is that of a wildman who, having captured a lady, is being attacked by a Christian knight (Fig. 2). This strange being springs from the iconography of the Galahad cycle. Indeed, the *wodehouse*, or wildman, of

[11] Pavón-Maldonado, 252–55.

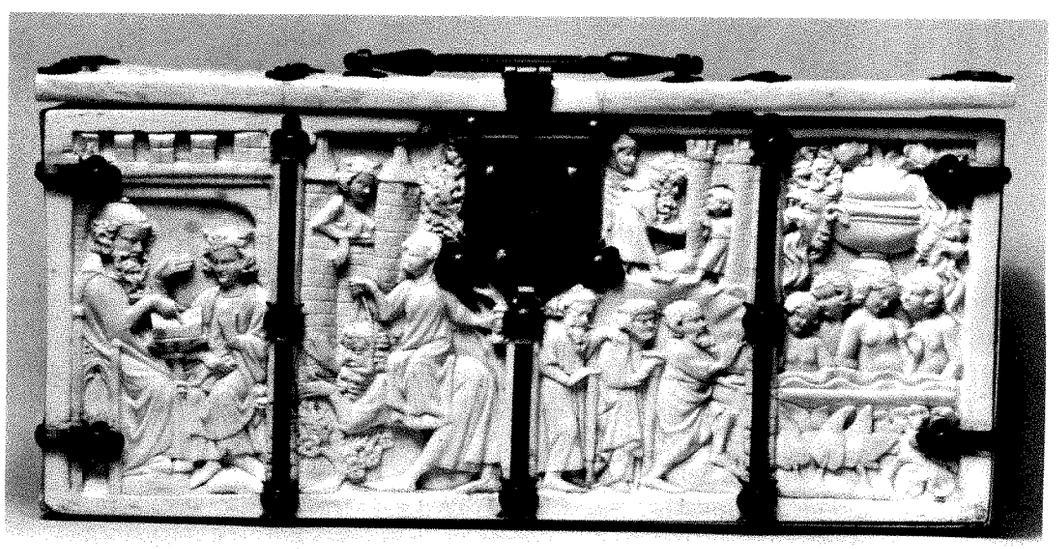
[12] For instance S. Tirso at Sahagun, the Torre de S. Pablo in Zaragoza, and the façade and courtyard of the Palace of the Infantado in Guadalajara which is still called Mudéjar. See: L. Torres Balbás, "Arte mudéjar," *Ars Hispaniae*, IV, Madrid, 1949, 237–349.

[13] Gudiol Ricart, 48.

8 Ivory casket, Parisian, 14th century. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (photo: author)



9 Side view of casket in Fig. 8

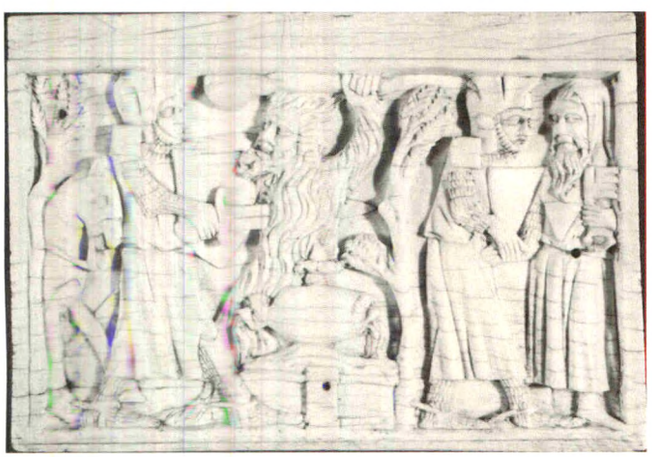


10 Ivory casket, Parisian, 14th century. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery (photo: Walters Art Gallery)

the Alhambra is nearly identical to one on the Metropolitan casket (Fig. 11) and is quite similar to those on caskets from the British Museum (Fig. 12) and the Bargello. Contrary to the Western renditions of the scene and to the text, however, the wodehouse from the Alhambra attacks a lady who leads a lion on a chain. This beast belongs to a different cycle. He figures in an episode from "The Quest for the Holy Grail" in which Lancelot crosses a bridge of swords, only to find his way blocked by a chained lion. In an example of this scene from a French manuscript now at the Morgan Library (Fig. 13), the lion-keeper assumes the same stance as the heroine of the Alhambra scene. The hands grasped by the wildman in the Hall of Justice are posed in the same nonchalant manner and in the same position as those which greet Lancelot in the Morgan manuscript. In both cases, a crenelated tower with two spectators looms behind the main figures. In the Alhambra paintings, however, the spectators have been reversed, and they participate in the next, unrelated center of action.

Although this scene of "spectators" is the only one cited so far for which an ivory prototype has not been found, it too might well have been copied from a casket. The "Crossing of the Bridge of Swords"—that part of Lancelot's adventure appearing in the Morgan page but omitted in the Hall of Justice paintings—occurs repeatedly in the ivory caskets to which the Alhambra paintings have been compared. On the Metropolitan Museum and British Museum caskets, as well as in a

11 View of casket in Fig. 8



12 Ivory casket, Parisian, 14th century. London, British Museum (photo: author)

drawing of the lost DeBoze ivory box,[14] the scene is followed by a depiction of Gawain on "The Perilous Bed" (Fig. 14). The lion on the chain and the spectators of the miniature from the Morgan manuscript have been eliminated in the New York and London caskets, but an attempt was made by the artist of the DeBoze casket to incorporate some of these details, although he squeezed them into the Gawain panel. In sum, the onlookers that are common to the Morgan manuscript and the Alhambra ceilings occur in ivory caskets as well. One might even suggest a lost prototype including the lion on a chain and its keeper. A curious detail buttresses this argument. Both the DeBoze casket and the Alhambra painting feature trees with birds in them surrounding the towers from the which the ladies watch. One of the birds in the Alhambra painting is upside-down—a detail that repeats the inexplicably inverted birds of the DeBoze casket.

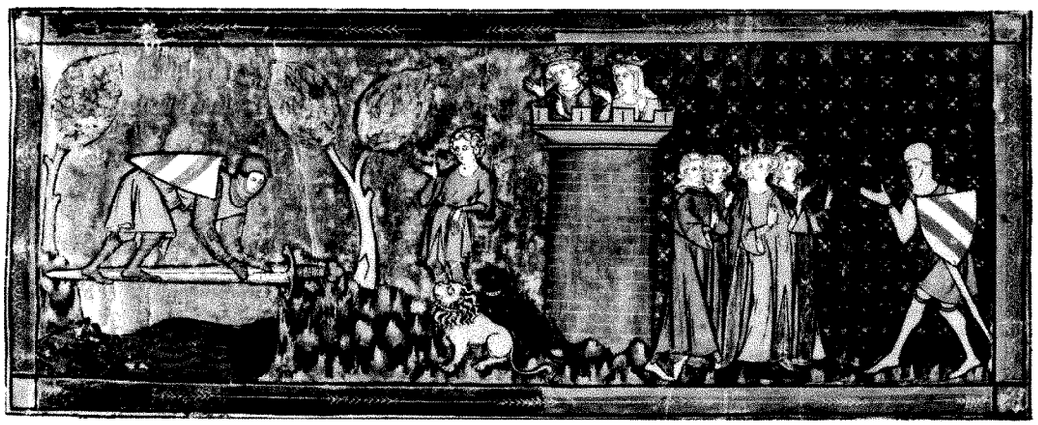
The Tristan and Isolde cycle is evoked a second time, in a chess game in the southernmost Alhambra vault (which is now in a rather mutilated state).[15] Finally, to the left of the chess players (and protruding into the space of that scene) appears a man in Christian dress in combat with a lion, a depiction that takes its form from representations of yet another Lancelot legend. The hero, on foot, raises his sword over his head in the same manner as the corresponding figures on a number of ivory caskets. The parallel is especially close with those at the Metropolitan Museum, the British Museum, and the Walters Gallery.

This plethora of misused and manipulated iconography seems to indicate that the artists of the Hall of Justice paintings copied a model or series of models with complete disregard for their symbolic or narrative content. The artists, the patron, or both were either unfamiliar with the stories involved, or completely unconcerned. Although the joining of unrelated scenes—the "Tryst" and the "Fountain of Youth," the "Wodehouse" and the chained lion—was due to ignorance or the lack of interest of the artist, I believe that the variety and arrangement of different scenes reflects the model they used.

Most of the scenes discussed above can be found on

[14] Most of the DeBoze casket is lost, but a drawing made in 1753 preserves this scene; R. S. Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, New York, 1956, 72.

[15] The other surviving illustration of this scene can be found in Palermo, at the Palazzo Chiarmonte, on a painted ceiling which dates 1377–1380; Loomis, 61–62.



13 Illumination from French School manuscript, northern France, 1300–1320. New York, Morgan Library M. 806, fol. 160r (photo: Morgan Library)

14 Engraved illustration of DeBoze Casket, from *L'Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1753 (photo: Loomis)

French ivory caskets of the fourteenth century. Those to which the Alhambra paintings have been compared are identified by Loomis as belonging to the same group, produced in Paris before 1350.[16] Single scenes from different romantic legends appear on each box, in combinations reminiscent of the variety of the Hall of Justice paintings. Of the ten caskets in the group, each depicts at least three of the scenes portrayed on the Alhambra ceilings, although the selection on any one casket varies. The Baltimore casket, for instance, is decorated with the "Tryst Beneath the Tree," the "Fountain of Youth," and Lancelot in combat with the lion, as well as several scenes from diverse stories not depicted at the Alhambra. Lancelot and the lion are also found on the Bargello casket, this time in conjunction with the "Tryst" and the "Wodehouse." The "Fountain of Youth" and the "Tryst," which were mixed together on the Alhambra paintings, are adjacent to one another on the Metropolitan casket, which also features a representation of the wodehouse. These ivory caskets, then, are ideal models for the mixed and confused kind of iconography we see in the Hall of Justice vaults. Since the combination of scenes on each casket varies, the existence of a lost prototype might be suggested for the ceilings; one that combined the specific chivalric scenes found in the lateral Alhambra paintings: the "Tryst Beneath the Tree," the "Fountain of Love," the "Wodehouse," the lion on the chain, the chess game, and Lancelot with the lion. As the copying of these scenes was obviously selective, and characterized by a generous sense of artistic freedom (as in the "Fountain of Love" and the "Tryst," the "Wodehouse" and the "Lion"), it is possible that a pair of ivory caskets was at the artists' disposal.

Even more striking is the fundamental formal relationship that the French caskets have with the Alhambra ceilings. Each of the paintings is composed of scenes arranged in a series of squared compositions that wrap around the periphery of the oblong dome. The center portion of the vault is merely filled in with a band of stars. The impression is one of a decorated casket turned inside out. The failure of the artists of the Alhambra to exploit all of the possibilities of the canopy-like space of the vaults might well result from the fact that they relied too heavily on the shape of their model—not simply on its iconography.

That the authors of these contorted scenes were Moslems now seems safe to say. They worked in an Islamic technique, in a style close to that of the Moslem painters of Don Pedro of Toledo. Further, the works with which the paintings have been compared suggest a Moslem patron as well, for they correspond chronologically to the Nasrid builder of the Alhambra. The ivory caskets date to the first half of the fourteenth century, and the Mudéjar paintings of the Seminario Menor were executed in the 1370's, evidence that buttresses that of the technical aspects of the dome to suggest that the vaults were part of Muhammad V's transformation

[16] *Ibid.*, 66.

of the Alhambra into a palace in the third quarter of the fourteenth century.[17]

The large number and wide diffusion of these early fourteenth-century French caskets would have enabled Mudéjar artists to paint fashionable chivalric scenes without being obliged to understand their real meaning. Although none of these Parisian caskets survives in Spain, examples like the one in the Bargello in Florence might explain the appearance of single scenes from chivalric cycles completely out of context in central Italy, a location equally foreign to the French tradition. Loomis marvels at the diffusion of the "Tryst Beneath the Tree" scene, which occurs "apart from any illustrations of the narrative context . . . far and wide throughout Christiandom."[18] Thus the models might easily have been found in the Christian courts of the masters of the Mudéjar painters, or possibly even in the palace of the Nasrid rulers themselves.

The presence of these Christian legends, however misunderstood, in a monument as specifically symbolic as the Alhambra could not be accidental. If the decorative scheme of the Hall of Justice were as carefully planned to reflect the tastes of Muhammad V as the other rooms of the palace, then one must see here too the triumph and aspirations of that Nasrid ruler.

It is conceivable that the patron of the Alhambra paintings also might have wished to create a fashionable ambiance, one based on imported taste, and inspired by the wealth and power of the encroaching Christian empires of Europe. This idea supports Pavón-Maldonado's supposition that Don Pedro lent his painters to Muhammad V at the Nasrid monarch's request.[19] But that Muhammad V actually did take part in planning the Hall of Justice paintings, and that recognition of his nationality and religion was not lost in the tide of fashion is suggested by the two remaining scenes to be discussed. The first of these opposes two pairs of figures: an Arab and a Christian offering the trophies of their hunt to two ladies. Whereas the Arab stands erect and towers over the lady to whom he gives a boar, the Christian kneels to offer the small bear he has caught, and he must look up with a pathetically tilted head. The second scene depicts jousters, a theme also common on ivory caskets (Fig. 15).[20] This pair of figures is more poignant than the Christian examples. By far the largest figures of the lateral paintings, the jousters are a Moslem and a Christian. The Christian is dying; his breast has been pierced by the Arab's spear (spilling prodigious gore) and his face wears a pathetic and anguished expression. The size and detail of the scene combine to make it quite striking—even naturalistic. It is a monumental inversion of the popular theme in Western marginalia of the Christian knight defeating the often grotesque Moslem giant (Fig. 16); it is a Santiago Matamoros in reverse.

Both of these groups of figures are clear statements of Arab power over Christians. They make strong references to the nationality of patrons who otherwise seem naïvely enthralled by certain aspects of Christian taste. But why were these paintings included at all at the Alhambra? Did they carry a deliberate or unconscious message? Perhaps the key can be found in the painting of the center dome of the Hall of Justice.

The central painting shows ten opulently dressed Moslems seated in a circle, as if conferring in the space below the dome. Gallego y Burín[21] identifies them as ten of the Nasrid kings, proposing that two were left out because of their questioned legitimacy. The scholar's manipulation of an otherwise likely analysis of this painting was necessitated by his Christian, hence post-Nasrid dating for the three works. But because Muhammad V, who built the Hall of Justice, was the tenth Nasrid monarch of Granada, this painting might well represent him and his ancestors.[22]

Although no other Islamic depiction of an entire dynasty survives, historical figures from different milieux and epochs do appear together in single Arab paintings. In this regard, the eighth-century painting of the "Family of Kings" in the bath of Qusayr Amrah comes to mind.[23] But closer in concept and time is the very miniature of the *Mukhtar al-Hikam* to which the central Alhambra painting has been compared stylistically (Fig. 7). There, sages and authors from diverse moments in history are shown conversing with one another in the same painting, looking very similar to the Alhambra kings despite their discrepancies of size and painting medium. Perhaps the abstract solid gold background was chosen in both cases to emphasize the timelessness of the scene. It would have been difficult, in any case, to invent a more complex common setting into which a painter might put philosophers from several centuries, or ten generations of kings.

But why would the celebrated victor and builder of this sumptuous palace need to credit his ancestors? A tempting suggestion is offered by an examination of

[17] Pavón-Maldonado (p. 250) points out that certain motifs in the painting parallel those in the architectural decoration of the rest of the Alhambra. It is tempting to suggest this as another proof of contemporaneity.

[18] Loomis, 66.

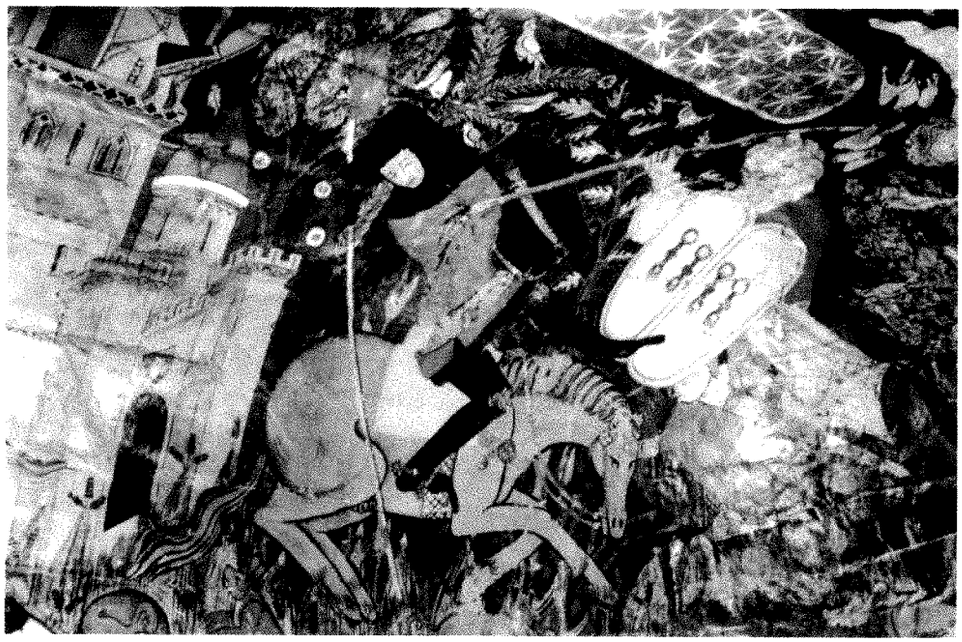
[19] Pavón-Maldonado, 264

[20] For instance, the Walters Gallery casket.

[21] A Gallego y Burín, *Guía de Granada*, Granada, 1946, 42.

[22] R. Arié's thesis that the costumes are accurately depicted as those of 14th-century Moslems is very convincing, and quite dampens one's enthusiasm for Pavón-Maldonado's idea that the central vault is a representation of Christians and Moslems conferring together, historically appealing as that idea might seem. (R. Arié, "Quelques remarques sur le costume des Musulmans d'Espagne au temps des Nasrids," *Arabia*, 1975, 244–261).

[23] O. Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, New Haven, 1973, 47.



15 Southern vault, Hall of Justice, Alhambra (photo: Mas)

16 Detail of French School manuscript, 14th century. London, British Museum Add. 42130, fol. 82r (photo: British Museum)

Muhammad's reign. Overthrown by his own mother-in-law in 1359, Muhammad V was replaced by her son, Ismai'l. Ismai'l was himself dethroned shortly thereafter by his brother-in-law Muhammad ibn Ismai'l, who in turn was overthrown as Muhammad V regained his rule in 1360. Perhaps this Nasrid monarch pictured himself among his ancestors in order to buttress his ever-threatened claim to the throne, to establish his legitimacy.

Such an identification of the ten seated men seems even more attractive in light of one of the few inscriptions that survives in the Hall of Justice: "May imperishable power and glory ever be the destiny of the owner of this palace."[24] The "owner of the palace" could be any Nasrid king. Perhaps the Hall of Justice is a room dedicated to the perpetuation of a dynasty and its "imperishable power." The central painting, which is the most striking of the three, is executed in the most formal manner; it is the most important painting, the most skillfully executed. It is also on a straight line with the fountain of the Court of the Lions, as if the lion warriors of the inscription were awaiting the command of ten generations of Nasrids to defend the dynasty.

As rulers of the only surviving Spanish Moslem kingdom, Nasrid monarchs were forced into constant contact with their Christian neighbors. Very little of this contact involved victorious battle. More often, in fact, it consisted of the payment of heavy tribute to the Christian kings. Being forced to both court and fear their most bitter enemy aroused conflicting passions that must have been particularly intense during Muhammad V's reign. For it was he who appealed for a *jihad* against Christians—a desperate show of defiance against the looming military and cultural menace of the West—after he had appealed to that same Christian military force to help him regain his throne.

Perhaps the paintings of the Hall of Justice are symptomatic of this situation. The presence of works in a Western style might have been an involuntary witness to the encroaching threat of the Occident: on the one hand, the dominance in fashion of French art and chivalric subjects could not be denied, so certain aspects of Northern style and iconography were adopted. Indeed, Ibn Jaldun's famous remark that the Andalu-

[24] Trans. Calvert, 38.

sian Arabs imitated the Christians and their customs as was seen "on paintings representing figures on the walls of their buildings and homes" might have referred to these very paintings.[25] On the other hand, the military threat of the Occident was real enough that openly didactic images had to be added (the presentation of the hunt, the Moslem killing the Christian) to reassure the insecure Arab ruler. An inscription from the Garden of Linderja at the Alhambra demonstrates the same conflicting needs, to be *au courant* and simultaneously to be superior to the same menacing powers:

> (The building speaks:)
> All borders are in perpetual security, all in
> defense of the realm and of elevated dignity.
>
> I represent the highest grade of Beauty.
> My form is admired by the most erudite.
>
> No better house than I has ever been seen—
> Either in the East or the West.[26]

The Alhambra, the shrine to Muhammad V's one victory against the Christians, is also a testimony to the continued envy and sense of intimidation he felt toward them. The paintings of the Hall of Justice, like the inscription, show Muhammad's need to be without equal "either in the East or the West," and to keep Islam's receding Spanish borders in "perpetual security."

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

[25] Pavón-Maldonado employs this same quotation to suggest a positive view of such fashions. I see it, on the other hand, as an ironic and disdainful remark, which is a good example of the self-consciousness that could result in scenes like the presentation of the hunt, and the Moslem killing a Christian in the Hall of Justice paintings (Pavón-Maldonado, 264.)

[26] E. Lafuente y Alcántara, *Inscripciones árabes de Granada*, Madrid, 1859, 147. Author's translation.

Nostra Conversatio in Caelis Est: Observations on the *Sacra Conversazione* in the Trecento*

Rona Goffen

The relationship between sacred paintings and pious writings is often a perplexing one. This is true in particular of that most common devotional image, the Madonna and Child. Nevertheless, it seems logical that an affinity would exist between such non-narrative devotional images and the kinds of prayers and sermons that would have been pronounced before them, albeit a kinship of parallels, rather than of direct descent. My premise is that Madonna paintings are (or were originally) objects of practical use, instruments of prayer that aided devotions. Hence the following examination of the visual imagery will involve references to "literary equivalents"[1] and the proposition that different types of representation were required by different spiritual needs. The particular focus of this study is the unified representation of the Madonna and Child and saints that is generally called a *sacra conversazione*. But first of all the term itself presents a problem of semantics.

Günter Passavant pointed to Franz Kugler's use of the words *sacra conversazione*, and more recently it has been claimed that Kugler was in fact the first to employ the phrase.[2] Writing in 1837, Kugler informed us that it is the Italians who call paintings such as Titian's Pesaro Altarpiece *heilige Conversazionen*.[3] Now, thanks to Dr. Gino Corti, we are able to refer to an earlier—and Italian—citation. In a Pucci inventory dated March 20, 1797, a painting by Santi di Tito is described as "Un quadro rappresentante una Santa Conversazione con cinque figure."[4]

It is most unlikely that this citation is unique. Nevertheless, the term *sacra conversazione* seems to have been rare until the later nineteenth century. It does not appear in such texts as Cennino Cennini's *Libro dell'arte* or in Alberti's *Della pittura;* neither Ghiberti nor Vasari uses it in descriptions of paintings; it is not found in the published fifteenth-century Medici inventories; and it is missing from Baldinucci's dictionary.[5] Nor is the phrase employed by prominent figures of later eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Italian art history, Kugler's immediate predecessors and contemporaries, such as Lanzi and Milanesi.[6] It seems that the elusive phrase was first popularized by Crowe and Cavalcaselle in *A History of Painting in North Italy . . .*, published in 1871. With remarkable *élan*, the collaborators claimed that Palma Vecchio "was the inventor of the large *Santa Conversazione* in which full-lengths

* This paper was prepared at the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, Villa I Tatti, with the aid of a Fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies. I am most thankful for the support of the ACLS. For the excellence of the facilities and for the helpfulness of the staff at I Tatti I am deeply grateful. Also, I wish to acknowledge the important suggestions offered by my colleagues there, in particular Salvatore I. Camporeale, and Artur Rosenauer of the University of Vienna. Finally, for their excellent recommendations I thank Marvin Eisenberg and David Rosand. Versions of this paper were read at the Villa I Tatti in March, 1977; for the Mediaeval Seminar of Columbia University in November, 1977; and at the Mid-Atlantic States Conference on Patristic, Mediaeval, and Renaissance Studies, at Villanova University in October, 1978.

N.B.: A bibliography of frequently cited sources appears at the end of this article.

[1] For texts as "literary equivalents," see Meiss, 1951, 127. See also the attempt to establish a close literary/visual relationship in I. Maione, "Fra Simone Fidati e Taddeo Gaddi," *L'Arte*, XVII, 1914, 107–19; and the criticism by J. Gardner, "The Decoration of the Baroncelli Chapel in Santa Croce," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXIV, 1971, 114.

[2] G. Passavant, *Andrea del Verrocchio als Maler (Bonner Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft*, ed. H. von Einem and H. Lützeler), Düsseldorf, 1959, 40–43 and notes; Kugler is discussed in n. 179. E. Hubala, *Giovanni Bellini, Madonna mit Kind, Die Pala di San Giobbe (Werkmonographien zur bildenden Kunst*, CXXXIII), Stuttgart, 1969, 27, gives Kugler primacy.

[3] F. Kugler, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei in Italien seit Constantin dem Grossen*, Berlin, 1837, 309; and the English trans., *A Handbook of the History of Painting from the Age of Constantine the Great to the Present Time*, Pt. I, *The Italian Schools of Painting*, ed. and trans. C. L. Eastlake, London, 1842, 143 and 362.

[4] Florence, Archivio Guicciardini, Pucci, 529, 62 ("Inventario dell'eredità del Marchese Orazio Giuseppe Pucci"); and Pucci, 529, 6, fol. 5v, recording the possessions in the Florentine palace of Marchese Giovan Luca Orazio Pucci. Two other paintings are identified as *sacre conversazioni* in the inventory of the Pucci villa at Careggi, a document made at the death of Marchese Filippo Maria Orazio on July 16, 1763: Pucci, 529, fol. 4v and 7r. Dr. Corti is planning a publication of these documents. I am most grateful for his generosity in sharing his discoveries.

[5] Cennino: G. and Milanesi, eds. *Il libro dell' arte, o trattato della pittura di Cennino Cennini*, Florence, 1859. L. B. Alberti, *Della pittura*, ed. L. Mallè, Florence, 1950; and *On Painting and On Sculpture, The Latin Texts of De Pictura and De Statua*, ed. C. Grayson, London, 1972. For Ghiberti, the Schlosser edition. Müntz, *Les Collections des Médicis au XVe siècle, le musée—la bibliotheque.—le mobiler (Appendice aux précurseurs de la Renaissance)*, Paris and London, 1888. F. Baldinucci, *Vocabulario toscano dell'arte del disegno*, Florence, 1681.

[6] Lanzi used the word differently, referring to a painting of "una Conversazione di giovani, mezze figure, veramente bellissima" (*Storia pittorica dell'Italia dal risorgimento delle belle arti fin presso al fine del XVIII. secolo*, ed. M. Capucci, Florence, 1968, I, 376).

of saints hold humble court in the presence of the Virgin, or introduce to her the bending donors in quiet nooks of country. . . ."[7]

Still more recently, scholars have ascribed the critical development of the *sacra conversazione* type to such masters as Masaccio, Domenico Veneziano, and Fra Angelico, among others;[8] and the phrase itself has become standard, usually adopted as if by common consent to identify the same paintings (or kinds of paintings), and yet, paradoxically, remaining inconsistently defined. As early as 1893–94, however, the great Swiss scholar of the Italian Renaissance, Jakob Burckhardt, was somewhat critical of the term. Referring to the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century representations of the Madonna between saints, a type he called "*Gnadenbild* in the strictest sense," he wrote that these images were known by "the later, not always especially appropriate phrase, the *Santa Conversazione*. . . ."[9]

Burckhardt was correct: the words—as art historians use them—are a later addition to the historiography of Renaissance paintings, and are often wrongly used and misunderstood. Because definition of a name is also the definition of the painting described, I would suggest recalling the original meaning of the words. In fact, the phrase *sacra conversazione* is very much older than the paintings it has been used to identify and, moreover, when properly defined, it is wholly appropriate to those images. Thus a restoration and clarification of the term may illuminate visual understanding.

The words *sacra conversazione* have an estimable ancestry, appearing in the Bible, in the Missal, in the Sacraments, in patristic writings, and in other venerable sources.[10] The scriptural and patristic meaning, however, is different from the common modern usage and signifies "pious conduct" or "holy community."[11] Thus, in the second letter attributed to Saint Peter in the Vulgate, after the eschatological assurance of the Second Coming, the writer urges the faithful to be prepared to live lives of holiness and piety, "vos esse in sanctis conversationibus, et pietatibus" (II Peter 3:11).

It is this meaning of "pious conduct" that also occurs in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century usage. The Franciscan Frate Bernardo is honored for his *sancta conversazione;*[12] and the Dominican preacher Cavalca, writing in his *Vite de' santi padri*, commends the priest Appellen for his *conversazione*.[13] But it is in Saint Paul's letter to the Philippians (3:20) that the use of the word *conversatio* seems closest to the situation shown in trecento paintings: ". . . nostra . . . conversatio in caelis est. . . ." "Our [holy] community is in heaven" would indeed seem a suitable description of the kind of painting usually called a *sacra conversazione*.

[7] J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in North Italy*, ed. T. Borenius, London, 1912, III, 364. Cf. the vision of a field "ubi virgo beata cum multis sanctis colloquens residebat" (Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. T. Graesse, Osnabruck, 1890, 427–28).

[8] On the *sacra conversazione* in addition to the references *supra*, nn. 2ff., see the following: J. Wilde, "Die 'Pala di San Cassiano' von Antonello da Messina," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N.F. III, 1929, 67ff.; G. Pudelko, "Studien über Domenico Veneziano," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, IV, 1932–34, 195–97; J. Shearman, "Masaccio's Pisa Altarpiece: An Alternative Reconstruction," *Burlington Magazine*, CVIII, 1966, 449–55. On the subject in general, see A. Blaise, *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi Praesertim ad Res Ecclesiasticas Investigandas Pertinens (Corpus Christianorum)*, Turnhout, 1975, 249–50; W. Braunfels, *Lexikon der Marienkunde*, ed. K. Algermissen, *et al.*, Regensburg, 1967, I, 1194; J. Burckhardt, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte von Italien*, Basel, 1898, 3–141; M. Dvorák, *Geschichte der italienischen Kunst*, Munich, 1927, I, 115; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Rome, *et al.*, 1972, IV, 4–5; K. Kaspar, "Die ikonographische Entwicklung der Sacra Conversazione in der italienischen Kunst der Renaissance," Ph.D. diss., Tübingen, 1954; and W. Ritter, "Altarwerk und Santa Conversazione in der venezianischen Kunst des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," Ph.D. diss., Munich, 1934.

[9] Burckhardt, *Beiträge*, 3. The essay "Das Altarbild" (*idem*, 3–141) was evidently written 1893–94.

[10] I am most grateful to Professor Camporeale for his generous assistance with this material. For the biblical use, see, *inter alia*, I Peter 1:15; and James 3:13. For the Missal, see W. Dürig, *Pietas liturgica*, Regensburg, 1958, 82–83 (which was kindly brought to my attention by Allen Rosenbaum). Dürig also discussed the similar usage of the synonymous "pia conversatio" (in the Missal) and "sancta conversatio" (in the Sacraments).

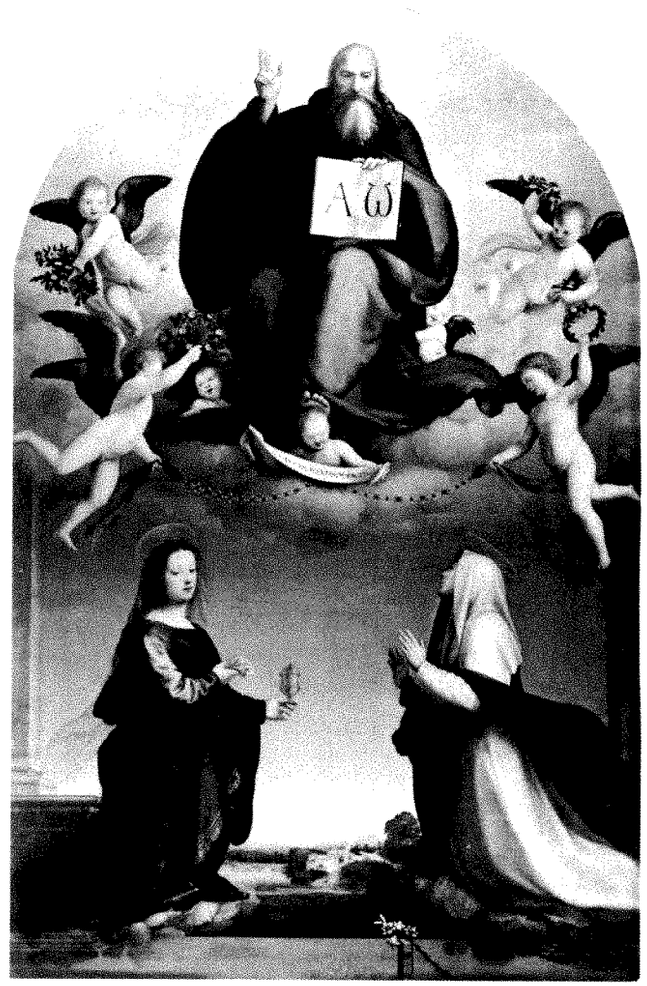
[11] In the 13th century, "conversazione" signified "custom, manner of life"; and in the 14th, it meant "familiarity" (C. Battisti and G. Alessio, *Dizionario etimologico italiano* [Istituto di Glottologia, Università degli Studi], Florence, 1951, II, 1091, *s.v.*) In the dictionary of the Crusca, the definition is "il conversare, e la gente stessa unita, che conversa insieme" (*Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, Venice, 1686, 237, *s.v.* "conversazione"). Almost fifty years later, "community" was offered as a secondary definition, after the more modern "conversation" (*idem*, Florence, 1729, 805, *s.v.*). For the medieval use of the Latin "conversatio" meaning "life, company, society," see A. Blaise, as citied in n. 8, *s.v.* The term is usually one of approbation, but cf. the inscription held by Saint Peter in the Spanish Chapel altarpiece, on which see n. 77. The inscription, from I Peter 1:18–9, urges the faithful to abandon the futile manner of living ("vana . . . conversatione") of their fathers.

[12] For the Latin original, see P. Sabatier, ed., *Actus Beati Francisci et Sociorum Ejus (Collections d'études et de documents*, IV), Paris, 1902, 19, chap. 4, 18: "Frater vero Bernardus propter sanctam conversationem ejus coepit honorari ab hominibus. . . ." For the author of the *Actus*, Ugolino Boniscambi, writing ca. 1330, see Brown in Habig, 1275–76; and *ibid.*, 1285, for the translation into Italian and additions to the original text to compose the *Fioretti*, ca. 1370–1385. (The passage quoted here becomes I, 5 in the *Fioretti*.) Jacobus de Voragine also uses the words *sacra conversazione* in this way: see chapters CLXII, "De Omnibus Sanctis," and CCLIII, "Vita et Conversatio Sancti Romani Abbatis" (*Legenda Aurea*, 721 and 955–57). For "conversing," on the other hand, he uses "colloquens"; see n. 7, *supra*.

[13] [Domenico Cavalca,] *Volgarizzamento delle vite de' Santi Padri*, ed. D. M. Manni, Florence, 1731, I, 140: ". . . ed essendo noi pervenuti a lui, pregammolo, che ci dicesse delle virtudi sue, o vero di quelli, i quali egli sapeva perfetti in quella conversazione."

In the *Sacramentarium Veronense* this same meaning of "community" appears several times, as for example in the plea, "Come, Lord, to thy supplicants, so that, purified from the disgrace of sins they may remain in holy community."[14] Likewise, Jacobus de Voragine, citing Saint John Chrysostomos, uses *conversatione* for "community": "Just as it is pleasing to man to be within the walls of a building, it is pleasing to God to be within the community of saints. . . ."[15] Saint Paul's text was quoted by Saint Bernard in his Fifth Sermon, part of the celebration of All Saints: ". . . to be sure, our lot [is] in the land of the living—and indeed this is not a small part—but . . . I say, our community is in heaven. . . ."[16] The Apostle's words reappear in an inscription on a picture dated 1509 by Fra Bartolommeo,[17] written next to the head of Saint Mary Magdalen, as both a declaration to the worshipper and as a definition of the painting itself (Fig. 1; not legible in reproduction). The frate has illustrated that "our community is in heaven" (and not on earth) by depicting God the Father in the sky, enthroned in the clouds, and accompanied by putti. Below him the Magdalen and Saint Catherine of Siena kneel on clouds also populated by cherubim. Thus these two saints are seen hovering before—not resting on—the illusionistic architecture that frames the composition below, a landscape view. Above, this architecture is obliterated by the clouds surrounding God the Father. The pious viewer is exhorted to join his celestial community by the words of the inscriptions and by the saints' *exempla*.

The subject of a painted *sacra conversazione* is just such a celestial reunion of models of piety who themselves constitute the *conversatio*, both as individual *exempla virtutis* and together as a "holy community," albeit usually in the presence of the Madonna and Child. A case in point is Titian's Pesaro *Madonna* (1519–1526), a painting generally accepted by art historians as the complete *sacra conversazione* and the illustrative example suggested by Franz Kugler. Kugler explains the painting as one in which, literally, the saints converse with one another: ". . . sitzen und stehen die Heiligen in ungebundener Weise zusammen und unterhalten sich einer mit [dem] andern."[18] Likewise, Adolfo Venturi terms such a composition "un colloquio."[19] These are persistent verbal misconceptions that distort our visual perceptions. The Pesaro Altarpiece may properly be called a *sacra conversazione* in the biblical sense of



1 Fra Bartolommeo, *God Father with Saints Catherine of Siena and Mary Magdalen*, 1509. Lucca, Pinacoteca (photo: Alinari)

[14] "Adesto, domine, supplicibus tuis . . .; ut a peccatorum labe mundati in sancta conversatione permaneant . . .;" L. C. Mohlberg, ed., *Sacramentarium Veronense* (*Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Maior, Fontes* I), Rome, 1956, 115. See also *idem*, 108: "Vere dignum: qui sicut nos per apostolum tuum dignanter informas iam conversationem nostram in caelis esse benignus institues. . . ."

[15] The entire sentence reads: "De hoc etiam Chrysostomos: homo in aedificatione parietum delectatur, Deus autem in conversatione sanctorum, unde" (*Legenda Aurea*, 721).

[16] "Sic nempe portio nostra in terra viventium, nec modica sane portio, si tamen, ut decet, memoriam affectio comitetur. Sic, inquam, conversatio nostra in caelis est . . .;" *S. Bernardi Opera*, V; *Sermones*, II, ed. J. Leclerq and H. Rochais, Rome, 1968, 364.

[17] R. M. Steinberg associates this painting with the ideas of Savonarola: "Fra Bartolomeo, Savonarola and a Divine Image," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XVIII, 1974, 319–28, and on the Magdalen, 320, and 323f. Steinberg translates "conversatio" as "conversation." The painting is also inscribed with the words "Amore Langueo," next to Saint Catherine; "Divinus Amor Extasim Facit," on a scroll displayed by a putto; and the Alpha and Omega, on a tome held by God the Father.

[18] Kugler, *Handbuch*, 309.

[19] A. Venturi, *Pittura del cinquecento*, Pt. III, Milan, 1928, 205: ". . . ma solo con Tiziano la *Sacra Conversazione* si risolve in un colloquio animato tra Vergine e Santi, tra Santo e Santo."

"pious community," but it is a silent one. No one converses in this, or, I would add, in most *sacre conversazioni*.[20] The bond among the figures is not aural, but established by purely visual and psychological means, by their common spatial and emotional environment, by light, color, scale, by gesture and glance.

Once the biblical and patristic definition of the phrase *sacra conversazione* is known, and once its general validity is accepted for such paintings as Titian's masterpiece, it must be asked whether this is a fortuitous coincidence or whether, in fact, earlier viewers of the Pesaro Altarpiece and similar images might also have thought of them in this way. To be sure, the term is convenient, and, properly defined, accurate as a picture title. Is it also historically significant?[21] Does it illuminate comprehension of sacred paintings?

The qualified "yes" to these rhetorical questions may be based in part on what is known about medieval and Renaissance spirituality. I shall argue that the pictorial development of the *sacra conversazione* in the trecento may be associated with preceding and contemporary pious writings, and in particular with Franciscan and Dominican literature.

The history of the Mendicant Orders is closely related to the development of vernacular writing.[22] Indeed, Saint Francis himself composed one of the earliest poems in Italian, the "Canticle of Brother Sun" (1225–26).[23] Moreover, the Mendicant preachers addressed their audiences in Italian, and in fact the survival of many thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sermons in written form is due to their pious listeners who either recorded the preacher's words as he spoke or who later reconstructed the sermon from memory.[24] A characteristic feature of these sermons was the often anecdotal "example," the *esempio* illustrating virtuous behavior and drawn from the familiar experience of everyday life, an easily comprehensible model and one presumably more easily emulated than Christ himself and his immediate associates, the models stressed by traditional patristic theology.[25] The *esempi* are in effect illustrations of the achievement, the earning of grace in the circumstances of everyday life.

Naturally the Mendicant sermons (especially by Franciscan preachers) stressed that the saints of their Orders, above all Francis himself, were potent and worthy *exempla virtutis*. Francis is both the *Alter Christus* and a human being whom other men may hope to follow.[26] In part because of their historical proximity, these real men of a recent past had immense impact on the public imagination. The cults of these new saints, indeed their very existence, encouraged their imitation and invited prayer for their mediation; the pictorial equivalent was their representation in a *sacra conversazione* with Mother and Son. By emulation of the saints' *exempla*, and by their intervention, the worshipper himself might hope to join the "holy community."

Offered to popular audiences in town, not to an isolated monastic community in the countryside, the vernacular sermons of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were related in a fundamental way to the development of the *sacra conversazione*. This pictorial de-

[20] Conversations do occur in paintings, carried out by means of inscriptions. Professor Fabio Bisogni of the Villa I Tatti calls to my attention the story of Saint Ignatius's exchange with the Virgin, in a late 14th early 15th-century Veronese fresco on the pulpit of Modena Cathedral (A. Ghidiglia Quintavalle, *Arte in Emilia terza, gli affreschi del Duomo di Modena e reperti d'arte dal medioevo al barocco*, Modena and Milan, 1967, 42–43, n. 23 and fig. 27). For 14th-century paintings with inscriptions that suggest a colloquy with the viewer, see Meiss, 1951, 122–23; and cf. 124f., for figures who address the viewer mutely. It is also notable that the Madonna's words inscribed on Simone's *Maestà* are directed to her human audience, the governors of Siena (see n. 100, below).

[21] The situation may be comparable to that of the words "Humanist" and "Humanism," which are apparently not used until the late 15th century, according to Baxandall, 1.

[22] The Mendicants, especially in Italy, were already preaching in the vernacular in the 13th century in Tuscany; see Delcorno, 1975, 37–38. Of course, sermons and prayers had always been offered in the vernacular, but only in the later 12th and early 13th century does a pious literature develop written in the vernacular and meant for the laity, see H. Grundmann, *Movimenti religiosi nel medioevo*, trans. M. Ausserhofer and L. N. Santini, Bologna, 1974, 373ff. Professor Daniel Lesnick has offered many helpful suggestions on this subject.

[23] The "Canticle" is written in Umbrian dialect; see J. Moorman, *The Sources for the Life of S. Francis of Assisi*, Manchester, 1940, 17–19. The saint urged the friars to sing this song when they went to preach (*ibid.*, 18). For the text, trans. Fahy, see Habig, 130–31.

[24] On the preservation of sermons, see Delcorno, 1975, 19; and A. Galletti, "Frà Giordano da Pisa predicatore del secolo XIV," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XXXI, 1898, 33.

[25] On the *esempi* of Giordano, see Galletti, *Giornale storico*, 1898, 1–48, 193–243, and *idem*, XXXIII, 1899, 193–264; and Delcorno, 1972, 3–121, and *idem*, *Giordano*, *passim*. For those of the Augustinian Filippo Agazzari (d. 1422), see Heywood, *passim* and esp. 212ff. For the adherence to the tradition of the homilies of the Fathers throughout the Middle Ages, see A. Zawart, "The History of Franciscan Preaching and of Franciscan Preachers (1209–1927), A Bio-Bibliographical Study," *Franciscan Educational Conference*, IX, 1927, 242–43.

[26] For Francis as *Alter Christus*, the visual evidence is, of course, the Upper Church cycle of the saint's life; see G. Ruf, *Franziskus und Bonaventura, Die heilsgeschichtliche Deutung der Fresken im Langhaus der Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi aus der Theologie des Heiligen Bonaventura*, Assisi, 1974, 128–232. Literary evidence includes the Franciscan text claiming that all the saints tried to follow in Christ's footsteps, but no one "was able to do so perfectly. Then St. Francis came in and set his feet right in the footsteps of Jesus Christ" (a vision of Blessed Peter Pettinaio, d. 1289, quoted by Brown in Habig, 1292–93). Cf. H. W. van Os, "St. Francis of Assisi as a Second Christ in Early Italian Paintings," *Simiolus*, VII, 1974, 115–17.

velopment may be understood as a comparable translation, for the visual and verbal translations were motivated by the same general impulse, the desire to join the worshipper to his God with immediacy and a reverent intimacy. Saint Francis expressed this desideratum in the prayer included in the Rule of his Order in 1221: "Nothing, then, must keep us back, nothing separate us from him, nothing come between us and him."[27]

I am not able to establish whether this attitude is originally or exclusively Franciscan (although one very much doubts this), but it is surely a characteristic of early Franciscanism. Furthermore, it is in the titular church of that Order that early examples appear which embody the spiritual and pictorial principles of the *sacra conversazione:* the Mother and Child are united both physically and psychologically with the saints accompanying them, in a "holy community" joined together outside historical or narrative time and events. We are invited to approach the holy figures directly: their presence is spiritually and physically immediate. The saints do not separate us from the Virgin and Child, but act as our surrogates, interceding for us with the Madonna and Christ.

II

A starting point for a consideration of the *sacra conversazione* is the Lower Church of S. Francesco in Assisi. Giotto's role there is unclear, despite a recent documentary discovery,[28] but obviously a painter very close to him, possibly the Saint Nicholas Master, is to be credited with the authorship of the frescoed *Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and Nicholas,* dating ca. 1307, in the Cappella S. Nicola of the Orsini in the north (right) transept (Fig. 2).[29] The figures appear behind an arcade with a ledge on which the Child stands, the toes of his left foot slightly overlapping the rim. This fictive stone surround is adorned with a Cosmatesque decoration that confirms its identity as an architectonic structure and not a wooden triptych enframement, as it is usually called.

This distinction is an important one. Although the composition recalls familiar half-length triptychs and polyptychs (such as that from the Badia, probably also by the Saint Nicholas Master, ca. 1300; Fig. 3),[30] the framing in the fresco evokes a stone loggia and the figures seen there can be imagined as actually existing behind the architecture. It is the fictive equivalent, in half-length, of Tino di Camaino's arches enclosing the Madonna and Child and saints at the top of the Petroni Monument of 1318 in Siena Cathedral (Fig. 4).[31] In brief, the bottom edge of a polyptych frame may be called a terminus, whereas the bottom ledge in this frescoed structure is an interruption. Giotto seems to have been the source for this, the trecento prefiguration of the Albertian interpretation of the picture surface as a window. For example, the enframement in the Scrovegni Chapel frequently overlaps figures and their actions, making explicit their continuation behind the grid.

In the Orsini fresco (Fig. 2), the figures are distinguished visually, by the higher and pointed arch over the Virgin, and separated physically, by spiral colonnettes painted over Nicholas's left arm and Francis's right hand. These divisions, however, are counterbalanced by the continuous gold ground and by the clear indications (such as the overlapping and the implication of a shared platform on which the figures presumably stand) that the figures traverse the space by glance and by gesture. Indeed, the saints' downward gestures refer to our space, indicating the altar and the tomb of Giovanni Orsini (brother of the patron Cardinal Napoleone Orsini), and commending the deceased to

[27] Chapter 23 of the Rule of 1221. This "First Rule" of the Friars Minor was written by Francis himself and superseded the Rule of 1209, which had been approved orally by Pope Innocent III. On the "First Rule," see Hermann in Habig, 28–9; and the text, trans. Fahy, *ibid.*, 52.

[28] For new evidence on Giotto's role at Assisi, see C. Cenci, *Documentazione di vita assisana, 1300–1530,* I, *1300–1448,* Grottaferrata, 1974, 51; and V. Martinelli, "Un documento per Giotto ad Assisi," *Storia dell'arte,* No. 19, 1973, 193–208. The document is dated January 4, 1309, and refers to a debt owed in Assisi by Giotto, who, however, was not then in the city.

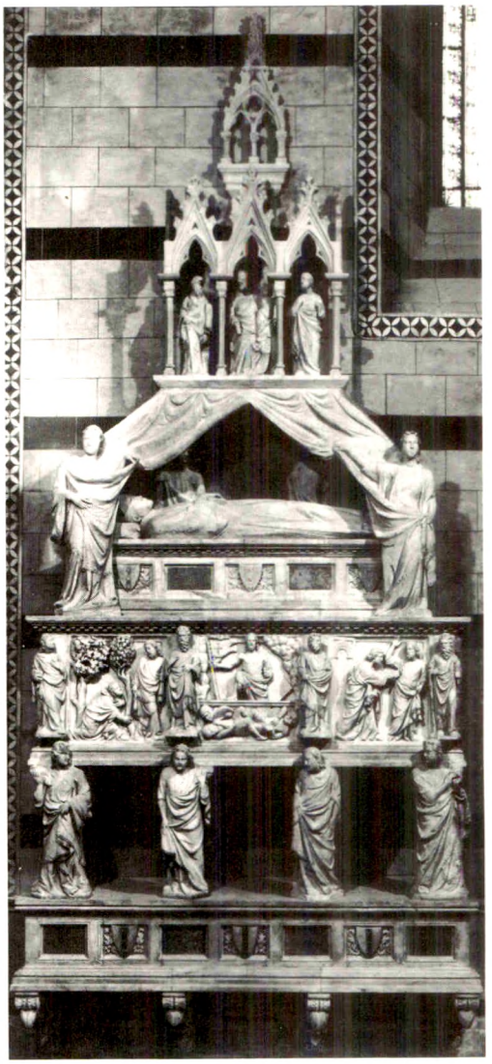
[29] I thank Father Gerhard Ruf of the Sacro Convento at Assisi and Lorraine Schwartz of Indiana University for facilitating my examination of the frescoes. For the date of the St. Nicholas Chapel, see Meiss, 1967, 3f., and *passim* for arguments against the master's personal participation in the Francis cycle; likewise, R. Offner, "Giotto, Non-Giotto," *Burlington Magazine,* LXXIV, 1939, 259–68, and LXXV, 1939, 96–113, repr. in J. H. Stubblebine, ed., *Giotto: The Arena Chapel Frescoes (Norton Critical Studies in Art History),* New York, 1969, 135–55; and more recently, A. Smart, *The Assisi Problem and the Art of Giotto, A Study of the "Legend of St. Francis" in the Upper Church of San Francesco, Assisi,* Oxford, 1971. On the Assisi chapel, see G. Previtali, "Le cappelle di S. Nicola e di S. Maria Maddalena nella Chiesa Inferiore di San Francesco," *Giotto e i giotteschi in Assisi,* ed. G. Palumbo, 2nd ed., Rome, 1970, I, 93–127. For the chapel type, based on Arnolfo's destroyed tomb chapel for Boniface VIII, formerly on the reverse façade of Old St. Peter's and completed by January 3, 1301, see Gardner, 427ff. and 438–39. On family chapels, see A. Höger, "Studien zur Entstehung der Familienkapelle und zu Familien-kapellen und -altären des Trecento in florentiner Kirchen," Ph.D. diss., Bonn, 1976.

[30] For the attribution of the Badia polyptych to the Saint Nicholas Master, see Smart, *Assisi Problem,* 83 and n. 2. On the polyptych's original frame, see Cämmerer-George, 50–57. Frescoes that specifically imitate triptychs also exist: e.g., the *Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and Catherine* in the Massa Marittima Cathedral, a mural related in style to Pietro Lorenzetti and dating from the third quarter of the 14th century (Alinari 21826).

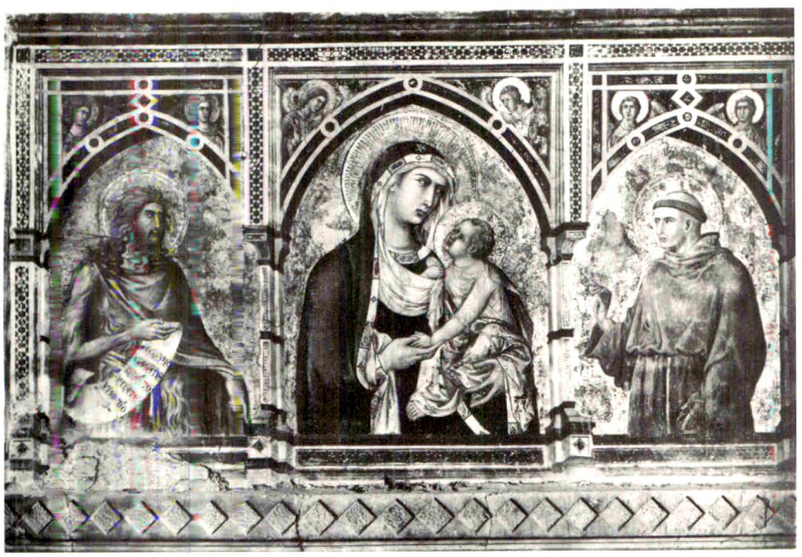
[31] On the tomb of Riccardo Petroni (d. 1314), see Valentiner, 47–56, and Pope-Hennessy, 16, 184 and fig. 26. For other tombs with free-standing groups of Madonna and Child and saints (and sometimes donors), see Bauch, 163, 175, and figs. 255 and 277.

2 Saint Nicholas Master (?), *Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and Nicholas*, ca. 1307. Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church, Cappella S. Nicola (Photo: Alinari)

3 Saint Nicholas Master (?), Badia Polyptych, ca. 1300. Florence, Uffizi (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Florence)



4 Tino di Camaino, Tomb of Cardinal Petroni, 1318. Siena, Cathedral (photo: Grassi, Siena)



5 Workshop of Pietro Lorenzetti, *Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and John the Baptist*, ca. 1315. Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church, Cappella S. Giovanni (photo: Anderson)

6 Pietro Lorenzetti, *Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and John the Evangelist*. Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church, south transept (photo: DeGiovanni, Assisi)

the Madonna and Child.[32] Thus the fresco serves both as altarpiece and as embodiment of that "sacred community" with which the donor and the deceased hope to be united.

The second Orsini Chapel, dedicated to the Baptist and located at the end of the south transept, functions as a counterpart to the first. The fresco, the *Madonna and Child with Saints Francis and John the Baptist*, is ascribed to Pietro Lorenzetti, and dated as probably before 1315, but I believe that its quality does not allow an unqualified attribution to the master himself (Fig. 5).[33] In any case, as in the St. Nicholas Chapel mural (Fig. 2), the enframement suggests an architectonic structure that implies the continued existence of the figures beyond our view. The conception of apertures through which the figures are visible is enhanced by the treatment of the angels who inhabit the spandrels. They appear as animated bust-length figures, those above the Madonna and Child overlapping the frame and leaning over to look toward them.

In the St. John Chapel, as in the Giottesque mural, there is convincing evidence that the original scheme provided for a tomb that would have been set into a niche beneath the fresco and the altar, where presumably Cardinal Napoleone himself would have been interred.[34] The actions of the saints confirm this: as in the Giottesque composition, they sponsor the donor by gesturing toward the place where his sepulcher was to have been.[35]

Despite the pictorial implications of a shared space and of communion within that realm, the fact remains that the vertical divisions in the two Orsini frescoes obstruct relationships among the figures. In an indisputably autograph fresco by Pietro, located near the Orsini St. John Chapel, on the left wall of the south transept, and dating ca. 1315, all such barriers have been eliminated and the emotional association of the characters has become much more profound (Fig. 6).

[32] B. Kleinschmidt makes this point in *Maria und Franziskus von Assisi in Kunst und Geschichte* (*Franziskus und sein Werk in Einzeldarstellungen*, I), Düsseldorf, 1926, 36. For the identity of the deceased, see I. B. Supino, "La Cappella di Gian Gaetano Orsini nella Basilica di San Francisco d'Assisi," *Bollettino d'arte*, Anno VI, Vol. I, 1926–27, 131ff.; the author doubts the inscription of the name "Giangaetano," a member of a different branch of the Orsini family. Both Orsini, Napoleone and Giovanni (d. 1294), are depicted in the lunette above, presented to Christ by Saints Francis and Nicholas respectively (ill. Previtali, *Giotto*, 1970, I, 98, fig. 77). The figures of other prelates to the left and right of the Orsini are slightly later additions to the fresco (see Maginnis, 515).

[33] The inscription on the Baptist's scroll reads: "Ego vox clama[n]tis in des[er]to parate viam do[mini]." For the date, see P. Schubring, "Die Fresken im Querschiff der Unterkirche San Francesco in Assisi," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXII, 1899, 6ff., proposing ca. 1317–1320; Meiss, 1970, 68–69, ca. 1315; Maginnis, 515, ca. 1316/17–1319; and Simon, 366, before 1316. Suggestions of a later date (e.g. DeWald, 20, 1325–29) seem unlikely also for historical reasons. In 1321 Perugia (Guelph) declared war against Assisi (Ghibelline), and the sacristy of S. Francesco was looted by the Assisans in order to finance their defense. As this stolen property belonged to the Pope, punishment for the theft included excommunication, and the city was under interdict for thirty-eight years. Moreover, Assisi fell to Perugia in 1322, and was dominated by the enemy city until 1367 and forced to pay a costly yearly tribute. See L. D. Gordon, *The Story of Assisi*, London, 1900, 20–23.

[34] Napoleone was buried in Rome in St. Peter's; see Gardner, 439 and n. 144. Ludovico da Pietralunga (d. 1580) mentions an altar in the Orsini chapel in the 16th century; see Kleinschmidt, III, 22.

[35] Kleinschmidt, *Maria*, 36; and *idem*, II, 276.

Located beneath Pietro's vast narrative *Crucifixion*, and to the left of his Passion cycle,[36] this fresco, like the previous examples, is also framed by a fictive stone surround; and the half-figures, the Madonna and Saints Francis and John the Evangelist, are seen against a gold background, in a composition related to the half-length Deesis of Byzantine art. Saint Francis displays his stigmata, raising his right hand and indicating with the left the wound in the side. Saint John holds a book and gestures toward the holy pair, while the infant gazes inquiringly at his mother. She answers his unspoken question by indicating with her thumb[37] the exemplar, the wounded Francis: so too will the child be wounded when he fulfills his role as a man.

The simulated stone framing, unlike that of the two Orsini frescoes (Figs. 2 and 5), is rectangular rather than arched, and it projects forward illusionistically from the picture plane as if into the viewer's space. Moreover, Saint John's left arm rests on the ledge, while Mary's incised halo overlaps the inner surface of the frame above, abutting the rim that apparently belongs to the viewer's realm. The lower left corner of the fresco is lost, but Francis's right hand most probably crossed that fictive border between the two worlds, the sacred and the earthly.[38]

Beneath the frame is a base superficially reminiscent of an altarpiece predella and originally consisting of five sections (that under Saint Francis is lost). This too is surrounded by imitation stone moldings. The fictive stone enframement—as in the Orsini murals—refers to architectonic forms and not to a wooden frame, a significant distinction, as will be seen. In the center of the base, directly below the Mother and Child, is the image of the crucified Christ. Their visual association is strengthened by the use of the gold ground for the Crucified as for the main scene above. The relationship of ideas is thus clearly indicated, pictorially as well as iconographically: the Crucifixion is adumbrated in the infant; Francis's identification as the *Alter Christus* is emphasized by the scars of that death;[39] and this encapsulation of the future is expanded above in the narrative *Crucifixion*. Pietro's monumental complex of images and ideas evokes on a grand scale those contemporary paintings in which the Madonna and Child are joined with the Crucifixion in the panels of a diptych.[40]

To the left and right of the crucified Christ in the fresco base are shields affixed to a monochrome ground. The gold rampant lions they once featured are largely lost, although by comparison with a stone set into the cemetery cloister walls Supino identified them as the arms of one Giovanni di Simone.[41] At the far right, under the onomastic Saint John, is a ruined profile bust portrait of the donor in prayer, shown against a blue ground. Probably his portrait was balanced by another, originally visible beneath Saint Francis. Several ideas are here intermingled: the votive and commemorative with the preconception of the child's future and hence man's hope for redemption. Thus it is

[36] For the convincing technical data on one campaign of execution for the cycle, see Maginnis, "The Passion Cycle in the Lower Church of San Francesco, Assisi: The Technical Evidence," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXIX, 1976, 193–208. Despite this unity of execution, however, I would attribute to Pietro himself only the *Madonna*, the *Deposition*, and the *Entombment*, assigning the rest of the cycle to his shop with varying degrees of participation by the master. Maginnis postulates a change in technique in these three frescoes, on the basis of their large losses of tempera (*idem*, 194f. and 206f.). This may signify a different hand —namely Pietro's. See also DeWald, 25, who ascribes the scenes from the *Entry into Jerusalem* through the *Calvary* to the same master who painted the Orsini *Madonna* (Fig. 5).

[37] Quintilian wrote that this gesture was in general use but not suitable for an orator: "Averso pollice demonstrare aliquid, receptum magis puto quam oratori decorum" (*The Instituto Oratoria of Quintilian*, trans. E. H. Butler [*Loeb Classical Library*], London and New York, 1922, IV, 298–99; Bk. XI.III. 104–05). This passage was cited (with a slight variation) but not discussed by Kleinschmidt, II, 276. It is typical of the Lorenzetti to represent the sacred characters in such a human, unassuming way; see also, by Pietro, the panel of the Baptist in the altarpiece of the Pieve, Arezzo, dated 1320, and Christ in the Assisi *Washing of the Feet* (ill. DeWald, pls. 1 and 46). By Ambrogio, see, for example, the Gabriel in the *Annunciation* dated 1344 (Siena, Pinacoteca); ills. Rowley, II, 1 and 2. Rowley (I, 11) explains Gabriel's gesture as "referring to someone not present. . . ."

[38] See Maginnis, 516. For a comparable illusionistic crossing of boundaries, which is implied in the Orsini frescoes, see the *Madonna del Magnificat* by a close follower of Daddi in the Pinacoteca Vaticana; R. Offner, *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting, The Fourteenth Century*, Sec. III, Vol. IV, New York, 1934, 54 and pl. XXIII; and C. Feudale, "The Iconography of the Madonna del Parto," *Marsyas*, VII, 1954–57, 11 and figs. 5 and 6 for the Vatican panel and the version in Florence, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.

[39] For Francis as *Alter Christus*, see the bibliog. cited in n. 26, *supra*.

[40] On this type of diptych, see Van Os and M. Rinkleff-Reinders, "De Reconstructie van Simone Martini's zgn. Polyptiek van de Passie," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XXIII, 1972, 24. See also the Madonna/Crucifixion diptychs in which the Infant holds a small cross (Meiss, 1946, 6 and n. 43); and cf. the *Annunciation* in S. Galgano by Ambrogio or a close follower in which Gabriel greets the Madonna with a palm, evoking Christ's death at the moment of his Incarnation (Meiss, 1970, 68–70).

[41] I. Supino, *La Basilica di San Francesco d'Assisi*, Bologna, 1924, 176–78; Giovanni died in 1330, according to the inscription on the cemetery cloister wall. This does not, however, contradict his possible identity as the donor. As has been seen, Cardinal Napoleone was represented during his lifetime in the Saint Nicholas Chapel (*supra*, n. 32). Similarly, two other great patrons of the trecento were depicted during their lifetimes, shown in the company of the "sacred community": Enrico Scrovegni, d. 1336, in the Arena Chapel, ca. 1305; and Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi, d. 1341, in his two-sided altarpiece by the Giotto shop, ca. 1330 and now in the Vatican Pinacoteca. In any case, other suggestions of the Assisi donor's identity are not tenable, and it certainly seems possible that whoever the donor may have been, his name might have been Giovanni. For various unlikely donor candidates, such as Walter of Athens and Charles of Calabria, see DeWald, 23, n. 2, and fig. 60 for the donor himself before and after the very extensive repainting.

possible that Pietro's base is meant to evoke the forms of a tomb. The monument of Cardinal Petroni by Tino di Camiano, to which I have already referred, is similarly decorated (Fig. 4). Under the effigy, below the relief of the Resurrection, and again, at the bottom, between supporting consoles, Tino has carved separately framed panels. Of these, some are left blank while others carry shields.

As in the Orsini Chapels, it seems that beneath Pietro's mural too there was an altar table, so that the painting would have functioned as a *pala*. In fact, an Altar of S. Giovanni is mentioned in a document dated 1300. According to this record, one "Puccius Venture Ascani" provided funds for his interment at the Altar of Saint John and for the altar's decoration with an image of the Madonna, a Crucifix, and an image of Saint Peter.[42] This scheme does not correspond to Lorenzetti's fresco, but the presence of an altar and tomb at the site seems confirmed. Furthermore, on the wall to the right of Pietro's *Madonna* is painted a small illusionistic niche to house the *ampullae* for the wine and water used in celebration of the Mass.[43]

Concomitant with its function as an altarpiece, Pietro's fresco may also be interpreted as signifying the real presence of the divine figures.[44] This may also be true of the Orsini frescoes in which, as in this instance, the enframement functions as an aperture permitting only the partial appearance of the beings contained within and behind it. In Pietro's work, the sense of the divine presence is greatly enhanced by the figures' considerable freedom of movement within the undivided picture space and by the profundity and immediacy of their psychological drama. Indeed, these figures, with their parted lips and declamatory gestures, seem almost to speak. There is support for this interpretation in contemporary allusions to art. Thus Petrarch, for example, referring to a Milanese stucco relief of Saint Ambrose which he held in particular veneration, wrote that "it almost lives and breathes . . . only the lack of a voice prevents one seeing the living Ambrose."[45]

Petrarch's response to the relief clearly reflects the values ascribed by contemporary theologians to the pictorial arts. For example, the Franciscan Roger Bacon, in his *Opus majus* written in the 1360's, had stressed that a goal of religious art is to make real the invisible verities of the faith. "The sacred writers and sages . . .," he informs us, "employed pictures and various figures, that the literal truth might be evident to the eye, and as a consequence the spiritual truth also." If artists would employ geometry, Bacon continues, their creations could enable the pious to "enter the firm temple built by the wisdom of Solomon. And with Ezekiel in the spirit of exultation we should sensibly behold what he perceived only spiritually. . . ."[46] Similarly, the Dominican preacher Giordano da Pisa, in an *esempio* of 1305 in praise of a Crucifix ascribed to Nicodemus, emphasized its evocative powers. The panel was so painted that "chi vedea la tavola, sì vedea quasi tutto 'l fatto pienamente. . . ."[47]

To be sure, such citations are to be associated with the emergence of verisimilitude as an ideal in the arts; but recalling Saint Francis's experience with the speaking cross of S. Damiano, and similar episodes,[48] one may also relate these references to the development of a lifelike imagery (in trecento terms) in order to permit the worshipper to conceive of a real presence, approachable both psychologically and illusionistically in space.[49] For these reasons Pietro's fresco (Fig. 6) may be identified as one of the first *sacre conversazioni*.

A comparable sense of the immediacy of the sacred

[42] Kleinschmidt, III, 78, No. 99: "1300. 14, IV. (Puccius Venture Ascani. . . .) Item voluit et iussit, quod de suis bonis fieret in ecclesia beati Francissi de Assisio infra alti sancti Iohannis unam imaginem S. Marie . . . cum uno crucifixo et una imagine sancti Petri et pro dicto opere faciendo reliquit LX libr. denariorum cortonensium minutorum tantum." (I thank Dr. Irene Hueck of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz for this reference as well as for other helpful criticism.) There is also a more recent sepulcher beneath Pietro's fresco, that of Princess Maria of Savoy (d. 1656), daughter of Carlo Emmanuele I and a Franciscan tertiary (*Umbria, Guida d'Italia del Touring Club Italiano*, Milan, 1950, 170).

[43] For the illusionistically painted *ampullae* and *sedilia*, see Maginnis, 516–17. Toesca, 563, had already suggested that Pietro's frescoed Crucifix in the base might have corresponded to an altar; followed by Simon, 366. Indeed, this painted Crucifix may have replaced the (carved?) cross commissioned in 1300 in the document cited *supra*, n. 42.

[44] Cf. E. Borsook, 15, who explains the *Madonna and Child and Saints* in Montesiepi as the vision revealed to S. Galgano, depicted on the adjacent wall. The Madonna fresco may have been inspired by Saint Bernard's vision of the Virgin as described by Dante in *Paradiso* XXXII, according to Meiss, 1970, 82. The Montesiepi frescoes have been variously ascribed to one or both Lorenzetti or to a follower; see Borsook, n. 9; and A. Luchs, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti at Montesiepi," *Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, 187–88, citing a document that places Ambrogio in S. Galgano as a witness to a land transfer there in 1334. For a similar kind of visionary symbolism see the tomb in fresco ascribed to Alesso di Andrea, ca. 1345, in Prato Cathedral: G. Marchini, *Il tesoro del duomo di Prato*, Milan, 1963, II, 42 and pl. VII; and Meiss, "Alesso di Andrea," *Giotto e il suo tempo (Atti del congresso internazionale del VII centenario della nascita di Giotto)*, Rome, 1967, 416; and *idem*, 1970, 64–5.

[45] For the passage on the relief and the revival of the ancient vocabulary of art, see Baxandall, 51 and n. 1. For Simone Martini and the poet, including the texts of Sonnets XLIV, L, and LXXXVI, see V. M. d'Esseling and E. Müntz, *Pétrarque, ses études d'art, son influence sur les artistes, ses portraits et ceux de Laure*, Paris, 1902, 9ff.; and L. Venturi, "La critica d'arte e Francesco Petrarca," *L'Arte*, XXV, 1922, 238–44.

[46] Quoted in S. Edgerton, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective*, New York, 1975, 17–18.

[47] Delcorno, 1975, 273.

[48] Discussed below, pp. 220–21.

[49] A pictorial *sine qua non* for these developments is Giotto's Ognissanti *Madonna* (Fig. 13). Obeying the spatial directives of the architectonic throne, the viewer stands somewhat to the left of the picture's central axis and hence receives the Madonna's attention and the Child's blessing. This analysis of Giotto's masterpiece is borrowed from Professor Howard McP. Davis of Columbia University; see *idem*, "Gravity in the Paintings of Giotto," *Giotto e il suo tempo*, 367–82.

beings also characterizes another fresco in the Lower Church at Assisi, located on the east wall of the north transept (Fig. 8). Very possibly designed by Simone Martini but not executed entirely (if at all) by him, and dating after 1317, this work represents the Madonna and Child between two saints identified as French monarchs by their crowns, orbs, and scepters with the fleur-de-lys.[50] The infant touches the tip of one of these, proffered by the saint on the right almost as though he were devoting his kingship to the holy child. According to Pietralunga, in front of the *Madonna* there was an altar dedicated to Saints Elizabeth and Joseph, so that this painting, like Pietro's (Fig. 6), would have functioned as an altarpiece.[51] Again, as in Pietro's mural, the figures are seen within a rectangular stone framework and against a gold background. In this case, however, the gold is stamped with a floral design and textured throughout as if it were woven, an explicit imitation of a rich metallic cloth. A patterned border, likewise suggestive of a fabric, appears consistently only at the sides and at the top, and not at the bottom between the figures. Thus these earthly and celestial monarchs appear before us as if on a royal balcony adorned with a regal cloth of honor.[52] Their existence in space is confirmed by the suggestion of their continued existence beyond the lower edge of the enframement and by their overlapping the borders at the sides and top of the picture space. This effect is further enhanced by the typically Simonesque use of textures, both pressed into the surface and built up in gilded stucco relief. Seen against this tactile, spaceless golden surface, the polychrome figures gain a heightened reality.

Immediately to the left, the "sacred community" is extended by a row of five Franciscan saints on the adjacent wall (Fig. 7).[53] Their picture space is of the same height and their fictive stone framework is continuous with that of the Madonna fresco. The connection is made definite at the angle formed by the two walls where the imitative stonework follows the bend of the actual architecture. Furthermore, certain decorative details are repeated in the two scenes—namely, the floral designs and the faces used in the halos—thus enhancing the visual bond.

The five saints are seen against a blue ground and divided by delicate spiral colonnettes as if they stood in the loggia of a contemporary palace.[54] Despite the spiraling colonnettes, however, the five saints communicate freely. And this sense of their physical and emotional presence is emphasized visually by forms that overlap the simulated stone frames. Thus Saint Louis of Toulouse, while glancing at Saint Francis, rejects earthly monarchy by reversing his crown over the ledge; and Saint Louis of France rests his hand on that border. The exchanged glances create the appearance of a discourse among the saints. Their concern is the Mother and Child, an impression enhanced by the gaze of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary which seems directed across our space toward the Virgin.

Similarly, the same saints (and others), now seen full-figure, communicate—we may almost say "converse"—in Simone's frescoes in the intrados of the entrance arch of the Cappella di S. Martino, also in the Lower Church (southeast; Fig. 9). And once again, their interrelationships are strengthened by forms that cross the architectural boundaries between the figures. For example, Saint Clare stands with her left foot and robe overlapping the stone platform. Next to her, Saint Elizabeth of Hungary emphasizes their existence in a shared space behind the painted arches by pulling at the ties of her mantle, which continue behind the colonnette, reappearing in Saint Clare's section.

Thus far we have looked at only two examples—Pietro's and the Simonesque mural—in which the figures are not separated by their frames, and in both of these the figures are half-lengths (Figs. 6 and 8). The next illustration shows full-length figures and an expansion of the composition as well (Fig. 10). This is a fresco lunette decorating the altar wall of the Piccolomini Chapel, also called the Cappella del Sacramento, in S. Agostino, Siena.[55] Ascanio Piccolomini, Archbishop of Siena, erected an altar there in 1596, consisting of an *Adoration of the Magi* by Sodoma in a marble

[50] The identity of the saints is unclear. One is most likely to be Louis IX of France, a Franciscan tertiary who was canonized in 1297. The other may be Saint Sigismund of Burgundy, the first barbarian king of Gaul to convert to Catholicism, who was martyred in 516. It is improbable that the king who offers his scepter to Christ is Saint Louis of Anjou (or Toulouse) who abdicated in favor of his brother Robert and who was canonized in 1317. Saint Louis is not, to my knowledge, depicted as a monarch without reference to his clerical position. On the other hand, at the time of this painting, Louis was a very new saint indeed, and there was certainly no established iconographical tradition for his representation in art. In any case, Saint Louis of Toulouse is unquestionably included in the row of saints to the left of this scene (Fig. 7) and again in the Saint Martin Chapel cycle by Simone; and the date of his canonization provides the *terminus post quem* for the artist's work at Assisi, as for his panel of Saint Louis and his brother Robert in Naples, the Capodimonte Museum (see G. Paccagnini, *Simone Martini* [*I sommi dell'arte in Italia*], Milan, 1955, 105–06 and fig. 8).

[51] Ludovico da Pietralunga, in Kleinschmidt, III, 20.

[52] For the majesty of a half-length figure seen behind a balcony or window, see S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative, The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (*Acta Aboensis*, Ser. A, 31), Åbo, 1965, 42. On the cloth of honor, see Goffen, 496–98.

[53] From the left to right the saints are Francis, Louis of Toulouse, Elizabeth of Hungary, Clare, and, most probably, Louis of France. Pietro's *Madonna* (Fig. 6) is associated—but much less closely—with two separate and smaller rows of half-figure saints, to the left and right.

[54] We may imagine something like the loggia of the building in Ambrogio's fresco, *Good Government in the City*, located above and to the right of the dancing women (ill. Rowley, II, 207–08).

[55] I am grateful to Dr. Alberto Cornice of the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie of Siena for arranging my close examination of the fresco.

7 Simone Martini (?), *Five Franciscan Saints*, after 1317. Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church, north transept (photo: DeGiovanni, Assisi)

architectural frame.[56] From that date until the removal of the painting and altar during World War II, the Piccolomini donation masked (and no doubt thereby preserved) the earlier fresco.[57]

The lunette is surrounded above by an arched stucco frame in relief, and, within this, a decorative fresco band. This painted enframement borders the lunette on all sides, but is repainted around the shallow opening (now blocked) on the right. The figural composition makes no concessions to this aperture. Moreover, traces of simulated marble paneling beneath the lunette may be another indication that both the opening and at least part of the decorative band were additions to the original design.

The fresco's kinship with Ambrogio Lorenzetti's style and mentality has been generally recognized, although the extent of studio intervention has been argued.[58] I consider the composition and the interpretation of the subject to be Ambrogio's, and believe that at least the painting of the Madonna and Child, the central female saints, and the hermit saint to the right may be attributed to his hand. The strength of their characterizations no less than their physiognomies mark them as his creations. An examination of photographs taken before the restoration reveals that precisely these figures are the best preserved (Fig. 11).[59] The others are not so

[56] Ascanio became archbishop in 1588, according to G. Della Valle, *Lettere senesi sopra le belle arti*, Rome, 1786, III, 271. The painting by Sodoma, dating ca. 1528, had originally been located on the first altar on the right of S. Agostino, having been commissioned by the brothers Giovanni and Arduino Arduini. For the painting and the date of Piccolomini's removal of the panel to decorate the Cappella del Sacramento, see A. Hayum, *Giovanni Antonio Bazzi—"Il Sodoma" (Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts)*, New York and London, 1976, 210–16 and fig. 71. The chapel (but not, of course, the fresco) was mentioned in 1752 by Pecci, 54–55.

[57] Niccoli, 3; found in 1944, according to the records of the Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Siena.

[58] It was published as autograph by Niccoli, 7–12; then by S. M. Setti, "Il 'Maestro di Sant' Agostino' e Ambrogio Lorenzetti," *Commentari*, I, 1950, 207–10, with an attribution to the same master who painted the Montesiepi frescoes; C. Volpe, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti e le congiunzioni fiorentine-senesi nel quarto decennio del trecento," *Paragone*, II, 13, 1951, 45–46, as Ambrogio; Rowley, I, 64–66, as a late trecento follower of the master; Toesca, 590, as a late work by Ambrogio himself; and Meiss, 1970, 84–85, as by Ambrogio and an assistant. Schlegel, 3, also accepts the fresco as Ambrogio's, associating it with a wooden statuette of the infant which she ascribes to the master, ca. 1320. It must be acknowledged, as Rowley points out, that Ghiberti omits this fresco in his admiring discussion of Ambrogio's *oeuvre*, including other works (now lost) at S. Agostino (Schlosser, I, 41–42). There are surely other explanations, however, for this omission than Ghiberti's having rejected the lunette as Ambrogio's. Perhaps the fresco was already covered?

[59] The photographs, taken by Foto-Grassi, Siena, and kindly made available to me by Fiorella Superbi of the Fototeca Berenson, Villa I Tatti, must have been done between 1944 (when the fresco was uncovered) and 1946 (when the mural was published by Niccoli, who, however, did not refer to them).

8 Workshop of Simone Martini, *Madonna and Child with Two French King Saints*, after 1317. Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church, north transept (photo: Anderson)

9 Simone Martini, *Saints Clare and Elizabeth of Hungary*, after 1317. Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church, Cappella S. Martino (photo: Luigi Artini, Florence)

convincing as Ambrogio's work in large part because they are collaborative creations by the restorer. Nevertheless, the mural can be dated stylistically to the mid-1330's, close to Ambrogio's Massa Marittima *Maestà* (Fig. 12) and probably preceding his work in the Sala della Pace of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena (1339).[60]

The composition (Fig. 10) seems to combine something of the intimacy of the three-figure half-length frescoes of the Lower Church (Figs. 2, 5, 6, and 8) with the majesty of the Madonna enthroned—a theme to which we shall return. Ambrogio's disposition of the figures reveals a debt to Giotto (Fig. 13). Kneeling to the Mother and Son are the eight figures, Saints Agatha, Catherine, Augustine, and Bartholomew to the left; and to the right, Lucy, Apollonia, the Archangel Michael, and Anthony. They form enframing arcs about Mary and Christ, while leaving the foreground before them open in a Giottesque spatial and visual avenue of access. The Mother and Child are seated on a throne formed by seraphim whose heads turn toward them and whose bodies enclose them in a mandorla formed by their wings. This somewhat bizarre construction was used elsewhere by the Lorenzetti, most notably in Ambrogio's *Maestà* (Fig. 12). The device may refer to Isaiah's description of the vision of the Lord of Hosts: ". . . I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up; and his train filled the temple. Above him stood the seraphim; each had six wings: with two he covered his face, and with two he covered his feet, and with two he flew" (6:1–2). It is possible that Ambrogio's seraphim, like Isaiah's, signify a vision. In a painting by his brother Pietro, a visionary appearance of popes surrounded by seraphim signifies holy approbation of the establishment of the Carmelite rule.[61] In Ambrogio's fresco (Fig. 10), the Virgin's seraphic throne may likewise imply an apparition, an ideal reunion, beyond temporal restrictions, of the Madonna and Child with the saints whose presence has perhaps been evoked by the worshipper's piety.

Ambrogio's figural composition achieves at once two apparently disparate goals: the unification of the group and the preservation of the special preeminence of the Virgin and Christ. By setting the Madonna and Child farther back into space than the foreground figures of

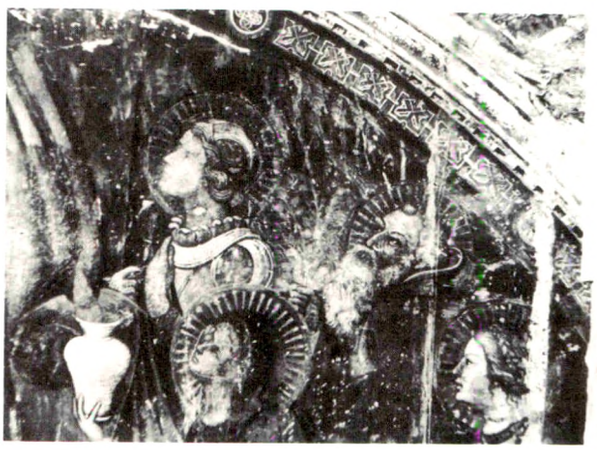
[60] Ills. Rowley, II, 153ff. N.B. in particular the figure of "Pax" (*idem*, 167). Borsook, 26–27 and n. 86, refers to the *Caleffo dell' Assunta* (or the *Caleffo Bianco*) by Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tagliacci, before 1336, as a *terminus ante quem* for the Montesiepi *Madonna* and by extension, the S. Agostino lunette as well. For the *Caleffo* (Siena, Archivio di Stato), see G. Cecchini, rev. of M. Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death*, in *Bullettino senese di storia patria*, LX, 3rd ser. XII, 1953, 279.

[61] For the predella with Pope Honorius III approving the Carmelite rule, 1329, Siena, Pinacoteca, see DeWald, 8–10. For suggestions on the original format of the altarpiece, see Maginnis, "Pietro Lorenzetti's Carmelite Madonna: A Reconstruction," *Pantheon*, XXXIII, 1975, 10–16; and F. Zeri, "Pietro Lorenzetti: Quattro pannelli della pala del 1329 al Carmine," *Arte illustrata*, VII, 58, 1974, 146–56.

10 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Madonna and Saints*, mid-1330's. Siena, S. Agostino (photo: Grassi, Siena)

Saints Catherine and Lucy, Ambrogio gives them a higher position, so that the Virgin's halo abuts the decorative border above, whereas the saints' skirts reach to the enframement below. Moreover, whereas all the figures share the same, very simply defined environment of ground and sky, the kneeling posture of the saints on the strongly tilted ground makes them lower and seemingly much smaller than the Madonna. There is, however, little actual difference in scale among them.

Enhancing this powerful composition is the psychological interpretation of the scene, for Ambrogio has presented a group that is completely unified, emotionally as well as physically. All the saints stare intently toward Mary and her son, their gazes (and gestures) reinforcing our own focus by compelling lines of vision. At the same time, each presents an attribute to the infant. Five of the eight are martyr saints who proffer the emblems of their deaths. To Christ's right is Saint Catherine, her head on a salver. This depiction of Catherine of Alexandria is highly unusual as she is typically represented with the broken wheel that failed to kill her, and not with reference to her decapitation.[62] Such insistence on martyrdom and on its presentation to the Child are essential elements of Ambrogio's theme—but so too are Christ's humanity and the divine promise of redemption.



11 Detail of Fig. 10, before restoration (photo: Grassi, Siena)

The identification of the saint on our right, whose position balances Catherine's, has been disputed because her attribute, a vessel from which a red seraph emerges, may signify Saint Clare, Saint Mary Magdalen, or Saint Lucy.[63] The seraph symbolizes divine

[62] Another example of Catherine holding her head as an attribute is a panel ascribed by Berenson to Paolo di Giovanni Fei; photograph Witt Library Neg. No. 305. It was offered for sale by Christie's, April 1, 1960, Catalogue 114, but was returned to the owner in Paris. In a letter to me, Professor Michael Mallory emended the attribution to the circle of Fei in the last quarter of the 14th century. The rarity of this type is underscored by its absence from G. Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art, Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting*, Florence, 1965, 256–68.

[63] Niccoli, 5 and n. 4, citing Berenson, says Saint Lucy. It is Saint Mary Magdalen according to Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art, Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting*, Florence, 1952, 717; and Saint Clare according to Borsook, 27 and n. 87, agreeing with Rowley, I, 65.

12 Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Maestà*, ca. 1335. Massa Marittima, Municipio (photo: Alinari)

13 Giotto, Ognissanti *Madonna*, ca. 1310. Florence, Uffizi (photo: Alinari)

ardor or *Caritas*, and the saint's remarkable facial expression and the very tilt of her head become concomitants of that attribute.[64] Her presence in this Augustinian commission all but eliminates the possibility that she is the Franciscan Saint Clare, and neither Clare nor the Magdalen would wear these red garments and braided coiffure. Saint Lucy, on the other hand, would be the expected addition to the group of Early Christian virgin martyrs represented here, Agatha, Catherine, and Apollonia.[65] Furthermore, according to the church archives, S. Agostino was associated with the hermitage of SS. Antonio e Lucia in Rosìa, in the Val di Merse, near Siena, a connection which also affirms the identity of the hermit saint as Anthony, an adherent of the Augustinian rule. Beginning in 1258, the Convent of S. Agostino was under the direction of the parish of S. Agata, and the street flanking the former is the via S. Agata. Finally, the Abbey of S. Bartolommeo at Sestinga in the Maremma was also associated with S. Agostino.[66] Thus the saints included in Ambrogio's fresco are the saints related to the Augustinian Order and to

[64] If "seraph" is derived from the Hebrew *saraph*, meaning "light," the attribute may be understood as a play on Lucy's name (Lucia, *lux*). On this derivation of *serafino*, see A. Panna, *Enciclopedia cattolica*, Vatican City, 1953, XI, 374–75. According to Fra Giordano, seraphim are "called ardent and afire . . .;" and the word "is a Hebrew name, and means in our language 'love' . . ." (D. Moreni, ed., *Prediche sulla genesi recitate in Firenze nel M.CCC.IV dal B. Giordano da Rivalto dell'ordine dei predicatori* [*Biblioteca scelta di opere italiane antiche e moderne*, 383], Milan, 1839, 200).

[65] I am grateful to Professor Bisgoni for his helpful suggestions on this problem.

[66] [G. Cecchini] Archivio di Stato di Siena, *Guida-Inventario dell'Archivio di Stato* (*Pubblicazioni di Stato*, V), Rome, 1951, 22–23; and Pecci, 53.

the church of S. Agostino in particular. Dedication and devotion to particular saints (and/or to the Madonna) imply the patron's (or patrons') protection of the donor. And this notion of patronage—of a city, a church, or an individual—is inherently associated with the development of the *sacra conversazione*.[67]

Ambrogio's Christ Child, held in his Mother's lap, stares in horror at the goldfinch perched on her right hand. Its wings spread wide and beak open, the bird, symbolic of death, appalls the infant who responds with a naturalistic, baby-like kicking of legs and shrinking back with his arms, trying to avoid this threat.[68] But the frightening bird is nevertheless put forward by the impassive mother: just as the saints offer their works and martyrdoms, so too does Mary present to the Child his own future martyrdom (cf. Fig. 6). His human fearful response to the goldfinch, the portent of his own death, may then by extension reflect his shock at the awesome sacrifices of his saints. Indeed, if he sees beyond the menacing goldfinch, as Millard Meiss has suggested, his attention must come to Saints Catherine and Agatha with their horrible attributes.[69] Moreover, the Child himself is flanked by two weapons, the Archangel Michael's sword and Saint Bartholomew's knife, which almost seems to be poised threateningly at the infant. The blood shed by such martyrs is to be understood as the blood of the Church. Hence, when offered in union with Christ's, their sacrifices become associated with the Eucharist and are realized on the altar in one Sacrament: in the words of Saint Paul's letter to the Colossians (1:24), "Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and in my flesh I complete what is lacking in Christ's afflictions for the sake of his body, that is, the Church. . . ."[70]

Christ, terrified by the foreordained future that, as a man, he will embrace, thus anticipates his adulthood. He is already the sacrificial lamb, albeit frightened of this role, and is shown in effect as a relic—the very Corpus of the Mass—surrounded by relics of his saints. The saints' attributes construct a human reliquary around the Child, the embodiment of the most sacred relic of Christian doctrine. Thus Ambrogio has translated into monumental terms a type of devotional image surrounded by a frame containing actual saintly relics. An example is the two-sided panel by Pietro Lorenzetti, depicting the Madonna and Child on one face, and the blessing Christ on the other, each with a Franciscan(?) donor, the frames pierced with circular cavities that originally housed the relics.[71]

Ambrogio's emphasis on veneration of the Sacrament in the body of the Child is surely related to the proclamation of transubstantiation as dogma by the Lateran Council of 1215 and the subsequent establishment of the Feast of Corpus Christi (1264 and 1311–12).[72] Saint Francis expressed the fundamental reason for such worship of the Eucharist itself: ". . . in this world I cannot see the most high Son of God with my own eyes, except for his most holy Body and Blood. . . ."[73]

It may be added that when the Sacrament appeared miraculously as Christ Incarnate, the vision was often that of the infant, not the adult—a further affirmation of the identity of the Childhood with the Passion.[74] This interpretation of Christ as a human infant, subject to mortal fears and miseries, is wholly consonant with the spirituality of an age in which Christ is described as a suffering being to be pitied as well as worshipped for his pain. Thus the Franciscan author of the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* urges us to remember that ". . .

[67] Heywood (p. 97), writing about Siena's dedication to the Madonna, notes that "The Virgin was expected to defend Siena because, by accepting her as their suzerain, the Sienese had made it worth her while to do so. She was thenceforward defending her own city and her own vassals." More recently, F. Bisogni has discussed the economic and political aspects of the proliferation of patron saints in the 14th century: "Iconografia e propaganda religiosa: Due cicli veronesi del trecento," *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Ugo Procacci*, Milan, 1977, I, 157.

[68] H. Friedmann, *The Symbolic Goldfinch, Its History and Significance in European Devotional Art (Bollingen Series*, VII), Washington, D.C., 1946, *passim*. See also contemporary paintings in which the bird actually attacks the Child. For example, Ambrogio or a close follower used the goldfinch in the Rapolano *Madonna* (Siena, Pinacoteca). In this panel the infant clutches the bird by one wing while it pecks at his hand—an action here given naturalistic justification. Ill. Rowley, II, 41, with an attribution to the "Petronilla Master" (I, 43–44). In the *Madonna* by Simone Martini and his shop (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum), the Child is placid, although the goldfinch he grips is biting his finger: perhaps here Jesus's firm, baby-like grasp of the bird is at once lifelike and symbolic of Christ's ultimate conquest over death. For Simone's painting, see K. Steinweg, "Beiträge zu Simone Martini und seiner Werkstatt," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, VII, 1953–56, 161–68 and fig. 1; and [G. von der Osten] *Wallraf-Richartz-Museum der Stadt Köln, Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, Cologne, 1965, 219 and fig. 201.

[69] Meiss, 1970, 84.

[70] See M. Righetti, *Manuale di storia liturgica, Introduzione generale*, 3rd rev. ed., Milan, 1964, I, 497.

[71] The *Madonna* panel is in the Berenson collection, Villa I Tatti, Florence; and the *Christ* was sold to a private collector in New York in 1975. The paintings were published by Zeri, "Reconstruction of a Two-Sided Reliquary Panel by Pietro Lorenzetti," *Burlington Magazine*, XCV, 1953, 245. I question Zeri's identification of the donors as Franciscans because the habit is too discolored (and probably repainted) in the Berenson panel for certainty; and because evidently neither donor wears the Franciscan knotted cord.

[72] On the Fourth Lateran Council (the Twelfth Ecumenical Synod), see H. Leclerq, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. C. G. Herberman, *et al.*, London and New York, 1910, IX, 18, *s.v.* "Lateran"; and also F. Oppenheim, *Enciclopedia cattolica*, ed. P. Paschini, *et al.*, Vatican City, 1950, IV, 611–13, *s.v.* "Corpus Domini." This Feast was first celebrated in Liège in 1247 and extended to the entire Church by Urban IV, formerly archdeacon of that city, in his Bull "Transiturus," 1264. According to tradition, the office was composed by Thomas Aquinas at the Pope's behest. At the General Council of Vienne, 1311–12, Clement V again commanded adoption of the Feast.

[73] See the saint's testament of 1226, trans. Fahy, in Habig, 57; and also Francis's letter to all the Superiors of his Order, *ibid.*, 113.

[74] See Goffen, 501 and n. 77; B. Lane, " 'Ecce Panis Angelorum': The Manger as Altar in Hugo's Berlin Nativity," *Art Bulletin*, LVII, 1975, 476ff.; and Sinanoglou, 491, 494, and *passim*.

He bore torment. Feel compassion for Him and weep with Him, for perhaps He wept today."[75]

The interpretation of Ambrogio's Christ Child (Fig. 10) as the Corpus or Host of the Mass is related in part to the location of the mural on the upper part of the altar wall. (This is also the case with the fresco by Pietro, Fig. 6, and perhaps the Simonesque example, Fig. 8, as well.) The Child in Ambrogio's painting adumbrates his future suffering, a sacrifice that is renewed in the enactment of the Mass performed on the altar beneath the lunette. Because the subject refers to Christ's sacrifice, the fresco may be related iconographically (if not physically) to the altar of the Cappella del Sacramento.[76] Whether the chapel was always a Piccolomini donation is uncertain, but its original dedication to the Sacrament is surely possible.[77] A fourteenth-century (or earlier) consecration to the Sacrament of the Eucharist would be entirely suitable to the depiction of Christ as the Eucharist in Ambrogio's fresco, a sacrificial role that is emphasized by the tenor of the scene in general. The Child's frightened reluctance, which at first may seem theologically and even artistically improbable, is on the contrary expressive of the same mentality and psychological verisimilitude that produced the fainting Annunciate Virgin of Ambrogio's Montesiepi *sinopia*.[78]

The fresco's lunette format may be significant in itself. Of course, the format was determined first of all by the architecture. But a lunette may also recall the fresco decoration of an *avello*, or niche tomb, such as those of S. Maria Novella,[79] or the Madonna groups of funerary monuments. A case in point is the Monument of Cardinal Guillaume de Braye (d. 1282) by Arnolfo di Cambio in S. Domenico, Orvieto, which, however, has lost its original tabernacle (Fig. 14). Nevertheless, we may be sure that the sculptures at the top always included the enthroned Madonna flanked by Saint Dominic and by Saint Mark, who presents the donor. In the thirteenth century, as in the twentieth-century reconstruction, the saints would have stood somewhat below Mary. This is indicated most clearly by Saint Dominic who turns his head strongly upward toward the Mother and Son. Their throne rests on a high base carved with an inscription that expresses de Braye's hope of joining the celestial *sacra conversazione*, the eternal "holy community," through the intercession of his patron saint: "May William, who is buried here, be well pleasing to Christ. Borne de Braye, adorned with the title of Mark, may he through thee, Mark, come to the citadel of Heaven."[80]

Giovanni di Cosma represented a similar grouping, in mosaic, of the Madonna, patron saints, and the deceased in the signed tomb for Bishop Guillaume Durand (d. 1296) in S. Maria sopra Minerva (Fig. 15). In the lunette the enthroned Madonna and Child are flanked by Saint Dominic and by Saint Privatus, who sponsors the donor, his successor as Bishop of Mende.[81] Durand is acknowledged by the Virgin and rewarded by Christ's blessing.

This dugento scheme of Madonna and Child and

[75] Ragusa and Green, 43. See also Saint Francis's blessing Christ "because by your holy cross you have redeemed the world" (in his testament, trans. Fahy, in Habig, 67; quoted in I Celano, xvii, trans. Hermann, in *idem*, 266). Cf. Meiss's hypothesis of the existence of the *Pietà* as a subject in trecento Siena, painted by Simone Martini and perhaps also by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, and thus appearing at the same time and in the same circle as the Madonna of Humility (1946, 10); on "The Madonna of Humility," *idem*, *Art Bulletin*, xxviii, 1936, 435–64, and, more recently, in 1951, 132–56; and Van Os, 77–127.

[76] For an example of a fresco lunette altar painting, see the late 14th-century Lombard *Madonna with Saints Catherine and John the Baptist* in Mendrisio, S. Maria delle Grazie. See Toesca, 772, n. 303; and G. A. Dell'Acqua and S. Matalon, *Affreschi lombardi del trecento (Cassa di Risparmio delle Provincie Lombarde)*, Milan, 1963, 393–94 and pl. 212.

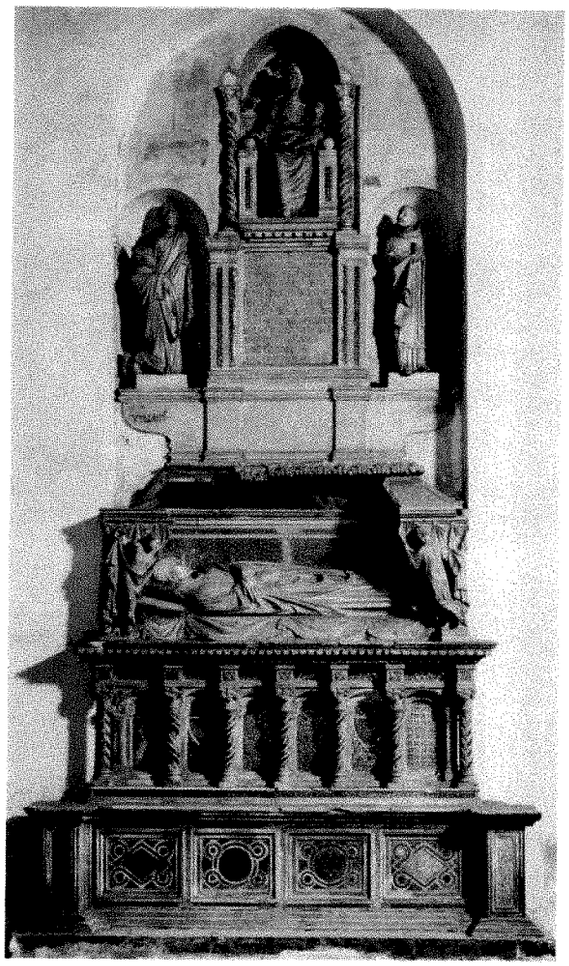
[77] Ambrogio's lunette seems more appropriate to a chapel dedicated to the Sacrament than does Sodoma's panel, which may be adduced as an argument for the chapel's dedication in the trecento. A polyptych, dated 1344, by the assistant of Daddi, and since the 1350's used as the altarpiece of the Spanish Chapel (itself dedicated to the Sacrament) came originally from an altar in S. Maria Novella which almost certainly must have had the same dedication. This is explicit in the inscriptions held by Christ and by the saints, all of which refer to the Eucharist. Moreover, the cult of the Corpus Domini was observed in S. Maria Novella as early as 1294 or 1295: Offner, as cited in n. 38, Sec. iii, Vol. v, New York, 1947, 88–92 and pls. xvii, 1–7. Chapel dedications may change, however; see L. Steinberg, "Pontormo's Capponi Chapel," *Art Bulletin*, lvi, 1974, 387.

[78] Borsook, 27–32; and Meiss, 1970, 90–93. Meiss also compares the psychological insight of the S. Ambrogio fresco with that of the fainting Madonna in the Fogg Museum *Crucifixion* (*idem*, 84; ill. Rowley, ii, 100). For the attribution of the Montesiepi frescoes, see n. 44, *supra*.

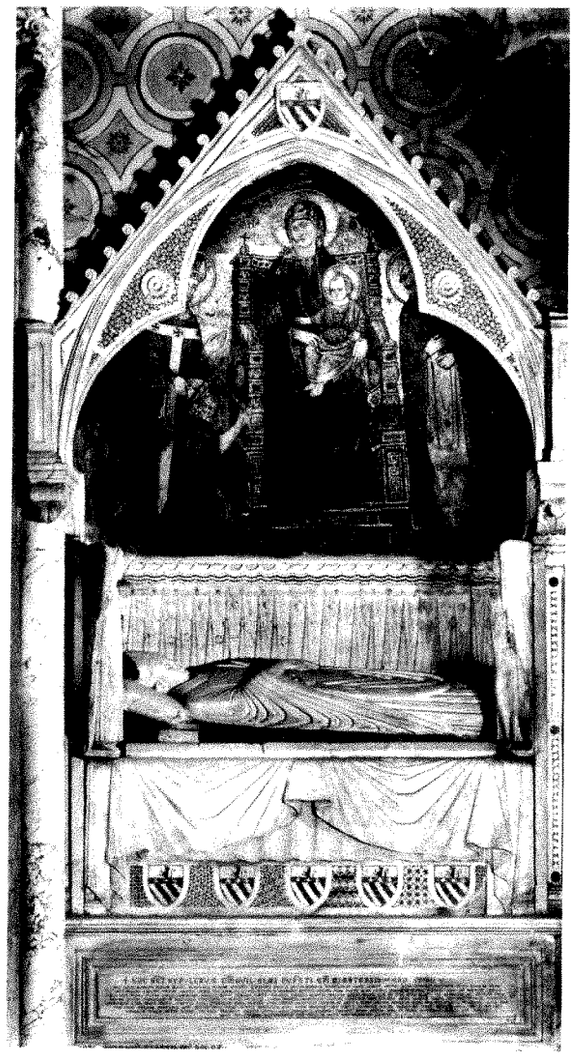
[79] The *avelli* of S. Maria Novella are mentioned by Boccaccio, *Decameron*, Eighth Day, Ninth Novella (ed. V. Branca, Florence, 1952, ii, 114). See also J. Wood Brown, *The Dominican Church of Santa Maria Novella at Florence: A Historical, Architectural, and Artistic Study*, Edinburgh, 1902, 101–04; and F. Burger, *Geschichte des florentiner Grabmals von den ältesten Zeiten bis Michelangelo*, Strassburg, 1904, 46–53. The *avello* is related to niche tombs; see Burger, 53, and 51 for 11th-century French examples.

[80] For the Latin inscription, which closes with Arnolfo's signature, and for the trans. quoted here, see Pope-Hennessy, 182, and also 14 and fig. 25. On the sculptor, see H. Keller, "Der Bildhauer Arnolfo di Cambio und seine Werkstatt," *Jahrbuch der Preuszischen Kunstsammlungen*, iv, 1934, 205–28, and lvi, 1935, 22–43. The tomb is dated ca. 1285–1293 by M. H. Longhurst, *Notes on Italian Monuments of the 12th to the 16th Centuries*, ed. I. Lowe, London, n.d. [1962], H.9, followed by Bauch, 148–50, who suggests that the upper portion of the monument may be reconstructed from the tomb of Benedict XI (d. 1304), Perugia, S. Domenico.

[81] The tomb was originally in the Cappella Ognissanti but is now located in the right transept of the Minerva. See J.-J. Berthier, *L'Église de la Minerve à Rome*, Rome, 1910, 196–201; and Gardner, 437–38 and fig. 37. See also Giovanni di Cosma's tomb of Cardinal Gonzalez Garcia Gudiel (d. 1298/99; Rome, S. Maria Maggiore), also with a mosaic lunette; and, by Giovanni's shop, the tomb of Cardinal Matteo d'Aquasparta (d. 1302; Rome, S. Maria in Aracoeli), with a fresco representation of the Madonna and saints and donors; Gardner, 438 and figs. 38–39.



14 Arnolfo di Cambio, Tomb of Cardinal de Braye (d. 1282). Orvieto, S. Domenico (photo: Alinari)



15 Giovanni di Cosma, Tomb of Bishop Durand (d. 1296). Rome, S. Maria sopra Minerva (photo: Anderson

16 Paolo da Venezia, votive painting of Doge Francesco Dandolo, 1339–1340. Venice, S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari (photo: Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Venice)

17 Maestro dell'Incoronazione di Urbino, Tomb of the De' Pili, ca. 1365. Fano, S. Domenico (photo: GFN, Rome)

saints receiving the deceased survives into the trecento (and later). Thus, in 1321 Tino di Camaino adorned the tomb of Bishop Antonio degli Orsi with an enthroned Virgin, labeled *Sedes Sapientiae*, and accompanied by two genuflecting angels. The one on Mary's left presents the praying donor, toward whom Christ directs his blessing. Originally these figures would have been surrounded by an encircling arch, forming a sculptured lunette, as Valentiner has noted.[82]

Ambrogio Lorenzetti's lunette may also have functioned as part of a complex including a sepulcher, almost as the fresco counterpart of Giovanni di Cosma's mosaics or of the sculptures by Arnolfo or Tino. This proposal can be supported by reference to similar arrangements elsewhere. For instance, the tomb of Doge Francesco Dandolo in the Frari in Venice, 1339–1340, was decorated with a lunette by Paolo Veneziano, in this case a painting on panel. The donor and his wife Elisabetta are presented by their onomastic saints to the Virgin and Child (Fig. 16).[83]

Another example is the fresco lunette of the de' Pili Tomb in S. Domenico, Fano, near Pesaro (Fig. 17).[84] Ascribed to the Riminese Maestro dell'Incoronazione di Urbino, and probably dating after 1365, this composition includes three-quarter-length figures of Saints Dominic and James Major to the Madonna's right, and Saints Thomas Aquinas and Leonard to her left. This last figure is given special prominence by the position of the kneeling donor before him and by his overlapping the fictive Cosmatesque frame above, with his head and shoulders, and below, with his attribute, prisoner's fetters. In this way, Saint Leonard is made to project into the viewer's space, where the tiny donor prays for himself and as the worshipper's surrogate.[85] And here too, as in Ambrogio's fresco, the infant holds the symbolic goldfinch.

A related monument is the fresco lunette in the Cappella della Pura in S. Maria Novella. The nursing Madonna of Humility and her Child receive a donor sponsored by Saint Catherine of Alexandria. This fresco originally adorned the arch of an *avello* dated ca. 1380.[86] Neglected over the years, the painting became an object of cult devotion in 1472 when the image of Mary spoke miraculously to two boys. With its own altar, the fresco was enclosed in the Cappella della Pura, endowed by the Ricasoli in 1474. To be sure, this transformation of a tomb painting into an altarpiece is unusual and, furthermore, it occurred well over a century after the Lorenzetti work was done. Nevertheless, it may be germane that a painting with the lunette format served the same double purpose in the fifteenth century that I have postulated for Ambrogio's in the fourteenth. It may also be recalled that Pietro's gold-ground fresco in Assisi (Fig. 6) seems to have served both as an altarpiece and as a commemorative monument; and that probably both Orsini frescoes were altarpieces in funerary chapels (Figs. 2 and 5). And again, most explicitly in Pietro's and in Ambrogio's works, the Christ Child appears as the Eucharistic offering, presented for our worship by Mary, herself the embodiment of altar and tomb.[87]

In the case of the S. Agostino sacristy (Fig. 10), it may be that the sepulcher(s) would have been located beneath the pavement. Indeed, Saint Ambrose had recommended that priests be interred where in life they had performed their sacerdotal duties, that is, under the altars of their churches. Hence the saint himself prepared his own tomb beneath the altar of his church in Milan, which subsequently was rededicated to Ambrose.[88] Perhaps the Cappella del Sacramento in Siena was a burial place for the prior(s) of S. Agostino, a hypothesis strengthened by the representation in the

[82] Valentiner, 52–65 and pls. 27, 35A, 36–37; and, more recently, Pope-Hennessy, 184–85 and pl. 32. After various vicissitudes, the tomb is again in its original position in Florence Cathedral over Tino's signature incised in the nave wall, but it is lacking several important sections, including the figures discussed here. These were identified by Valentiner as belonging to the Orsini Monument, and, although certain aspects of his reconstruction are moot, the arrangement of the Madonna and angels seems correct. The Madonna and left angel are now in Florence, in the Bargello and the Palazzo Vecchio, respectively; and the group of angels and donor is in Frankfurt, the Liebighaus. See also Tino's Monument of Mary of Valois, Naples, S. Chiara, ca. 1333–39; Pope-Hennessy, 185–86 and fig. 28. For "epitaph groups," such as the relief on Orsi's sarcophagus, which may be understood as a sort of narrative *sacra conversazione*, see Valentiner, 63 and pl. 32; Bauch, 198–214; and, for painted examples, Dell'Acqua and Matalon, *Affreschi lombardi*, pls. 220, 221, 249, 250, and *passim*.

[83] M. Muraro, *Paolo da Venezia*, Milan, 1969, 40–41, pls. 25–27, and fig. 155; and W. Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica*, Venice, 1976, I, 163–64, ill. XII, and II, fig. 100.

[84] The fresco is over the tomb of Pietro and Ugolino de' Pili and located in a niche on the right side of the apse. C. Volpe, *La pittura riminese del trecento*, Milan, 1965, 50–51, 87–88, and fig. 293, with further bibliog.

[85] For donors who are depicted overlapping the frame, and hence crossing into "temporal reality" in medieval manuscript illuminations, see S. Sandström, *Levels of Unreality, Studies in Structure and Construction in Italian Mural Painting During the Renaissance (Uppsala Studies in the History of Art*, N.S. 4), Uppsala, 1963, 32 and fig. 12.

[86] The *avello* evidently belonged to the Lorini family; see G. Richa, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine divise ne' suoi quartieri*, III, *Del quartiere di S. M.ª Novella*, Pt. 1, Florence, 1755, 56–58; Wood Brown, as cited in n. 79, 69–70; and W. and E. Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz, Ein kunstgeschichtliches Handbuch*, Frankfort, 1952, III, 689 and 704. Both Wood Brown and the Paatzes identify the saint incorrectly as Agatha. For the fresco itself, see U. Procacci, *Sinopie e affreschi*, Florence, 1960, 52 and pls. 14–15.

[87] For Mary as altar and tomb, see Goffen, 501–05, with further references. On the proximity of altars and donors' tombs in the 15th century, see D. D. Davisson, "The Iconology of the S. Trinita Sacristy, 1418–1435: A Study of the Private and Public Functions of Religious Art in the Early Quattrocento," *Art Bulletin*, LVII, 1975, 320.

[88] I. Schuster, *The Sacramentary (Liber Sacramentorum)*, trans. A. Levelis-Marke, London, 1924, I, 205.

fresco of the saints associated with the church and its Order.

Both the Lorenzetti brothers (Figs. 6 and 10) and the Simonesque master (Fig. 8) depict the holy figures in a non-narrative context that is united spatially, thematically, and psychologically—in short, in the format that is called, in reference to quattrocento paintings of this type, the *sacra conversazione,* whether half- or full-length. The saints, especially in Ambrogio's picture, act as intermediaries for the faithful, and the efficacy of their intercessory role is made manifest by their physical and emotional unity with Mother and Son.

Such hopes for mediation are expressed, for example, in Celano's prayer to Saint Francis. The saint, bearing the stigmata and standing at the throne of the Lord in the company of the angels, is implored by the faithful to ask God's clemency.[89] Cimabue's fresco in the Lower Church seems almost an illustration of Celano's text (Fig. 18). This mural may be interpreted as a sort of "proto-*sacra conversazione*" in which the *Regina caeli,* her throne embraced by angels, is accompanied by only one saint. It is probable, however, that Saint Francis was originally matched by a second saint to the left. This figure would have been destroyed by the addition of the Giottesque Christological cycle, with its decorative borders, that adjoins Cimabue's *Madonna* above and on the left.[90]

Saint Francis stands at the divine throne, emphasizing his intercessory role by the display of the wounds of the Crucifixion. Indeed, this is the saint's typical attitude in *sacre conversazioni,* as has been seen in two trecento examples, by Pietro Lorenzetti (Fig. 6) and by the Saint Nicholas Master (Fig. 2), and in Titian's Pesaro Altarpiece as well. The link is obvious between Francis's representation in art and the stress on the saint's stigmatization in Franciscan literature, and the consequently irresistible efficacy of his intercession. His stigmata are much more than an identifying attribute: they are the guarantee of his power as an advocate for the faithful. Celano's prayer to the saint refers explicitly to this:

> Remember . . . your sons. . . . For, though you . . . are now joined with the choirs of angels and placed with the apostles on a throne of glory, they, however, still lie in the mire of dregs . . . crying thus sadly to you: "Present, Father [Francis], to Jesus Christ . . . his sacred stigmata, and let him see the marks of the cross in your side, feet, and hands, that he may mercifully deign to show his own wounds to the Father, who because of them will indeed be ever gracious to us miserable ones. . . ."[91]

18 Cimabue, *Madonna and Child with Angels and Saint Francis,* ca. 1290. Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church, north transept (photo: Anderson)

19 Duccio, *Maestà,* 1308–1311, Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo (photo: Grassi, Siena)

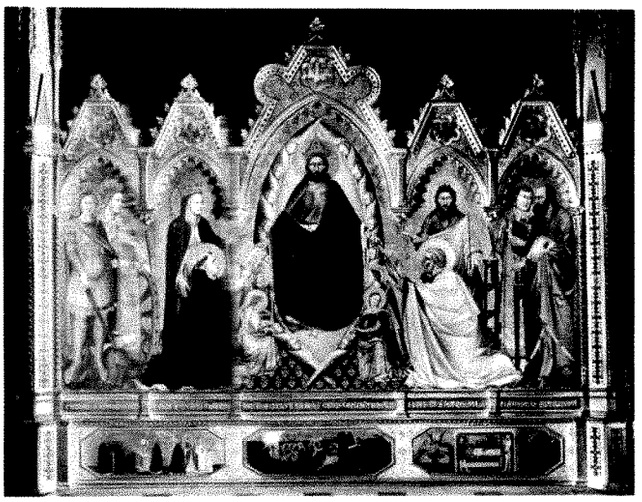
Needless to say, the idea of a saint's intermediary role is not peculiar to Franciscanism. It is fundamentally associated with the doctrine of the communion of saints.[92] The idea of saintly mediation between God and man, however, seems to have intensified from the beginning of the thirteenth century, as witnessed by

[89] For Saint Francis standing "at the throne of God," see I Celano, 119, trans. Hermann, in Habig, 333; and cf. 334); also II Celano, 94 and 197 (*ibid.*, 439 and 520).

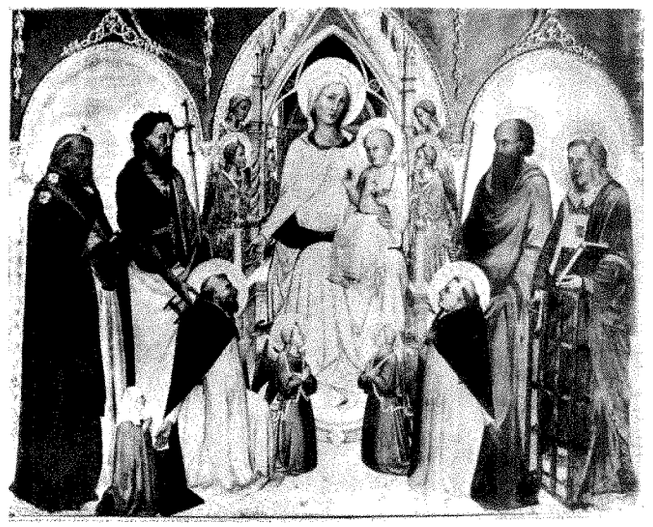
[90] On the fresco, which is in very poor condition, see A. Nicholson, *Cimabue, A Critical Study (Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology,* XVI), Princeton, 1932, 28 and 52. (Both Nicholson, p. 52, and Kleinschmidt, II, 54–55, suggest that the figure of Francis would have been balanced by a second saint to the left.) N.B. beneath the fresco the grave of the Five Companions of Francis, whose idealized portraits are painted below the Madonna, and the signs of an altar dedicated to the Conception. See Pietralunga in Kleinschmidt, III, 20; Kleinschmidt, II, pls. VI-VII and XVIII-XIX; and Simon, n. 30.

[91] I Celano, 118, trans. Hermann, in Habig, 332.

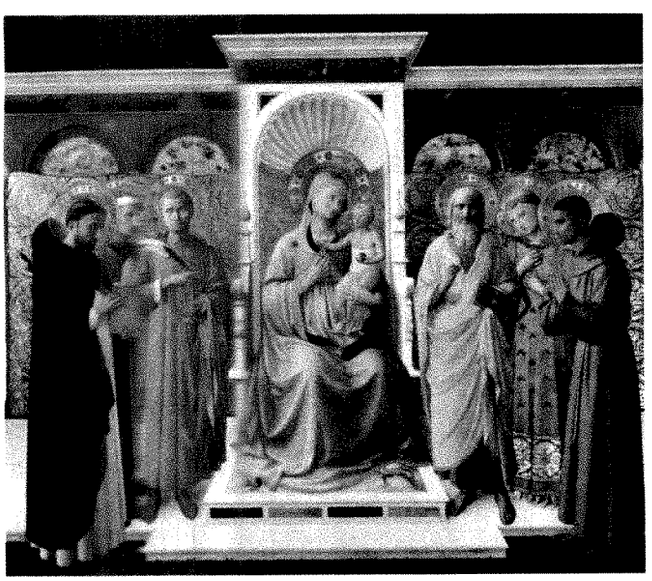
[92] On this doctrine, part of the ninth article of the Apostles' Creed, see G. Löw, *Enciclopedia cattolica,* Vatican City, 1950, IV, 68–70, *s.v.* "Communio sanctorum."



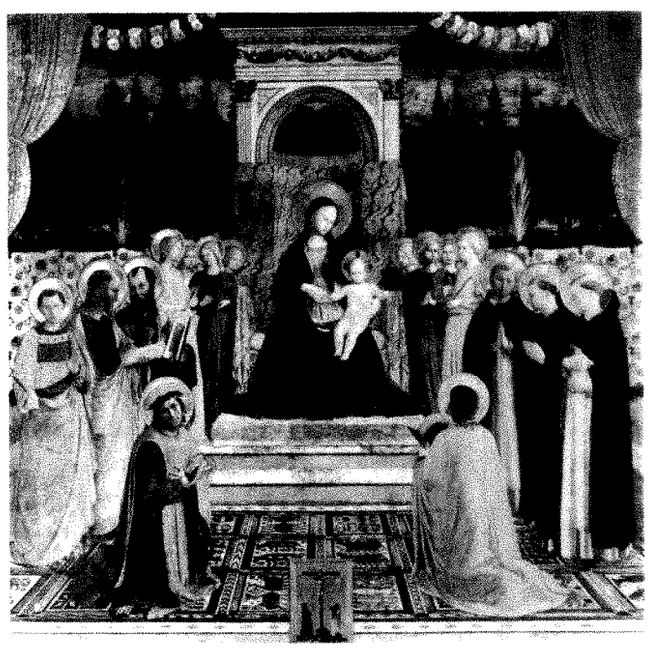
20 Orcagna, Strozzi Altarpiece, 1357. Florence, S. Maria Novella (photo: Alinari)



21 Agnolo Gaddi, *Madonna and Saints*, 1375. Parma, Pinacoteca (photo: Croci, Bologna)



22 Fra Angelico, Annalena Altarpiece, ca. 1437. Florence, S. Marco (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Florence)



23 Fra Angelico, S. Marco Altarpiece, ca 1440. Florence, S. Marco (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Florence)

such volumes as the Dominican *Golden Legend* and the Franciscan *Fioretti.*[93]

There is a fundamental difference between addressing God as an individual and imploring the saints as mediators. Thus a fourteenth-century testament may begin, as does Petrarch's, with the invocation to God, and for "the aid of the most blessed Virgin, His mother, and of the blessed Archangel Michael and of the other saints whose intercession with Christ on my behalf I have been wont to invoke and hope for."[94] Saint Thomas Aquinas himself distinguished between the two kinds of prayer: "In the first way we pray to God. . . . But in the second way we pray to the holy angels and men . . . that by their prayers and merits our prayers may be efficacious."[95]

The saints are also intercessors in a *Maestà* (Figs. 12 and 19), but there they function primarily as intermediaries between God and the community, or for individuals as members of the community, whereas in the *sacra conversazione* they intervene in a more personal way for the individual worshipper. Because the key to the image is the close emotional and physical relationship among the figures, their very number is important: the cast of characters is necessarily limited, whereas a *Maestà* requires its multitudes in order to represent the court of the *Regina caeli.*

The *Maestà* is almost by definition a political image. Among the first was a panel painted by Duccio in 1302 for the altar of the Casa de'Nove, the governing body of Siena, in the Palazzo Pubblico.[96] The painting is called a *Maestà* in the payment documents preserved in the state archives.[97] This work is lost, but Duccio's *Maestà* for the high altar of Siena Cathedral does survive, albeit in a mutilated state (Fig. 19). Commissioned in 1308 and carried to the Duomo in a triumphal procession in 1311, the *Maestà* commemorates Siena's dedication to the Madonna as its liege queen in gratitude for the victory of Montaperti in 1260.[98] Hence the title *Maestà* or "Majesty" is a significant one, and precisely descriptive of the painting: the Queen of Heaven and of Siena is enthroned with her celestial court of angels and saints, including the four patrons of Siena who intercede for their city. The inscription expresses this idea, as well as the artist's personal request for salvation: "Holy mother of God/ Be the cause of peace for Siena/ Be life for Duccio/ Because he has painted you thus."[99]

The official character of such images is even more emphatic in Simone Martini's frescoed *Maestà* (1315 and 1321), as befits its location in the Palazzo Pubblico. Here the Madonna herself addresses the governors in the Sala del Consiglio, asserting that not even the angelic flowers of Paradise please her more than good council and a well-governed state.[100]

The trecento *sacra conversazione* is, then, clearly distinguishable from the *Maestà*, and is not merely a less densely populated version of that theme. The Virgin of the *Maestà*, enthroned as queen, dominates her celestial court by her size. Row upon row of much smaller saints and angels surround her, filling the picture surface and implying the endless extension of her realm (Figs. 12 and 19). Although their attention is turned toward her, and their physical proximity does establish a sense of shared environment, they create no sense of immediate emotional exchange. Only in the *sacra conversazione* do the unification and intercommunication of the figures become the determining aspects of the representation. Moreover, the development does not seem to be continuous from the *Maestà*—which, in any case, was a short-lived type—to the *sacra conversazione;* neither does the trecento *sacra conversazione* emerge from the

[93] P. Séjourne, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Paris, 1939, XIV[1], 943, *s.v.* "Saints (culte des)."

[94] T. E. Mommsen, ed. and trans., *Petrarch's Testament*, Ithaca, 1957, 71. The will is dated in Padua, April 4, 1370.

[95] St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), *Summa Theologica, secunda Secundae, Quaestio* lxxxiii, *articulus* IV, 3 (Petri Lombardi, ed., Paris, 1841, III, 624): ". . .oratio porrigitur alicui dupliciter: uno modo, quasi per ipsum implenda; alio modo sicut per ipsum impetranda. Primo quidem modo soli Deo orationem porrigimus. . . .Sed secundo modo orationem porrigimus sanctis angelis et hominibus. . .sed ut eorum precibus et meritis orationes nostrae sortiantur effectum."

[96] On the lost painting, see Stubblebine, "Duccio's *Maestà* of 1302 for the Chapel of the Nove," *Art Quarterly*, XXXV, 1972, 239–68. On the *Maestà* type, H. Hager, *Die Anfänge des italienischen Altarbildes, Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte des toskanischen Hochaltarretabels (Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, XVII), Munich, 1962, 162; R. Jaques, "Die Ikonographie der Madonna in trono in der Malerei des Dugento," *Mitteilungen der Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, V, 1937, 42–49; and Van Os, 3ff. For political implications, see N. Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art: The Frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Taddeo di Bartolo in the Palazzo Pubblico," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXI, 1958, 179ff.; and H. Wieruszowski, "Art and the Commune in the Time of Dante," *Speculum*, XIX, 1944, 14–33. Wieruszowski points out that Duccio's *Maestà* is among the first paintings known to have been commissioned by a commune.

[97] Biccherna, No. 117, c. 357, published by P. Bacci, *Fonti e commenti per la storia dell' arte senese, Dipinti e sculture in Siena nel suo contado ed altrove (Accademia Senese degli Intronati*, ser. I), Siena, 1944, 4. The document is dated December 4, 1302.

[98] On the battle itself, see F. Schevill, *Siena, The Story of a Mediaeval Commune*, London, 1909, 179ff. For Siena's dedication to the Virgin and for the triumphal procession with Duccio's panel, see Heywood, 91–92; P. Misciattelli, *Mistici senesi*, Siena, 1911, 30–31; and *idem*, *Misticismo senese*, ed. A. Lusini, Florence, 1966, 11–33. Recent bibliography on the reconstruction of the *Maestà* includes Stubblebine, "The Angel Pinnacles on Duccio's *Maestà*," *Art Quarterly*, XXXII, 1969, 131–52; and J. White, "Measurement, Design and Carpentry in Duccio's *Maestà*," *Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, 334–66, 547–69.

[99] On the base of the Madonna's throne: "Mater sca [sancta] dei/sis c[a]usa senis requiei/ sis ducio vital/ [t]e quia pinxi[t?] ita"; see C. Brandi, *Duccio*, Florence, 1951, 143, n. 28.

[100] For the documents and inscriptions, see Bacci, *Fonti*, 134–36; Jaques, *Mitteilungen*, 1937, 47–48; G. Mazzoni, "Influssi danteschi nella 'Maestà' di Simone Martini (Siena, 1315–16)," *Archivio storico italiano*, XCIV, 360, 1936, 144ff.; G. Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, 1854, I, 217–22; and Paccagnini, *Simone*, 100ff.

dissolution of the polyptych, although it seems ultimately to supplant that format.

The fourteenth-century *sacre conversazioni* constitute a group apart from those later trecento examples which follow the *via media* between the polyptych format and the unified field. This "compromise" is also related to earlier fourteenth-century painting in Siena. For example, in his *Maestà* (Fig. 12), Ambrogio Lorenzetti had suggested a polyptych format by means of the arches of the frame, omitting, however, the vertical divisions. In Orcagna's Strozzi Altarpiece (1357), still *in situ* in S. Maria Novella, the figures share a continuous ground, but are separated psychologically and physically by the polyptych arches and by the incised spiral colonnettes, which are provided with actual bases and capitals in the enframement (Fig. 20).[101]

Agnolo Gaddi (or a follower) adapted some of Orcagna's motifs for his altarpiece painted for S. Maria Novella and dated 1375 (Fig. 21).[102] Although Agnolo's separating arches are emphasized by tooling in the gold ground, he has omitted Orcagna's ghostly dividing colonnettes (barely visible in Fig. 20). The figures are now grouped more compactly, establishing greater emotional as well as physical proximity; and Agnolo has reopened that Giottesque avenue of access in the foreground, bracketed by pairs of kneeling saints and angels (cf. Fig. 13). These figures also serve, however, to continue the tripartite division of the picture space effected by the arches and by the Madonna's throne with its flanking angels.

The resemblance between such ambiguous compositions and the *sacra conversazione* of the earlier trecento is, then, primarily visual rather than thematic. It is essentially this equivocal scheme, however, simultaneously unified and divided within itself, that was translated into a quattrocento idiom by Fra Angelico in his panel painting for another Dominican church, S. Vincenzo d'Annalena (Fig. 22).[103] In the Annalena Altarpiece (ca. 1437), as in the Bosco ai Frati painting (before 1445) and in the S. Marco corridor fresco (after 1449), Fra Angelico used the Virgin's throne and segments of architecture (arches, niches, pilasters) to recall the structure of a polyptych.[104] Moreover, there is a hierarchy in the architecture that distinguishes and separates the figures still further: Mary's throne is set into a recess that is taller, deeper, and wider than the sections of arches or shallower niches of the saints. In addition, the gathering of saints is carefully orchestrated to form a symmetrical grouping around the Mother and Son in such a way that the psychological dimensions of their relationships are contained within this architectonic structure. Like the architectural barriers, this limitation of emotional exchange by the physical exigencies of the composition is more typical of a polyptych than a *sacra conversazione*.

Angelico's altarpiece for the church of S. Marco (ca. 1440) represents a partial departure from this scheme (Fig. 23) and suggests both the psychological and the visual unities of the fourteenth-century *sacra conversazione*. Nevertheless, this composition too is additive and recalls in some ways Agnolo's panel for S. Maria Novella (Fig. 21). In the fifteenth-century work, however, the central avenue of access is more open, measured in perspective by the geometric patterns of the carpet. But the kneeling saints Cosmas and Damian function almost as hinges, both binding and separating the six standing saints and the Madonna. She and the infant are enclosed in their tall, architectonic throne, which evokes the central section of a triptych, as in the other *sacre conversazioni* by Angelico. The middle ground is punctuated by two date palms, left and right, which reinforce the suggested compartmentalization of the picture space. But this is counterbalanced by heightened interaction among the holy community, in particular between Saint Damian and the Virgin who exchange glances. Furthermore, an emotional bond is established between the viewer and the image, as the Child, Saint Lawrence, and especially Saint Cosmas all gaze and gesture toward us.[105]

The compositional and thematic development

[101] For Orcagna's altarpiece and its enframement, see Cämmerer-George, 166ff. Meiss, 1951, 9–14; and Offner, as cited in n. 38. Sec. IV, Vol. I, *Andrea di Cione*, New York, 1962, 29–40 and pl. I[28]. Much of the frame is a 19th-century reconstruction.

[102] Parma, Pinacoteca, No. 435. M. Boskovits, "Some Early Works of Agnolo Gaddi," *Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, 210; and *idem*, *Pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del rinascimento 1370–1400* (*Collana di studi*, III, ed. M. Grigori), Florence, 1975, 65 and 302. Cf. R. Salvini, who doubted the attribution and the date MCCCLXXV inscribed on the step of the throne ("Per la cronologia e per il catalogo di un discepolo di Agnolo Gaddi," *Bollettino d'arte*, XXIX, 1935, 285–86); and, most recently, B. Cole, with an attribution to "following of Gaddi" (*Agnolo Gaddi*, Oxford, 1977, 73). Also by Agnolo is the painting now in the National Gallery, Washington, dated ca. 1385–1390 by Boskovits, *Pittura*, 304. The frame is "in large part original," according to the *National Gallery of Art Preliminary Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture*, 2nd ed., Washington, D.C., 1941, 69–70. There are numerous examples of this altarpiece type by other artists; see, for example, by Fra Angelico, the paintings in Cortona, Museo Diocesano (between 1433 and 1437) and in Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell' Umbria (1437); Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, 2nd ed., London, 1974, 197–99 and figs. 21–22.

[103] Now in Florence, Museo di S. Marco; see Pope-Hennessy, *Angelico*, 211–12.

[104] *Ibid.*, 206, 215, and pls. 90 and 126. Domenico Veneziano in his Saint Lucy Altarpiece was similarly insistent on this kind of resemblance between the architectural setting and the subdivisions of polyptychs.

[105] For the altarpiece, see Pope-Hennessy, *Angelico*, 199–200. Professor John R. Spencer reminds me of Alberti's passage recommending the painter's use of such figures who invite the attention of the viewer: "Et piacemi sia nella storia chi admonisca et insegni ad noi quello che ivi si facci: o chiami con la mano a vedere o, con viso cruccioso e chon li occhi turbati, minacci che niuno verso loro vada; o dimostri qualche pericolo o cosa ivi maravigliosa o te inviti ad piagniere con loro insieme o a ridere; et così, qualunque cosa fra loro o teco facciana i dipinti, tutto apartenga a hornare o a insegniarti la storia" (*Della pittura*, ed. L. Mallè [*Raccolta di fonti per la storia dell'arte*, VIII], Florence, 1950, 95).

sketched here may be related to an emerging humanist conception of saints. The saints are not models of virtue because of miracles they have performed. To be sure, their marvelous deeds are demonstrative of sanctity, but do not constitute it. This distinction was expressed by the "Three Companions" of Saint Francis, Leo, Rufino, and Angelo, who wrote to Fra Crescenzio, General of the Friars Minor, in a letter of August 11, 1246: [miracles] "sanctitatem non faciunt, sed ostendunt." Rather, it is the very life of the saint that illustrates his holiness and the virtues that we are to emulate.[106] Likewise, in a sermon of 1303, Giordano da Pisa stressed that understanding (and hence emulation) of a saint—in this case, Saint Dominic—is based on knowledge of his life, not on his miracles: ". . . when we wish to know a saint [and] his greatness, we do not call to mind his miracles, but rather the life he led; in this one knows the greatness of saints."[107]

Erasmus, representing the culmination of this aspect of the humanist tradition, emphasizes as a matter of principle in his *Vita Hieronymi* (published 1516) the desideratum of writing a saint's biography as a history, not a compendium of fantastic miracles, acknowledging the subject's faults as well as recounting his virtues. Only in this way can the saint be properly revealed as an exemplar: "I do not think anything better than to describe these saints' lives exactly as they were; if they erred in their life, this very thing in itself can become for us an example of piety."[108]

The quattrocento "holy community" or *sacra conversazione* is no longer one based on mystical and supernatural reunion. These fifteenth-century beings are united in real environments, whether architectural or landscape, or a combination of both. Their communion is matter-of-fact, almost mundane, compared to the pathetic spirituality of the supernal personages in the trecento *conversazioni*.

That these sorts of Madonna painting—*sacra conversazione, Maestà,* and polyptych variations—are coexistent rather than successive may be related to their functions as objects of devotion. This is clearly the case with the *Maestà*, as has been seen. But what about the *sacra conversazione?*

I would like to propose that the mystical supplication to individual saints for mediation seems to require their communion with Mother and Son in a *sacra conversazione*. Now, we cannot expect to penetrate the nature of such relationships between verbal and visual patterns.[109] Nevertheless, the fact remains that in Italian painting during the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries—the century after the deaths of Saints Francis and Dominic—a new imagery evolved that is comparable to the vocally expressed hope for mediation. What is new here is the proximity, even intimacy of man's approach to God, and to a God whose human incarnation is increasingly emphasized. Hence, it is particularly the infant Jesus or the dead man on the Cross whom we are urged to approach in the most personal way.[110] This mingling of profound reverence with a warm and human love is characteristic of Saint Francis's passionate veneration of God. The prototypical incident is his celebration of Christmas Mass at Greccio in 1223. "Greccio was made, as it were, a new Bethlehem," Celano records. "The gifts of the Almighty were multiplied there, and a wonderful vision was seen by a certain virtuous man. For he saw a little child lying in the manger lifeless, and he saw the holy man of God [Francis] go up to it and rouse the child as from a deep sleep . . . he was brought to life again through his servant Saint Francis. . . ."[111]

[106] *Acta Sanctorum Octobris*, Antwerp, 1768, II, 723, cited by Delcorno, 1972, 49, n. 77.

[107] From the end of a sermon on Saint Dominic, August 5, 1393, quoted in *ibid.*, 49: ". . .quando noi volemo conoscere uno santo, la sua grandezza, noi non ponemo mente a miracoli, ma alla vita egli menò; qui si conosce la grandezza de' santi." In discussing this sermon, Delcorno, 1972, explains that Giordano's treatment of such recent saints as Dominic and Francis differs from that in his sermons on earlier figures in this emphasis on the innate qualities of holiness rather than on their public demonstration by miraculous acts.

[108] "Ego nihil arbitror esse rectius quam eiusmodi describere sanctos, cuiusmodi fuerunt ipsi, in quorum vita si quid etiam errati deprehenditur, hoc ipsum nobis vertitur in exemplum pietatis"; W. K. Ferguson, ed., *Erasmi Opuscula, A Supplement to the Opera Omnia*, The Hague, 1933, 136. I thank Professor Camporeale for bringing this to my attention.

[109] Meiss (1951, 116) has expressed the difficulties inherent in the investigation of such associations. Writing of Saint Catherine of Siena, he offers this caveat: "Whether these several visions and metaphors. . .were influenced by works of art she had seen, by theological texts. . ., by sermons she had heard, or by religious poetry recited in public, is not now, and probably cannot ever be, entirely clear."

[110] For the mystical Franciscan identification with Christ and his sufferings, see Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order From Its Origins to the Year 1517*, Oxford, 1968, 256ff. Moorman cites, *inter alia*, Saint Bonaventure's "Letter to a Poor Clare" in which the sister is urged to "Draw near [to the Crucified]. . .go right in, through the opening in his side, to the very heart of Jesus . . ." (*ibid.*, 206). See also the repertory of *esempi* by the Dominican Fra Giordano (Delcorno, 1975, 241ff.). Among the greatest exponents of this compassionate spirituality was the Franciscan poet Jacopone da Todi (1230–1306), *Le laude*, Florence, 1923 (a repr. of the edition of 1490); in particular, "De la beata vergine Maria" (*idem*, 5–7) and "Pianto de la Madonna de la Passione del figliolo Iesu Cristo" (*idem*, 291–93). On Jacopone and on the piety of his time, see E. Auerbach, "Dante's Prayer to the Virgin (*Paradiso*, XXXIII) and Earlier Eulogies," *Romance Philology*, III, 1949, 21–22; and E. Delaruelle, "La Spiritualité aux XIVe et XVe siècles," *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, V, 1959, 59–70.

[111] I Celano, 84–87 (trans. Hermann, in Habig, 300–02); and Saint Bonaventure, *Major Life*, X, 7 (trans. Fahy, *ibid.*, 710–11). The image embraced by Saint Francis was probably an ancestor of one attributed to Ambrogio Lorenzetti by Schlegel, 1–10. For the 8th-century practice of laying the Host of a Christmas Mass on a crib that served as altar, see Sinanoglou, 496.

This compelling episode—and the numerous miracles attributed to every aspect of the crèche, even to the very hay—was an inspiration for the description of the Nativity in the *Meditations*. The writer encourages the worshipper to imagine himself in the stable in Bethlehem, to

> kneel and adore your Lord God, and then His mother, and reverently greet the saintly old Joseph. Kiss the beautiful little feet of the infant Jesus . . . and beg His mother to offer to let you hold Him a while. Pick Him up and hold Him in your arms. Gaze on His face with devotion and reverently kiss Him and delight in Him. You may freely do this, because He came to sinners to deliver them. . . . But always do these things with veneration . . . then return Him to the mother . . . and remain to help her if you can.[112]

Saint Francis himself would speak to, caress, kiss the sacred images before which he prayed. In the legend of the Crucifix of S. Damiano, we are told how Francis fell down in devotion before the image. Then "something unheard of before happened to him: the painted image of Christ crucified moved its lips and spoke."[113] This episode is repeated in Franciscan literature and painting not only to indicate God's favor to Francis, but also in part to encourage us to emulate the saint's devotions. Humbert of Romans expressed this need, citing the necessity for "a good exemplar, like the artist who finds painting easier when before a good model."[114]

The stories of the S. Damiano Crucifix, the crèche of Greccio, and others, are of great importance too because of what they imply about the late medieval approach to holy images. The worshipper may speak to them, sing lauds to them, even embrace them, and if he is blessed, they may respond; they signify, in fact, the real, or at least the potentially real presence of the divine.[115] This reality is made explicit in a historiated altarpiece of Saint Francis by a late follower of Guido da Siena, ca. 1310. In the narrative scene of the saint praying before the S. Damiano Crucifix, it is the living Christ on the Cross who reaches down, extending his arm toward Francis.[116]

Saint John Damascene provides the theoretical explanation for the efficacy and reality of images. They represent not only the body of the holy personages, but their suffering as well; and through their images the worshipper's veneration is referred to the sacred beings themselves.[117]

When we read about Christ, as in the *Meditations*, we are meant to feel compelled to sense that nearness to God which Saint Francis had urged: ". . . nothing [must] come between him and us." The notion that the saints may be entreated to mediate for men demands their physical and emotional proximity to God in united compositions of the *sacra conversazione*, in which their power as mediators is made manifest.

This spiritual environment suggests, perhaps even requires a new verisimilitude in sacred art. In part as a consequence of this, the theme that we recognize in the fifteenth century as the *sacra conversazione* exists already in trecento painting. Only a few examples have been cited, selected to demonstrate the artistic and psychological subtlety of the Tuscan *trecentisti*. Indeed, their stylistic sophistication is inseparable from their emotional insight, and these elements in compositions of the Madonna and Child and saints constitute the *sacra conversazione* in the fourteenth century.

Duke University

[112] Ragusa and Green, 38–39.

[113] II Celano, 10 (trans. Hermann, in Habig, 370); and Saint Bonaventure, *Major Life*, II, 1 (trans. Fahy, *idem*, 640–41). The Cross of S. Damiano is now venerated in the church of S. Chiara, Assisi; see E. Zocca, *Catalogo delle cose d'arte e d'antichità d'Italia, Assisi*, Rome, 1936, 202. Celano's claim that this was a unique event is inaccurate; cf. the speaking Crucifix that addressed Saint John Gualbert (d. 1073) in S. Miniato, Florence (see Meiss, 1951, 106; and L. Gougaud, *Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages*, London, 1927, 78–79).

[114] Umberto de Romans, *Istruzioni per i predicatori*, ed. and trans. G. Mosca (*Collana Patristica-Edizioni Paoline*), n.p., 1969, 198: "Occorre proporsi un buon esemplare, come fa il pittore, che trova più facile dipingere quando si pone davanti un buon modello." See also the Dominican Giordano: "Dovrebbe catuna persona aversi un suo exemplo di qualche santo omo, e tenérlosi, e riserbàllosi, che 'l difenda nel tempo de la pugna" (Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale fiorentino 1305–6*, ed. C. Delcorno, Florence, 1975, 300).

[115] For this reason, sacred images should be treated "neatly and respectfully," as in the story of the Saracen converted by a Madonna painting; see S. Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions, Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Private Piety," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, LXXIII, 1969, 160.

[116] In the Assisi cycle, the Crucifix is shown as such, *viz.*, as a panel painting within the fresco. For the Sienese *Saint Francis*, No. 313 in the Pinacoteca, see Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena*, Princeton, 1964, 107–09 and fig. 61. The Assisi fresco is fig. 31 in L. Tintori and Meiss, *The Painting of "The Life of St. Francis" in Assisi*, New York, 1967.

[117] Saint John Damascene, "Oratorio Demonstrativa, De Sacris et Venerandis Imaginibus," in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. . .Series Graeca*, Paris, 1864, XCV, 311–4 and 339–42. See also *idem*, 323–24, on the power of images to encourage our emulation of the saints; and 327–28, in which the Damascene praises the descriptive language of Dionysius Areopagita, which evokes images as though they were painted for us.

Bibliography of Frequently Cited Sources

Bauch, K., *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild, Figürliche Grabmäler des 11. bis 15. Jahrhunderts in Europa*, Berlin and New York, 1976.

Baxandall, M., *Giotto and the Orators, Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition 1350–1450 (Oxford-Warburg Studies)*, Oxford, 1971.

Borsook, E., *Gli affreschi di Montesiepi (Quaderni d'arte*, ed. E. Carli), Florence, 1969.

Cämmerer-George, M., *Die Rahmung des toskanischer Altarbilder in Trecento (Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslands*, CXXXIX), Strasbourg, 1966.

Delcorno, C., 1972, "L'Exemplum nella predicazione volgare di Giordano da Pisa," *Memorie, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti*, XXVI, 3–121.

———, 1975, *Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare (Biblioteca di "Lettere italiane,"* XIV), Florence.

DeWald, E. T., *Pietro Lorenzetti*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930.

Gardner, J., "Arnolfo di Cambio and Roman Tomb Design," *Burlington Magazine*, CXV, 1973, 420–39.

Habig, M. A., ed., *Saint Francis of Assisi, Writings and Early Biographies, English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of Saint Francis*, Chicago, 1972.

Heywood, W., *The "Ensemples" of Fra Filippo. A Study of Mediaeval Siena*, Siena, 1901.

Kleinschmidt, B., *Die Basilika San Francisco in Assisi*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1915–1928.

Maginnis, H. B. J., "Assisi Revisited: Notes on Recent Observations," *Burlington Magazine*, CXVII, 1975, 511–17.

Meiss, M., 1946, "Italian Primitives at Konopiště," *Art Bulletin*, XXVIII, 1–16.

———, 1951, *Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death*, Princeton.

———, 1967, *Giotto and Assisi*, New York.

———, 1970, *The Great Age of Fresco, Discoveries, Recoveries and Survivals*, New York.

Niccoli, R., "Scoperta di un capolavoro, La 'Maestà' di Ambrogio Lorenzetti nella Chiesa di Sant' Agostino in Siena,"*Capolavori dell'arte senese*, ed. E. Carli, Florence, 1946, 7–12.

Os, H. van, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung in der sienesischen Malerei 1300–1450 (Kunsthistorische Studien van het Nederlands Historisch Institut te Rome*, I), s'Gravenhage, 1969.

Pecci, G. A., *Relazione delle cose più notabili della città di Siena sì antiche, come moderne*, Siena, 1752.

Pope-Hennessy, J., *Italian Gothic Sculpture (An Introduction to Italian Sculpture*, Pt. I), 2nd rev. ed., London and New York, 1972.

Ragusa, I., and R. B. Green, eds. and trans., *Meditations on the Life of Christ, An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century (Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology*, XXXV), Princeton, 1961.

Rowley, G., *Ambrogio Lorenzetti (Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology*, XXXII), 2 vols., Princeton, 1958.

Schlegel, U., "The Christchild as Devotional Image in Medieval Italian Sculpture: A Contribution to Ambrogio Lorenzetti Studies," *Art Bulletin*, LII, 1970, 1–10.

Schlosser, J. von, *Ghibertis Denkwürdigkeiten, I Commentarii*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1912.

Simon, R., "Towards a Relative Chronology of the Frescoes in the Lower Church of San Francesco at Assisi," *Burlington Magazine*, CXVIII, 1976, 361–66.

Sinanoglou, L., "The Christ Child as Sacrifice: A Medieval Tradition and the Corpus Christi Plays," *Speculum*, XLVIII, 1973, 491–509.

Toesca, P., *Il trecento (Storia dell'arte italiana*, II), Turin, 1951.

Valentiner, W. R., *Tino di Camaino, A Sienese Sculptor of the Fourteenth Century*, Paris, 1935.

An Augustinian Interpretation of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling, Part I*

Esther Gordon Dotson

For who would not see how much more excellent is our human race, of whom part, though born on earth, is ascending into heaven, than that race of whom part, although born in heaven, will forever be in exile in the earth?

—Egidio da Viterbo, *Sententiae ad Mentem Platonis*[1]

This article, to be published in two parts, proposes a source for the general program of the Sistine Ceiling in the writings of Saint Augustine, especially *The City of God*. Egidio da Viterbo, a prominent theologian in the circle of Pope Julius II, is suggested as the formulator of the program. The unusual combination of subjects that constitute the ceiling, and the structural arrangement of those subjects, will be shown to relate to the principal themes and the basic structure of the Second Part of *The City of God*. Some elaborations of the basic themes can be traced to other works by Saint Augustine, equally known in the Renaissance, especially his treatises on Genesis, his *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, and his *De Trinitate*. In addition, a number of individual images and special concerns in the ceiling can be connected with the writings of Egidio da Viterbo, and with his role among churchmen in early sixteenth-century Rome. Egidio's writings will be discussed in detail in a further study now in preparation; in this article they will be cited along with other Renaissance writings chiefly to document Augustinian concepts current in Renaissance Italy, and to show the form taken by such borrowings from Augustine.

Many of the interpretations proposed in the following pages occur not only in Saint Augustine's writings, but in many others as well; some are commonplaces of Christian scriptural and doctrinal exegesis. That biblical narratives (as well as the writings of the Hebrew Prophets) are pregnant with prophetic meanings, allegorical and analogical, is suggested by a number of passages in the Gospels and Epistles; and the fourfold interpretation of Scripture had become formalized before Augustine's time. Thus, in his unfinished treatise on the literal reading of Genesis, he writes:

> Four ways of expounding the Law have been handed down by various writers on the Scriptures . . . as history, as allegory, as analogy and as aetiology. It is history when acts, whether divine or human, are called to mind; allegory when statements are understood figuratively; analogy when the congruence of Old and New Testaments is demonstrated; aetiology when the causes of sayings and deeds are set forth.[2]

In practice, Augustine himself stressed chiefly the contrast between the literal reading and its lessons (history and aetiology), on the one hand, and the prophetic meaning, whether allegorical or analogical, on the other. So he defines his task in the treatise *De Genesi ad Litteram* as the search for the meaning of the text "apart from allegorical significance."[3] In his *De Genesi Contra Manichaeos*, however, he reproves the Manichaeans for their foolishly literal-minded criticism of the Old Testament narratives, and explains that they are missing the hidden meanings: "The veil is taken away when the tissue of similitude and allegory is removed and the truth is laid bare so that it can be seen."[4]

Non-literal interpretations are stressed also in the Second Part of *The City of God:* they are intimations of the divine plan of redemption, incorporated in events from the beginnings of human history.

* I owe special thanks to John W. O'Malley, S.J., whose book, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform*, is an invaluable introduction to Egidio da Viterbo, and who has been most generous in sharing information on Egidio studies, and a microfilm copy of MS Ang. Lat. 502. Sir Ernst Gombrich kindly read an early version of the study and gave me useful comments. W. R. Johnson has assisted me with several difficult medieval and Renaissance texts. Creighton E. Gilbert has been unfailingly critical and unfailingly helpful, from the earliest to the latest drafts; and the comments of other colleagues at Cornell and elsewhere have contributed a great deal to my thinking. I am grateful to Cornell University for a Humanities Research Grant during the summer of 1976, under which my research on Egidio da Viterbo was begun, and for a sabbatical leave for the academic year 1978–79 to continue that research.

N.B. A bibliography of sources cited by author or short title follows the footnotes.

[1] Egidio, *Sententiae*, c.58, fol. 59r (published Massa, 73). Egidio was engaged on this work at least by 1510, and laid it aside unfinished in 1512 or later (O'Malley, 1968, 197).

[2] *De Genesi ad Litt. imp.*, ii, 5; *Pat. Lat.* 34:222.

[3] *De Genesi ad Litt.*, I, i, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 34:247. Cf. also I, xvii, 34; *Pat. Lat.* 34:259: "the discussion of prophetic allegory . . . we are not undertaking in this treatise. For we are setting out to speak of the Scriptures according to the character of the actions, not according to enigmatic images."

[4] *De Genesi contra Mani.*, I, xxii, 33; *Pat. Lat.* 34:189.

> These hidden meanings of inspired Scripture we track down as best we can . . . we all hold confidently to the firm belief that these historical events and the narrative of them have always some foreshadowing of things to come, and are always to be interpreted with reference to Christ and his Church, which is the City of God. It has never failed to be foretold in prophecy from the beginning of the human race, and we now see the prophecy being fulfilled in all that happens. . . . Accordingly, the writer of these holy Scriptures (or rather the Spirit of God through his agency) is concerned with those events which not only constitute a narrative of past history but also give a prophecy of things to come.[5]

The dominant organization of *The City of God,* however, is historical rather than allegorical. The "hidden meanings" take their place, as foreshadowings of Christian history and doctrine, within the history of the Heavenly City, which begins with the first acts of Creation and concludes at the end of time, when its citizens enter into eternal blessedness after the Last Judgment.

It is the governing historical structure of the central scenes, the spine of the Sistine Ceiling, encompassing both the literal and the figurative interpretations of the Genesis narratives, that most clearly echoes *The City of God,* and contrasts with the more usual presentations of biblical narratives and their allegorical significance, like those of the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Bible moralisée.* The other narratives, figures, and groups on the Ceiling elaborate the historical stages and establish the principles and populations involved in the story of the City of God.

Basic structural agreement between textual and pictorial schemes must be an important criterion for judging the validity of an interpretation. Specific details of the paintings should also be accounted for within the logic of the whole, especially unconventional or unexpected details of organization and rendering. Such a requirement poses special problems for a scheme in which the events depicted have two (or more) meanings, literal and allegorical or analogical. Is a particular detail to be explained in the literal or the figurative context? The following analysis of the Sistine Ceiling will indicate that puzzling elements in the order and representation of the Genesis scenes can be explained within both the literal and the figurative meaning of each scene, although sometimes the demands of the figurative context seem more decisive. In several cases, therefore, the discussion of an unusual element in the literal analysis of Section 4 of this article will show only that such an element can be accommodated; the allegorical analysis in Section 5 will show why the element was required. What is striking, nevertheless, is Michelangelo's skillful and economical coordination of the different readings of the biblical narrative, whose complex meanings unfold in scenes of heroic breadth and simplicity.

1. The City of God: Structure and Principal Themes

Saint Augustine suggested that *The City of God* could be divided into two volumes. The first, Books I through X, is directed against pagan worship. The second, with which we are concerned, constitutes a more or less independent treatise on the history of God's people throughout the ages, the City of God. Its twelve books (XI through XXII) are organized "so that four should discuss the origin of that City, four its progress, or rather its development, and the four last the ends in store for it."[6] Many digressions on related historical, theological, and philosophical questions enrich this main outline; and from the outset Augustine makes clear that the subject of the Second Part is in fact "the rise, the development and the defined ends of *the two cities, the earthly and the heavenly.*" For the two are "interwoven, as it were, in this transitory world, and mingled with one another."[7]

The two cities "arose from the difference between two classes of angels,"[8] indicated in the account of the first day of Creation. For "assuming the creation of the first light to refer to the creation of the angels, the distinction between the holy and the unclean angels is described in the passage, 'And God divided the light from the darkness.' "[9] With the creation of man is begun another population which will be divided into two cities. "For from [Adam] were to come all men, some of them to join the company of the evil angels in their punishment, others to be admitted to the company of the good angels in their reward."[10] The division in mankind began with the Original Sin, as a result of which human nature, created good, was changed and vitiated. The sin itself, like that of the rebel angels, was pride; its punishment was the physical death inherited by all mankind.[11] The citizens of the city of man, living "according to the flesh," cannot escape the further fall into eternal death. But those rescued by God's grace live "according to the spirit"; they are on pilgrimage in this world toward the Heavenly City, making their way toward immortality.[12] Pride and self-love characterize the earthly city, humility and the love of God the City of God. "The earthly city glories in itself, the Heavenly City glories in the Lord."[13]

[5] *De Civitate Dei,* XVI, ii, 3; *Pat. Lat.* 41:479.

[6] From a letter to Firmus published by Dom C. Lambot, *Revue bénédictine,* LI, 2–3, 1939, quoted by David Knowles, ed., Augustine, *City of God,* trans. Henry Bettenson, Harmondsworth, 1972, xxxv.

[7] *De Civitate Dei,* XI, i; *Pat. Lat.* 41:317. Italics added.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *De Civitate Dei,* XI, xix; *Pat. Lat.,* 41:333.

[10] *De Civitate Dei,* XII, xxvii, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:376.

[11] *De Civitate Dei,* XII, vi, xxi–xxiii; XIII, iii; XIV, xi, xiii–xv; *Pat. Lat.* 41:353, 372–73, 378–79, 418–422.

[12] *De Civitate Dei,* XIV, ix, 6; *Pat. Lat.* 41:416.

[13] *De Civitate Dei,* XIV, xiii, xxviii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:421, 436.

In the development of the two cities, described in Books XV to XVIII, the biblical emphasis on the lines of natural descent, the succession of generations, is invoked as a principle of historical continuity. The first important period in the history of the two cities, traced in the generations from Adam through Cain and Seth, ends with the Flood.[14] The division of the two cities is renewed among the descendants of Noah's three sons, by whom the earth was repopulated. Ham, cursed for the sin of mocking his father, is the ancestor of the founders of Babel-Babylon, epitome of the earthly city.[15] The City of God is shown "in the line of descent . . . from Shem"[16] through Abraham and his descendants down to the establishment of the Hebrew kingdom. The messages of the Prophets, and providential preparation in the Gentile world as well, find fulfillment in the coming of Christ, his rejection by his own people, and the birth and era of the Church.[17]

The last four-book section of the Second Part deals with the "appointed ends of these two cities," the eternal life and eternal death that Augustine identifies as the Supreme Good and Supreme Evil.[18] The Scriptures are searched for clues to the events that will occur at the end of time. Finally, Book XXI treats "the punishment of the wicked," and Book XXII "the felicity of the righteous"[19] in eternity. The latter subject is introduced by a return to the earliest history of the two cities, the creation of angels and of man, and the fall of the rebel angels and of Adam and Eve. The angels are fixed in their divided states of everlasting misery and eternal bliss; but from the ranks of humanity, "God by his grace is gathering a people so great that from them he may fill the place of the fallen angels and restore their number. And thus that beloved Heavenly City will not be deprived of its full number of citizens; it may perhaps rejoice in a still more abundant population."[20] The joining of the angelic and human communities of the City of God at the end of time will therefore restore that City to its original perfection.

The binary structure involved in the constant comparison and contrast of the two cities is characteristic not only of the historical sequence in *The City of God*, but of many of its governing concepts. Augustine seldom presents polar oppositions of good and evil, light and dark, except in the contrast between eternal life and eternal death. But since he defines evil as a negative rather than a positive principle, the lack or loss of a good rather than a power in competition with the good,[21] the dualities he perceives are generally complements within a hierarchy, a higher reality completing, fulfilling, or correcting a flawed or incomplete reality. Both nature and grace issue from God and partake of God's goodness; but nature, having been corrupted by the misdirection of will in the Original Sin, requires redemption by divine grace.[22] The same principle is visible in the contrast of generation and regeneration: "Now the intercourse of male and female is the seedbed, as it were, of a city, as far as the race of mortals is concerned. But the earthly city needs only generation, whereas the Heavenly City needs regeneration also, to escape the guilt connected with generation."[23]

This complementarity in its various forms is affected by the mysterious tension between time and eternity. The history of humankind since the Fall "is a chain of disasters: man is led from that original perversion, a kind of corruption at the root, all the way to the disaster of the second death, which has no end. Only those who are set free through God's grace escape from this calamitous sequence,"[24] that is, into eternal life. Yet God provides in human history "shadows" and "prophetic images" of his eternal purposes and of the eternal goal of the redeemed. "Thus we find in the earthly city [of Jerusalem] a double significance; in one respect it displays its own presence, and in the other it serves by its presence to signify the Heavenly City."[25] The earthly Jerusalem is in history; the Heavenly City is not only in history; it is inclusive of all history, at the end of history, and beyond history.

> For the City of the saints is up above, although it produces citizens here below, and in their persons the City is on pilgrimage until the time of its kingdom comes. At that time it will assemble all those citizens as they rise again in their bodies; and then they will be given the promised kingdom, where with their Prince, 'the king of ages,' they will reign, world without end.[26]

Both events and prophetic utterances may point to the dual reality of the historic moment and the higher real-

[14] *De Civitate Dei*, XV, XVII–XX; *Pat. Lat.* 41:460–65.

[15] *De Civitate Dei*, XVI, iii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:479–480.

[16] *De Civitate Dei*, XVI, x, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:488.

[17] Book XVI, XII–XLII treats the Patriarchs; chap. XLIII begins the history from Moses to the time of the kings; Book XVII deals with the nature of prophecy, the time of the Prophets, the history of the Jewish people up to the time of Christ and its prophetic significance. Book XVIII outlines Gentile history concurrent with that of the Jews from the time of Abraham, the prophecies of Christ and the Church in the books of the Hebrew Prophets, and the relation of Jewish and Gentile religious thought up to Augustine's own time.

[18] *De Civitate Dei*, XIX, i, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:621; and Book XIX as a whole.

[19] *De Civitate Dei*, XX, XXX, 6; *Pat. Lat.* 41:708, summarizing the next two books.

[20] *De Civitate Dei*, XXII, i, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:752.

[21] *De Civitate Dei*, XI, IX, XXII ff.; XII, ii ff., etc.; *Pat. Lat.* 41:325, 335ff., 350ff.

[22] *De Civitate Dei*, XIII, XIV; *Pat. Lat.* 41:386–387.

[23] *De Civitate Dei*, XV, XVI, 3; *Pat. Lat.* 41:459.

[24] *De Civitate Dei*, XIII, XIV; *Pat. Lat.* 41:386–387.

[25] *De Civitate Dei*, XV, ii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:439.

[26] *De Civitate Dei*, XV, i, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:438.

ity it foreshadows—whether also in history or in eternity, or both.

> Noah . . . was a righteous man . . . 'perfect in his generation.' That is, he was perfect, not as the citizens of the City of God are to be made perfect in the immortal condition in which they will become equal to the angels of God, but as they can be perfect during their pilgrimage on earth. It was to Noah that God gave instructions to make an ark in which he was to be rescued from the devastation of the Flood, together with his family . . . and also the animals. . . . Without doubt this is a symbol of the City of God on pilgrimage in this world, of the Church which is saved through the wood on which was suspended 'the mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.'[27]

> We must believe that the writing of this historical record had a wise purpose, that the events are historical, that they have a symbolic meaning, and that this meaning gives a prophetic picture of the Church.[28]

A hierarchy of symbols and fulfillments results. Noah's righteousness is that of the City of God on pilgrimage, of which he is a member. The ark stands for the City of God on pilgrimage in its later history, the Church redeemed by the wood of the Cross within the flood of the world; and the Church in the world in turn foreshadows or represents the eternal "City of the saints . . . up above." Similarly, "the utterances of the prophets are found to have a threefold meaning, in that some have in view the earthly Jerusalem, others the heavenly, and others refer to both."[29] For example, "the prophecy of the future house of God in [Jerusalem] . . . seems to have its fulfillment when King Solomon builds that renowned temple. But this was not only an event in the history of the earthly Jerusalem; it was also a symbol of the Jerusalem in heaven."[30]

Two dualities that recur throughout *The City of God* involve a more balanced complementary relationship. These are Jew and Gentile, and Christ and the Church. The first pair have to do with historical categories and vicissitudes; the second expresses an eternal unity.

Jew and Gentile together constitute the Church, according to Augustine, a structure with Christ as its cornerstone "and the two walls, one made up of Jews, the other of Gentiles."[31] Some true theological insight was granted to the Gentile (i.e., pagan) world before the coming of Christ, as Augustine conceded in his critique of pagan thought in Part One of *The City of God*.[32] Those pagan prophetesses known as Sibyls even prophesied Christ; and the Erythraean Sibyl "is evidently to be counted among those who belong to the City of God."[33] Jewish theological wisdom and prophecy, however, have not only superior authority but greater antiquity.[34] Yet God provided in many ways for the spread of true religion to the Gentiles.[35] Saint Paul's distinction between Abraham's spiritual and physical progeny, represented by Isaac and Ishmael, indicates one prophetic significance of the story of Abraham, and it justifies the extension to the Church from the Gentiles of the blessing promised to Abraham's descendants.[36] On the other hand, in accordance with prophecy, only "a remnant" of the Jewish people believed in Christ;[37] and the Jews as a whole will remain alienated from the promised blessing until they are converted "in the last days."[38]

For Augustine, the relationship of Christ and the Church is foreshadowed from the beginnings of humanity, in the creation of Eve from Adam's side. The Church is the new Eve, born from the Sacraments of the water and the blood that flowed from the side of Christ, the second Adam.[39] Christ and the Church are regularly paired in Augustine's discussions of the prophetic significance of events and the writings of the Prophets.

Such contrasts and complementarities expressive of God's purposes contribute to the beauty of Creation. They

> enrich the course of the world's history by the kind of antithesis which gives beauty to a poem. 'Antithesis' provides the most attractive figures in literary composition: the Latin equivalent is 'opposition' or, more accurately, 'contraposition' . . . in the same way there is beauty in the composition of the world's history arising from the antithesis of contraries—a kind of eloquence in events instead of in words.[40]

2. The Organization of the Sistine Ceiling

The complex structure of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling decoration (Fig. 1) sets up two different axial directions along which relationships are to be traced; the whole is framed and contained by the four scenes in the corner pendentives. In the nine bays along the central

[27] *De Civitate Dei*, xv, xxvi, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:472.

[28] *De Civitate Dei*, xv, xxvii, 5; *Pat. Lat.* 41:476.

[29] *De Civitate Dei*, xvii, iii, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:525.

[30] *De Civitate Dei*, xvii, iii, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:526.

[31] *De Civitate Dei*, xviii, xxviii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:584.

[32] *De Civitate Dei*, viii, v ff.; *Pat. Lat.* 41:229 ff. Cf. also *De Civitate Dei*, xviii, xiv; *Pat. Lat.* 41:572.

[33] *De Civitate Dei*, xviii, xxiii, *Pat. Lat.* 41:579–581; also *De Civitate Dei*, xviii, xlvi; *Pat. Lat.* 41:608.

[34] *De Civitate Dei*, xviii, xxxvii ff.; *Pat. Lat.* 41:596ff.

[35] E.g., *De Civitate Dei*, xviii, xxvii, xlvi; *Pat. Lat.* 41:583–84, 608–09.

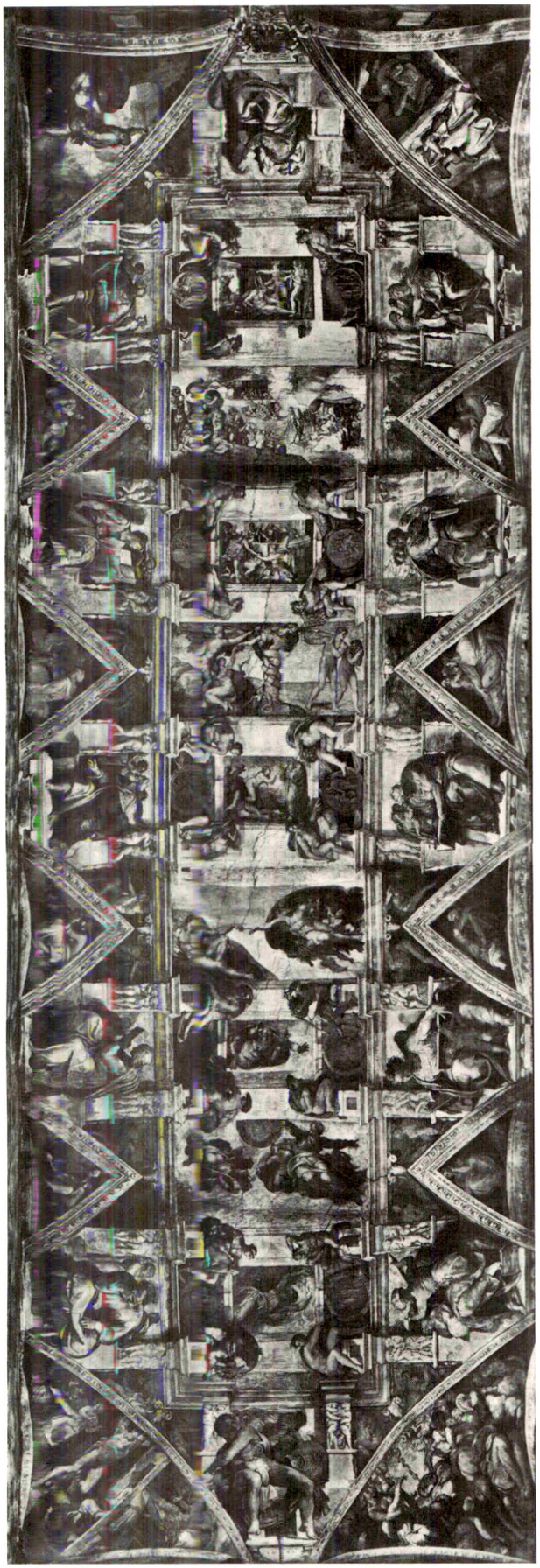
[36] *De Civitate Dei*, xv, ii, *Pat. Lat.* 41:438–39; xvi, xxiii, xxvi, xxxiv; *Pat. Lat.* 41:500, 505, 513.

[37] *De Civitate Dei*, xviii, xlvi; *Pat. Lat.* 41:608–09

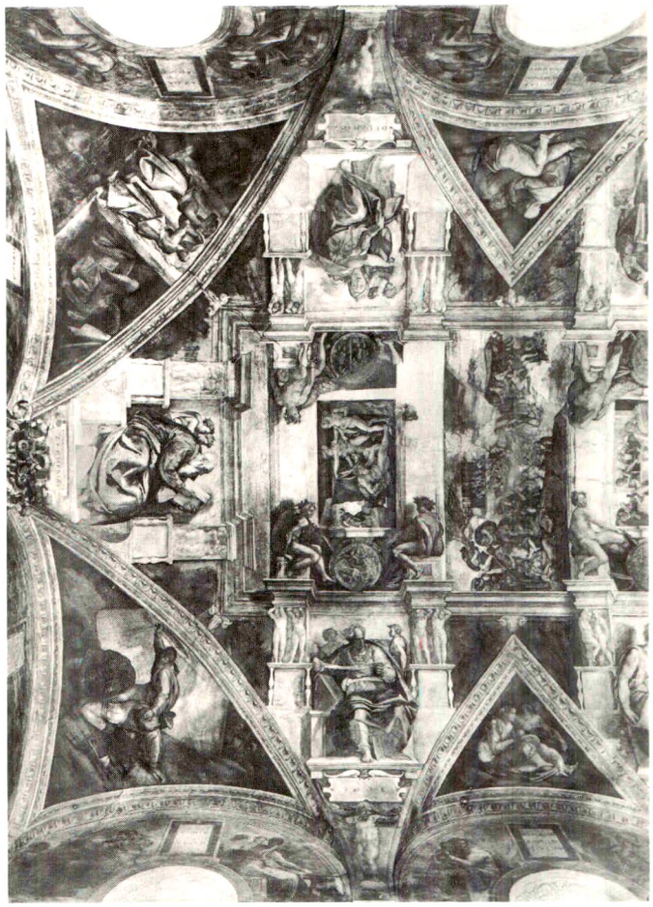
[38] *De Civitate Dei*, xviii, xxviii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:584; xx, xxix–xxx; *Pat. Lat.* 41:704–07.

[39] *De Civitate Dei*, xxii, xvii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:778–779.

[40] *De Civitate Dei*, xi, xviii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:332.



1 Michelangelo, Sistine Ceiling, general view (photo: Alinari)



2 View of entrance end of Sistine Ceiling with the *Drunkenness of Noah* and the *Deluge* (photo: Alinari)

longitudinal axis between entrance and altar are ranged the historical narratives from the Book of Genesis, beginning like *The City of God* with the *Creation of Light and Separation of Light from Darkness* at the altar end, and proceeding to the story of Noah at the entrance. A parallel chronological succession echoing a major theme in the development of the City of God is represented by the names inscribed on the painted tablets in the lunettes along the side walls (Figs. 3–5): the "generations" of Christ, his ancestors from Abraham onward. These again establish a temporal direction from the altar wall toward the entrance wall.

Almost equal stress is given the cross-axes of the individual bays (Fig. 2). Their main figures, the Prophets and Sibyls, can be properly viewed only as one faces the side walls. The sequences in this view are not temporal but hierarchical, with paired correspondences. The families accompanying the names of Christ's ancestors are in two groups, in the lunettes below and the interpenetrating vaults above. On virtually the same ground level as the latter, but looming above them, a Prophet and a Sibyl are paired in each bay. There are two categories of male nudes. One set, compressed into the spandrels between the thrones, at the level of the

Prophet and Sibyl heads, are bronze-colored (Fig. 6), and some at least are chained. The nudes of the other group, moving freely above the entablature that crowns the Prophets' thrones, have the color of living flesh and support garlands and medallions with scenes. The placement of these latter nudes relates them to the narratives of the central spine.

Finally, the four corner pendentives set up a complex of antitheses. At the entrance end are two beheadings of an enemy of the Chosen People; the two pendentives at the altar end, as will be seen, refer to Crucifixion. Again more obviously at the entrance end and less so at the altar end, a hero's action is contrasted with a heroine's; and the scenes are so arranged that hero and heroine are also contrasted in the longitudinal direction.

Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling therefore shares certain principles of organization with *The City of God*, especially the historical sequence starting with the first act of Creation, and the series of antitheses of which some are more or less balanced and some are set within a hierarchy. The hierarchical relationships on the cross-axes, and their intersection with the chronological sequence of ancestor names, will be discussed first, as offering the most direct echoes of *The City of God*. For the disputed and problematic Genesis series, we will turn to Saint Augustine's exegeses of the stories of Creation, of Adam and Eve, and of Noah, in *The City of God* and the treatises on Genesis, and to his meditations on the prophetic imagery of the Psalms. These texts provide the keys by which the series can be understood to depict "the rise, the development and the defined ends of the two cities." The four corner pendentives relate conceptually to the historical scheme represented by the Genesis narratives. The messages of Prophets and Sibyls point toward the prophetic meanings of those narratives in the history of Christ and the Church. Even the gold medallions held by the nudes above the entablature appear, as Condivi said,[41] to be *a proposito* to the meaning of the central panels, both singly and as a group. Finally, an Augustinian scheme for the Ceiling can be related to the earlier and later history of the Sistine Chapel and its decoration.[42]

3. The Citizens of the Two Cities

That the couples and family groups in the lunettes and interpenetrating vaults of the Sistine Ceiling are to be connected with the names of the ancestors of Christ has been obvious to all observers. But what kind of connection should be made has been a matter of dispute. Efforts to match figures and names have led to much imaginative speculation but no satisfactory agreement.[43] The basic difference between the two groups is usually treated as a difference in the stage of Michelangelo's development, since the entire lunette series was probably done after the rest of the Ceiling was completed. But the difference is also one of characterization.

The groups in the interpenetrating vaults (Fig. 7) are seated on the ground, some leaning against their bundled possessions: they are often compared to paintings of the Holy Family resting on the flight into Egypt. They are on pilgrimage. In the lunettes, on the other hand, the families are domiciled (Figs. 3–5). They sit on stone steps or parapets and lean against walls. Several have bits of household furniture, for instance, a three-legged stool, a cradle, a skein-winder, a reading stand. They also have much more variety of facial type, activity, temperament, costume, and paraphernalia than the families in the interpenetrating vaults above them. These families thus suggest at once the contrasting situations within the succession of generations that constitute human history, the one population on pilgrimage to the City of God, the other at home in the restless variety of the city of man.[44]

The relationships within the families confirm this contrast. The groups above are compact and united. Mother, father, and child are at ease with each other even when their mood is somber; and in several cases the tender concern of the man for the woman is apparent in the arrangement of heads and glances. In the lunettes, however, men and women turn away from each other, absorbed in themselves and their own occupations, or even appear hostile, quarrelsome, suspicious, or frightened. The solemn or melancholy contemplation of the families above gives way to solitary despair, utter lassitude, or empty activity. Even the noblest figures lack sympathy for their companions.

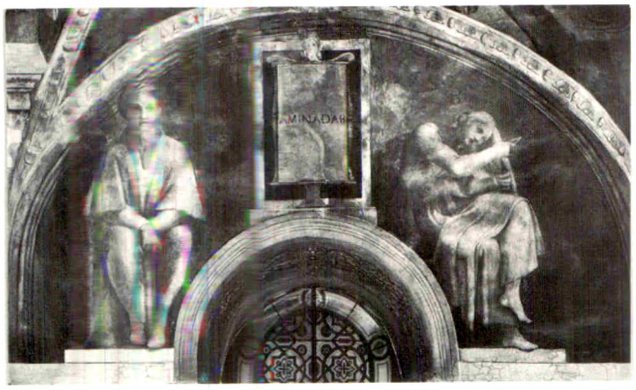
Only a few of the figures in the lunettes manifest familiar sins: a woman admires her image in a mirror; another lethargically combs her hair (Fig. 3); a man, apparently an idolator, addresses a head carved in his own likeness (Fig. 4). For Augustine, however, the identifying marks of the city of man are not to be found merely in obvious sins, or primarily in sins of the flesh. Noble restraint and the life of contemplation are not

[41] Condivi, 112, para. xxxi.

[42] No attempt is made in this article to deal with the character or symbolic meaning of the architectural scheme or of such details as the *putti*-caryatids built into the Prophet thrones.

[43] The lunette figures in particular are highly characterized and—as generally acknowledged—in a way that is often strikingly at odds with the historical character of the ancestor or ancestors named on the adjacent plaque. The alternative proposed by Wind is that the lunette figures should be seen as personifications of Virtues and Vices, identified by biblical verses in which the translations of the Hebrew names occur. Wind's illustrations of this method are spotty, and the accuracy and relevance of the translations and quotations he uses have been challenged. (Wind, 1944, 226ff.; Hartt, 1951, 263–64.)

[44] Rudolf Kuhn (pp. 91–95) makes a similar distinction, following Borinski's suggestion that the lunette groups resemble Dante's description of the secular life of a city. He does not remark on Augustine's analysis of the two cities.



3 Lunette with the name of Aminadab, south wall, Sistine Chapel (photo: Anderson)

4 Lunette with the names of Salmon, Boaz, Obed, south wall, Sistine Chapel (photo: Anderson)

5 Lunette with the names of Jacob and Joseph, entrance wall, Sistine Chapel (photo: Alinari)

necessarily a sign of heavenly citizenship. He rejects also the Stoics' contention that the wise man is above fear and sorrow. The difference between the two cities is not reducible to the contrast of mind and body, or of reason and passion; neither is it a matter of human standards of value. It has to do with the objects of man's will and affections, the difference between self-love and that love of God and neighbor commanded by God.

> When a man lives 'by the standard of man' and not 'by the standard of God,' he is like the Devil; because even an angel should not have lived by the angel's standard, but by God's.
>
> We cannot accuse the Devil of fornication or drunkenness or any other such wickedness connected with carnal indulgence, although he is the hidden persuader and instigator of such sins. Nevertheless he is proud and envious in the highest degree . . . he is destined because of [this moral corruption] to eternal punishment in the prison of this murky air.
>
> Some men, with a vanity at once more monstrous and more refined [than that of more obvious sinners], love this in themselves, that they are not aroused or disturbed by anything external, that they are not swayed or influenced by any feelings. They rather lose every shred of humanity than achieve true tranquility. For hardness does not necessarily imply rectitude, and insensibility is not a guarantee of health.[45]

According to the Scriptures, Augustine points out, the citizens of the Heavenly City rightly experience fear, sadness, and desire as well as gladness, the same passions felt by the inhabitants of the unholy city. In the former case, however, these passions are subject to a right will. The City of God fears and mourns the power and the consequences of sin; its desires are directed to God and it rejoices in him. "It is not only on their own account that the citizens are moved by these feelings; they also feel them on account of those whose liberation they desire, while they fear that they may perish; they feel pain if they do perish, and feel gladness if they are set free."[46]

The distinction between the families in the lunettes and interpenetrating vaults rests, therefore, on the two crucial indicators explained in *The City of God*. The families on pilgrimage look beyond the pleasures and occupations of this life to the Heavenly City; the others are preoccupied by the activities of the city of man. The families representing the first group, perhaps intentionally resembling the Holy Family, are united in loving concern. Men and women belonging to the second population withdraw into themselves and their separate preoccupations. Their children, relating to each

[45] *De Civitate Dei*, XIV, iv, 1; XIV, iii, 2; XIV, ix, 6; *Pat. Lat.* 41:407, 406, 417.

[46] *De Civitate Dei*, XIV, ix, 1–2, *Pat. Lat.* 41:413–14.

other and to the parents in a number of ways—quarreling, clinging, clasped, or ignored—suggest still other variations on the self-concern of their elders.

The place of these groups in the hierarchical organization of the cross-axes confirms the distinction. The generations of the city of man are on the lowest level; those of the City of God are above them. The Prophets and Sibyls, on approximately the same level as the latter City, to which they also belong, tower over the families as the great spiritual leaders in their generations.[47]

A number of scholars have proposed that the wingless male figures above the Prophets, called simply nudes, *ignudi*, by Michelangelo's contemporaries, represent angels. Drawings for the first scheme of the ceiling show winged figures in this position.[48] In the works of Donatello and the Florentine tradition after him, the framing figures (generally *putti*) above the entablature of a sacred edifice, have wings—when they have any identifying features at all—that mark them as angels; and they often bear garlands or present a sacred scene, like the *ignudi*.[49] In Michelangelo's other works, figures unquestionably representing angels are wingless, and usually nude or nearly so. Most recently, Rudolf Kuhn connects the Sistine *ignudi* with the paired cherubim of the Temple of Solomon, the building whose measurements were reproduced in the Sistine Chapel, as Engenio Battisti has demonstrated. Like the pair of cherubim over the ark of the Lord, the Ceiling nudes frame the place from which the word of the Lord is to be heard—whether spoken by the Prophets enthroned below and between them, or displayed in the ten gold medallions, which can be identified with the Ten Commandments, as Edgar Wind was the first to propose.[50]

The place of the *ignudi* in the hierarchy of contrasting elements on the cross-axes confirms their identity as angels. For they have their counterparts in the nudes below the entablature, at the level of the Prophets' heads, figures who are compressed into shadowy recesses, imprisoned, and shackled (Fig. 6). In describing how the two cities first appeared in the contrasting companies of angels, Augustine explains that "the one company dwells in the Heaven of heavens, the other is cast down in confusion to inhabit this air, the lowest region of the sky."[51] "The prison of this murky air," the region according to Augustine to which the Devil's pride condemns him,[52] describes very well the situation of the bronze-colored nudes. In contrast, the *ignudi* above them receive the light which shines also on the Prophets and Sibyls, and less directly on the other figures set in the fictive architecture of the ceiling scheme. Whereas the surface of the Prophets' and Sibyls' thrones below the entablature is lighted, the corresponding space around the bronze-colored nudes is shadowy; the fallen angels are withdrawn into a curious half-light and into the half-life of their bronze color.

The *ignudi* above the entablature, the "holy angels," appear to contemplate or to be moved by events in the Genesis series above, consistent with Augustine's understanding of their role. The angels, as pure intelligences, participate in the divine wisdom and its activities—not as creators as the Platonists affirm, but as contemplators of the divine word, receiving their understanding directly from the creative intelligence:

> . . . the whole of Creation: the firmament . . . the gathering of the waters . . . and the establishment of plants and trees; the setting up of sun, moon, and stars; the creation of the living creatures from the waters . . . of things that walk and creep on the earth, and of man himself. . . . These are all known by the angels in the word of God. . . . In the word they are known by a clearer perception than in themselves.[53]

The contemplative angels are supplemented by others who are active. In the scenes after the *Creation of Light*, all of God's creative activities in the heavens are accompanied by nude and partly draped figures clustered around him, upholding his garments or occupying the

[47] Perhaps also the names of the Prophets and Sibyls, on plaques below their thrones, are intended to be seen in contrast with the ancestors' names on the lunette tablets, setting the spiritual ancestors of Christ, who prepare his coming, against his physical ancestors who included citizens of both cities. This hierarchical system would create a counterpoint to the pattern of the two cities in the two sorts of families. Among the citizens of the unholy city in the genealogy of Christ are Achaz, Manasses, and Amon (cf. 4 Kings [i.e., 2 Kings] 16:2–4, 21:2–16; 2 Paralipomenon 28:1–4, 33:1–9, 21–24). In the interpretations of their Hebrew meanings, a number of ancestors' names clearly relate to the darker side of the histories above them, and to the unholy city, whereas the Prophets' names mark off the great divisions of the divine scheme and the history of the City of God. Cf. the discussion of names in Part II of this article, to appear in the September issue.

[48] Tolnay, figs. 230, 231.

[49] E.g., Donatello, Tabernacle, St. Peter's, Rome; *Annunciation*, S. Croce, Florence.

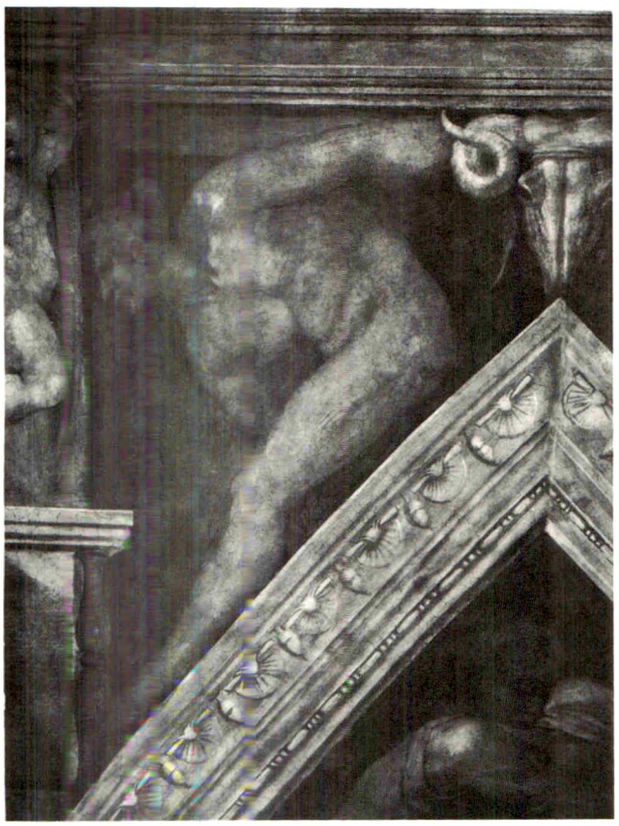
[50] Kuhn, 52–58; cf. Wind, 1960. Wind, 1960, 79–80, argues that the *ignudi* are angels for some of the same reasons as given above. Michelangelo's only winged angel, as he points out, was the pendant to an existing winged angel for the Arca di S. Domenico in Bologna, and one of his earliest works of sculpture.

The proposal advanced by a number of writers, that the mournful and yearning poses of the *ignudi* suggest they are souls rather than angels, might account for their position in the transcendent zone above the cornice, but not for the antithesis of this group with the bronze-colored nudes in the shadows below the cornice. Comparable emotional states are characteristic of angels contemplating incidents of the Incarnation and Passion; Michelangelo's later angels in the Last Judgment are burden-bearers like one at least of the *ignudi* accompanying the *Separation of Light from Darkness*. It will be argued below that Incarnation, Crucifixion, the vicissitudes of the Church, and the Last Judgment are the meanings that the *ignudi* contemplate.

[51] *De Civitate Dei*, XI, XXXIII; *Pat. Lat.* 41:346.

[52] *De Civitate Dei*, XIV, III, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:406: "in carceribus caliginosi huius aeris."

[53] *De Civitate Dei*, XI, XXIX; *Pat. Lat.* 41:343.



6 Bronze-colored nude below the *Creation of Adam* (photo: Alinari)

7 Pilgrim family between Isaiah and Cumaea (photo: Alinari)

wind-filled billows of his cloak. The angels, says Augustine, "have their part to play, at God's command or by God's permission, in relation to the creatures which are born in the world. But we do not call them creators of living beings, any more than we call farmers the creators of crops and trees."[54] Similar figures share the throne spaces, carrying or supporting books and scrolls and reading those held open by Prophet and Sibyl, pointing, preparing incense or lighting a lamp, sharing the Prophet's mood.

> For those who share 'the love of God diffused by the Holy Spirit who has been given' are not merely . . . holy men, but . . . also . . . the holy angels. . . . Those who share in this good have holy fellowship with him to whom they adhere, and also among themselves; and they are one City of God, and at the same time they are his living sacrifice and his living temple.[55]

These spirits too are contrasted with the dark prisoners outside the thrones. "The one [company of angels] serves the good purposes of God, striving to give full effect to the desire to help; the other is restrained by God's power, to prevent their fulfilling the desire to harm."[56]

For the angels as well as the "generations," the difference between good and evil, blessing and damnation, is a contrast not of tranquility and torment, but of the direction of the affections. Even more than the figures in the lunettes, the bronze-colored nudes are imprisoned and isolated in their own restless feelings. The holy angels, as Augustine says, respond with sympathy to the joys and sorrows of "the theater of this world."[57] As witnesses of the great drama of salvation, it will be argued below, they manifest emotions appropriate to the spiritual meanings of the scenes they accompany.

4. The Origin and Development of the Two Cities

It is generally recognized that both the position on the ceiling of the Genesis series and the identity and ordering of the individual scenes are difficult to explain. The meaning of the individual scenes must concern us first, for it necessarily affects the place of the series in the whole scheme.

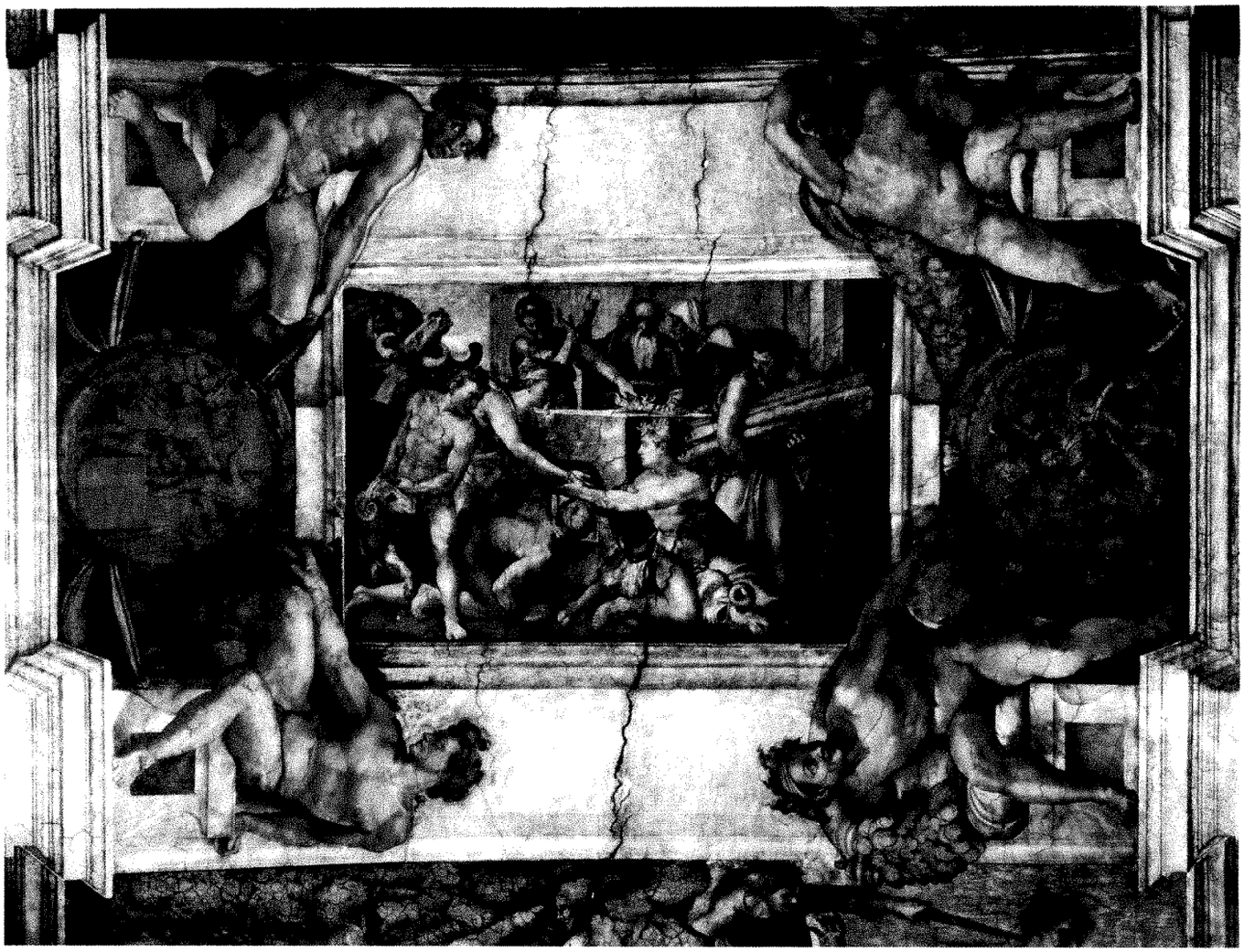
Michelangelo's earliest biographers, and modern

[54] *De Civitate Dei*, XII, xxiv; *Pat. Lat.* 41:374. Cf. below, pp. 236–37, where it is argued that the subject of these scenes is indeed God's creation of "living beings"; and the suggestion on p. 236 that the second figure of God, moving back and down in the second scene, and unaccompanied by angels, is not intended to represent a creative act but merely a transition from the higher to the lower elements.

[55] *De Civitate Dei*, XII, ix, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:357.

[56] *De Civitate Dei*, XI, xxxiii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:346: "illam [societatem] Dei nutu clementer subvenientem, iuste ulciscentem, istam suo fastu subdendi et nocendi libidine exaestuantem."

[57] *De Civitate Dei*, XIV, ix, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:414.



8 *Sacrifice of Noah* (photo: Alinari)

writers as well, are in general agreement about the subjects represented in the Genesis narratives, except for the third and seventh. Both these scenes raise the question, although in different ways, of whether the Genesis sequence is intended as a chronological succession. Table 1 illustrates the varying identifications, and the points at which they suggest departures from the order of the biblical narrative.[58]

Modern opinion is almost unanimous as to the identity of the seventh scene (Fig. 8), and is unanimously in disagreement with Michelangelo's second biographer, Condivi. The *Sacrifice* cannot be that of Cain and Abel: there are too many participants, and only the acceptable animal sacrifice is shown. In both respects, the representation conforms perfectly to the biblical account of the Sacrifice of Noah. This scene would present no problem of identification if its position did not disrupt biblical order.

Many critics ignore the departure from biblical order or believe that it indicates Michelangelo's freedom from "ecclesiastical rigor."[59] Charles de Tolnay suggests that Michelangelo reversed the order of *Sacrifice* and *Flood* in part because the latter "required the only large field available for the story of Noah." In part, however, he

[58] For the first three columns of Table 1, the references are to be found in Vasari/Barocchi I, 43–45 and Condivi, 108–110, para. xxix. In her notes to Vasari's *Vita*, Paola Barocchi summarizes scholarly opinion since Vasari on the identity of individual scenes, and especially of the problematic third and seventh (Vasari/Barocchi, II, 512–550, esp. 521–22, 541–43). Since her publication, Sinding-Larsen (p.149) and Kuhn (p.22) have preferred to identify the third scene as a representation of Genesis 1:2, "Et Spiritus Dei ferebatur super aquas."

[59] R. Salvini, "Painting," in Mario Salmi *et al.*, *The Complete Work of Michelangelo*, London, 1966, I, 201; cf. also Mary Pittaluga, *La Cappella Sistina*, Florence, 1949 (2nd ed., 1964), 35.

Table 1 The Genesis Scenes

PANEL	VASARI 1550	CONDIVI 1553	VASARI 1568	MODERN SCHOLARS	BIBLICAL REFERENCE	PROPOSED READINGS Literal	Figurative
1	God separating light from darkness	God separating light from darkness	God separating light from darkness	God separating light from darkness	*Genesis 1: 3–5 ("first day")**	God separating light from darkness	The Last Judgment
				God creating primal matter	Genesis 1:1 (?) (before "days")		
				God's self-creation	non-biblical		
				God separating light from darkness & firmament from waters	Genesis 1:3–8 ("first day" & "second day")		
2					*Genesis 1:14–19 ("fourth day")*	God creating sun and moon	The Church's partial vision before the Second Coming; and Christ's coming in glory
		God creating sun & moon, and plants		God creating sun & moon, and plants	Genesis 1:14–19, 11–13 ("fourth day" and "third day")		
	God creating sun & moon, blessing earth, creating animals		God creating sun & moon, blessing earth, creating animals		Genesis 1:14–19, 24–25 ("fourth day" and "sixth day")		
3		God commanding the waters to bring forth life		God commanding the waters to bring forth life	*Genesis 1:20 ("fifth day")*	God commanding the waters to bring forth life	The age of the Church in the world
	God separating land and water		God separating land and water	God separating land and water	Genesis 1:9–10 ("third day")		
				God separating the firmament from the waters	Genesis 1:6–8 ("second day")		
				The Spirit of God moving over the waters	Genesis 1:2 (before "days")		
4	God creating man	God creating man	God creating man	God creating man	*Genesis 1:26–27, 2:7 ("sixth day")*	God creating man	The Resurrection; & the gift of the Holy Spirit
5	God drawing Eve from Adam's side	God drawing Eve from Adam's side	God drawing Eve from Adam's side	God drawing Eve from Adam's side	*Genesis 2:21–22*	God drawing Eve from Adam's side	The piercing of Christ's side = The birth of the Church
6	Temptation & Expulsion of Adam & Eve	Temptation & Expulsion of Adam & Eve	Temptation & Expulsion of Adam & Eve	Temptation & Expulsion of Adam & Eve	*Genesis 3*	Temptation & Expulsion of Adam & Eve	The Crucifixion
7	Sacrifice of Noah			Sacrifice of Noah	*(Genesis 8:20)*	Sacrifice of Noah	The Sacrifice of Christ (The Way to Calvary)
		Sacrifice of Cain and Abel	Sacrifice of Cain and Abel		Genesis 4:2–5		
8	The Deluge	The Deluge	The Deluge	The Deluge	*Genesis 6:5–8:19*	The Deluge	The Baptism of Christ
9	Noah drunken and mocked by Ham	Noah drunken and mocked by Ham	Noah drunken and mocked by Ham	Noah drunken and mocked by Ham	*Genesis 9:20–23*	Noah drunken and mocked by Ham	The Incarnation

**References for the interpretation proposed in this article are italicized.*

assigns a "spiritual origin" to the uncanonical sequence. The spiritual meaning of the Genesis scenes, he believes, requires a reversal of their chronological order to create a Platonic ascent from the *Drunkenness of Noah* to the first acts of Creation.[60] The artist is assumed to have followed the remarkably indirect procedure of adopting—and scrambling—a historical sequence in order to create important meanings not by the narratives themselves but only as the scenes are read in reverse. Whether or not this is a probable mode of operation, Tolnay's analysis of spiritual meanings introduces serious inconsistencies in the narrative level at which the sequences are to be understood. Some of

[60] Tolnay, 21, 25, 30, 41–42.

the conceptual relationships he proposes require the spectator to have in mind the chronological succession of events in Genesis, and others require a reversal of order. The solution compounds the original problem.

In *The City of God,* however, Augustine introduces the subject of Noah's sacrifice before his discussion of the Flood, to answer a question of doctrine. That doctrine, in turn, provides a reason for placing the *Sacrifice* before the *Flood* in the Sistine Ceiling sequence. Was there, he asks, a divinely appointed "sign of regeneration" that identified the citizens of the Heavenly City before the Flood, a sign comparable to circumcision from the time of Abraham onwards, and Baptism in the Christian age? He admits, with characteristic avoidance of any dogmatic assertion beyond the actual words of Scripture, that we are not told that there was such a sign or what form it might have taken; but two circumstances may suggest that sacrifice was that sign. "The account does tell us . . . that those human beings of the earliest times offered sacrifices to God, as is made clear by the story of the first two brothers, and we read that Noah offered victims to God after the Flood, when he had emerged from the ark."[61] The issue arises in connection with the history of mankind's division into the two cities, a division which brought about the catastrophic destruction of most of the human race in the Flood—and the preservation of Noah and his family. It is only a short step to the conclusion that Noah must have offered sacrifice, the sign which marked him for preservation, before as well as after the Flood. The location of the *Sacrifice* scene before the *Flood* calls our attention to the theme of the two cities and their contrasting destinies.[62]

Indeed, the whole sequence of the stories of Adam and Noah on the Sistine Ceiling stresses the history of the two cities. At the beginning of the story of Adam, as of that of Noah, man is represented in relation to God. Augustine asserts the goodness of man as created by God in his own image,[63] and Michelangelo makes Adam mirror his Creator. Adam and Eve both respond to God with a look of worship and devotion as they are brought into being. The manner of their creation, one man as ancestor of the whole race, and woman made from the side of man, was intended, according to Augustine, to "teach mankind to preserve a harmonious unity in plurality," and it "shows us clearly how affectionate should be the union of man and wife."[64]

The two contrasting representations of Adam and Eve in the *Temptation and Fall,* however, display not unity but the division between the two cities that will prevail in human history from this time forward. Before the Fall, even as they reach for the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge, Adam and Eve are radiantly beautiful, and their graceful coordination suggests their affectionate union in their God-given nature. Augustine explains that "because they were so closely bound in partnership . . . Adam refused to be separated from his only companion, even if it involved sharing her sin";[65] and Adam quite untraditionally reaches for the forbidden fruit in a gesture simultaneous and parallel with Eve's. After the Fall, Adam and Eve are still united, but jostling angles and clumsy defensive movements have destroyed the smooth harmony of their natural state. For by the Fall, "human nature was vitiated and altered so that [the first man] experienced the rebellion and disobedience of desire in his body."[66]

The demon and the angel, which emerge on either side of the central tree, remind the viewer of the earlier division of the two cities in the two companies of angels. Their gestures mirror each other, the former, seductive and serpent-bodied, speaking and proffering the fruit of temptation, the latter stern-faced, holding the sword of expulsion from Paradise. Augustine, too, stresses the connection between the original fall of Lucifer and that of the first man. "The arrogant angel . . . who fell from the spiritual paradise" envied the man who "lived according to God's will in a paradise both material and spiritual." He used "the serpent in the material paradise . . . an animal suitable for the rebel angel's work, with his slippery body moving along in tortuous twists and turns," as a mouthpiece for his "deceitful conversation."[67]

[61] *De Civitate Dei,* xv, xvi, 3; *Pat. Lat.* 41:459. Augustine adds: "I have already dealt with this subject in previous books." The reference seems to be to *De Civitate Dei,* x, iv–v; *Pat. Lat.* 41:281–82. There the issue is "the antiquity of the worship of God by means of sacrifice"—decisively demonstrated by the story of Abel—and the distinction between sacrifice to the true God and the pagans' sacrifice to false gods. The former, Augustine says, is "the sacrament, the sacred sign of the invisible sacrifice" of devotion to God. It is noteworthy that if the Sistine Ceiling scene of the *Sacrifice of Noah* is read as a "sign of regeneration," it completes the series of such signs, of which the *tituli* of the quattrocento frescoes on the walls below name the other two: "Observatio antiquae regenerationis a Moise per circoncisionem," and "Institutio novae regenerationis a Christo in baptismo."

[62] In Table 1, the biblical reference for *Noah's Sacrifice* is given in parentheses to indicate that the representation is not of the particular post-diluvial sacrifice recorded in the Bible, but of an earlier one for whose occurrence the biblical record may serve as partial evidence.

Kuhn (pp. 35, 38) offers a similar reason for the position of the *Sacrifice:* since Scripture records that before the Flood 'Noah had found favor before God. . . . Noah was a righteous man and blameless in his generation' (Genesis 6:8–9), his blamelessness and righteousness are presented by Michelangelo as a sacrifice. Kuhn is not concerned, in this part of his study, with any but scriptural sources for the Sistine Ceiling subjects. A somewhat similar interpretation is implied by Redig de Campos: "il Sacrificio di Noe, fedele al Signore in mezzo a gente ribelle" (*Cappella Sistina e Cappella Paolina,* Novara, 1971, 3).

[63] *De Civitate Dei,* xii, xxiii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:373.

[64] *De Civitate Dei,* xii, xxvii, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:376.

[65] *De Civitate Dei,* xiv, xi, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:419.

[66] *De Civitate Dei,* xiii, iii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:379.

[67] *De Civitate Dei,* xiv, xi, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:419.

Augustine also elaborates another contrast relevant to the two cities in his discussion of the two trees in the midst of Paradise, the tree of the forbidden fruit which brought death to mankind, and the Tree of Life in the midst of Paradise intended "to prevent death that might come on [our first parents] unawares from any source." By his disobedient use of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, that is, by his free will, Adam forfeited his access to the Tree of Life, whose fruit was not merely nourishment but "a kind of sacrament."[68] An untraditional element in Michelangelo's composition introduces the same contrast in the Sistine Ceiling: the painter omitted the gate which signifies the expulsion of Adam and Eve in most earlier representations. The sword ordained to 'guard the way to the Tree of Life' is held between Adam and the central tree. On one side, then, the central tree is that from which the fatal fruit is picked; on the other, it is the Tree of Life from which man is barred as a result of that sin, so that he is now "bound by the necessity of dying."[69]

The story of Noah begins, like that of Adam, with a scene that expresses devotion to God: the sacrifice is the sign of righteous devotion. In the scene of the *Flood*, the ark that carried the representatives of the City of God through the disaster is contrasted with the doomed representatives of the city of man, in whom we observe the self-love that brought them to destruction. Signs of particular sins of self-love appear in the fighting groups in the open boat, the struggle outside the ark and the attempt to break into it, the apathy and despair of the figures under the tent, and the concern for material goods in the people carrying bundles of possessions up the hill at the left. The poignant episodes of men and women embracing, of mothers and children clinging together, of a father carrying the dead body of his son, have puzzled some commentators, for they seem to indicate good impulses among a condemned people. According to Augustine, however, although family affections are part of the natural inheritance of man, from the manner of his creation, such love is not enough. What is lacking is the "resolve to love God, and to love his neighbor as himself, not according to man's standards but according to God's."[70] Kuhn very perceptively describes even the affectionate actions of the sinful humans in the *Deluge* as curiously grasping and constraining, without any suggestion of appeal to God.[71]

Finally, the last scene of the Genesis series shows that even after the Flood, sin had not been eliminated. It is to be seen in Ham who dishonors his father, Noah. Placed between his two brothers in the fresco (Saint Augustine emphasizes that he is the 'middle son'), he points to his father's nakedness. The historical account need go no further, for the earth repopulated from Noah's three sons will still produce citizens of the earthly city, like Ham's descendants who built Babylon, Ninevah, and other great cities; but it will also produce citizens of the Heavenly City, "on pilgrimage here on earth."[72]

The importance and the place of each of the stories of Adam and of Noah in the history of the two cities are clear. The first scene of Creation on the Sistine Ceiling corresponds, furthermore, to the first appearance of the two cities at the beginning of time, since Augustine understands the creation of light as the creation of angels, and the separation of light from darkness as the division between the holy and the rebellious angels.[73] But the meaning of the second and third Genesis scenes in such a scheme is less clear, and as noted above, the very identity of the third scene has been disputed from the sixteenth century on.

In the highly selective discussion of the Creation in *The City of God*, only the creation and division of the angels, and the creation of Adam and Eve are treated at any length and as part of the historical structure of the work. These events correspond to the first, fourth, and fifth panels. At two points, however, brief attention is given to the intervening acts by which the corporeal world was made. As already mentioned, Augustine lists the divine activities from the second to the sixth day as the content of the angels' direct and timeless apprehension of Creation.[74] More important for our context here, however, is the contrast he sketches between the creation of the other populations of the corporeal world and that of mankind. All other living creatures of this world were created as species; man alone God created "as one individual" "to show . . . how pleasing to him is unity in plurality."[75] Man alone was made in the image of God, and given "a soul of such kind that because of it he surpassed all living creatures, on earth, in the sea, and in the sky, in virtue of reason and intelligence; for no other creature had a mind like that. God fashioned man out of the dust of the earth and gave him a soul of the kind I have described."[76]

[68] *De Civitate Dei*, XIII, xx, xxiii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:394, 396.

[69] *De Civitate Dei*, XIII, ii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:379.

[70] *De Civitate Dei*, XIV, vi, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:410.

[71] Kuhn, 138–39.

[72] *De Civitate Dei*, XVI, i, iii, vi, ix; *Pat. Lat.* 41:477, 479–481, 484–85, 487–88. Cf. also Genesis 10:8–12. Augustine stresses elsewhere that the sin is not Noah's drunkenness (*De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione*, II, x, 12; *Pat. Lat.* 44:159).

[73] *De Civitate Dei*, XI, i, ix, xix, xxxiii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:317, 324–25, 333, 346–47, etc. This, for Augustine, is the historical event intended literally by Genesis 1:3–4, not an allegorical or analogical interpretation.

[74] *De Civitate Dei*, XI, xxix; *Pat. Lat.* 41:343.

[75] *De Civitate Dei*, XII, xxii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:373 and ff.

[76] *De Civitate Dei*, XII, xxiii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:373.

The structures implicit in this comparison of man and the other populations are developed in Augustine's treatise on the literal meaning of Genesis, written in the same years as *The City of God.* His historical and aetiological analysis of the Creation story makes it possible to understand the meaning of the third and fourth Genesis panels within the history of the City of God.

The whole of Creation comprises the spiritual and corporeal worlds, 'the heavens and the earth' of Genesis 1:1. The spiritual world was called into being on the first day: it is the subject of the first Genesis scene. The corporeal world itself consists of two parts, the visible heavens and the earth, and these were constituted on the second and third days respectively. This stage includes the creation of plants and trees, for rooted as they are and immobile, they are attributes of the earth itself rather than mobile inhabitants like "the kinds of things which move in the waters and the earth." "Since therefore two days are given over to constituting the visible world, that is, the sky and the earth, the other three days remain to be assigned to the movable and visible parts created within it." Those which move in the sky are first, the heavenly bodies formed to give light to the earth "so that the lower dwelling also might be illumined, and its dwellers not brought forth into a dark abode." Then among the "inhabitants of the lower part of this world, which is often designated as a whole by the name of earth," the order is first "the living creatures from the waters" and then "those from the earth."[77]

The order throughout is from higher to lower; and Augustine points out that the relative positions the elements take naturally is followed in descending order in the creation of their populations—fiery bodies in the heavens first, then creatures from the waters, and finally those in the earth. Only air is omitted. Why are birds said to have been brought forth from the waters rather than from the air? Perhaps because the medium in which birds fly, "dense with moist vapor," belongs properly to the waters, in contrast to the rarefied "tranquil and peaceful spaces" above the clouds and at the height of the highest mountain peaks which may be classified with the heavens.[78] In any case, the writer of Genesis

> was not ignorant of the nature of the elements and of their order, since when he set forth the creation of the visible things which by nature move within the world in the elements, he told first about the celestial lights, then the living creatures of the waters and finally those of the earth; not that he omitted air, but because if there are any spaces of completely pure and calm air, where birds cannot be said to fly, they are part of the upper heavens. . . . Therefore that higher air—either because it belongs to the heavenly world, or because it has no visible inhabitant, about which the narrator is here concerned—is not forgotten since the heavens are mentioned, but is not counted in the creation of living creatures.[79]

Man, therefore, is brought forth out of the element that by nature is lowest of all—the dust of the earth. But God gave him a soul by which he surpasses the earlier populations, Fire, water, and earth, the elements to which God gave visible populations, are represented on the Sistine Ceiling in the second, third, and fourth panels. The glimpse of earth in the second (Fig. 9), identified by the plants that are its attributes, recalls Augustine's emphasis on the purpose of the heavenly bodies, to give light to the earth, so that the lower populations about to be created should not come forth into darkness. God creates the sun and moon in the right half of that panel, then turns and moves down and back toward the lower part of this world, which, as Augustine says, is given the general name of earth. There, in the third and fourth panels, he exerts his life-giving powers, first in the waters (Fig. 10) and then in the earth. The sequence of elements from highest to lowest conveys a characteristic Augustinian emphasis on divine grace, by which the lowly creature of dust is raised above even the creatures of the highest level.

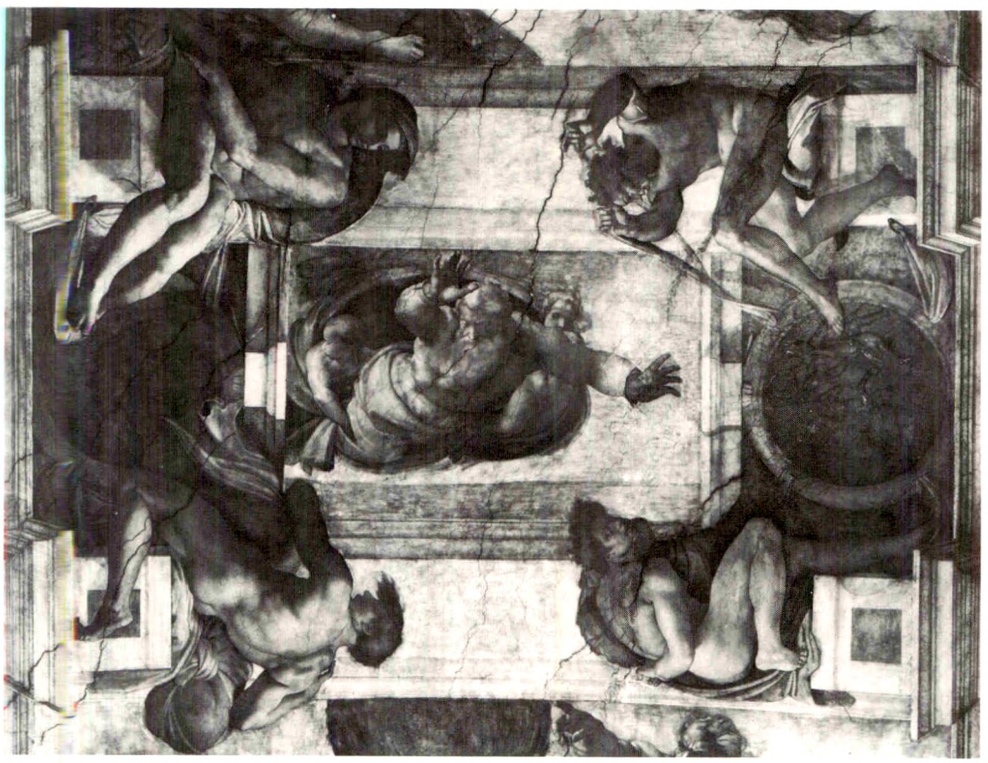
Confusion as to the meaning of the third Genesis scene has arisen, of course, because although Condivi's identification of the panel as *God Commanding the Waters to Bring Forth Life* would preserve the order of the Creation narrative, the scene does not show the fish and birds traditional in representations of the creation from the waters. Writers from Vasari on have therefore preferred to see in the panel one of the other creation scenes involving the waters, without fish or birds: the separation of land and water, the division of the waters by the firmament, or the Spirit of God brooding over the waters. Opinion has wavered among them, with no clear agreement on possible bases for choice, and no unambiguous reasons for preferring one choice over another. Such identifications have seemed the more justifiable since the position of the *Sacrifice of Noah* was thought to indicate that Michelangelo felt free to modify biblical order. Within the scheme of *The City of God* and in Augustine's treatises on Genesis, however, the order of occurrence within the biblical account of Creation has been shown to be highly significant. Both the location of *Noah's Sacrifice* and the identification of the third scene in its correct chronological position as *God Calling Forth Life from the Waters* make sense within the history of the City of God.

[77] This scheme is outlined in two passages of *De Genesi ad Litt.:* II, xiii, 27; *Pat. Lat.* 34:272, from the first duality of spiritual and corporeal worlds (cf. also *De Civitate Dei,* XI; xxxiii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:347) through the creation of the heavenly bodies to illumine the subsequent populations; and III, ii, 3; *Pat. Lat.* 34:280, noting the order of the creation of populations in "the lower part of the world."

[78] *De Genesi ad Litt.,* III, ii–iii, 3–5, *Pat. Lat.* 34: 280–81; cf. also *De Genesi ad Litt. imp.,* xiv, 44–47; *Pat. Lat.* 34: 237-39.

[79] *De Genesi ad Litt.,* III, vi, 8; *Pat. Lat.* 34:282.

9 *Creation of Sun and Moon* (photo: Anderson)



10 *Creation of Life in the Waters* (photo: Alinari)

The reason for the absence of fish and birds in Michelangelo's painting may be that suggested by Herbert von Einem. Michelangelo, he argues, "restricted himself to essentials and rejected almost entirely the non-human aspects of his subjects. His sole concern was with the act of creation."[80] Or an argument may be made from the special character of the whole scheme. As in *The City of God,* only the creations of angels and of humankind are directly relevant to the story of the two cities; but the relation of the element of man's creation to the elements of the other populations tells something about God's dealings with mankind. It may also be noted that none of the multiple populations that Augustine contrasts with that of man are shown: only the singular bodies, the sun and moon, appear in the heavens, and not the stars; in the waters we see neither fish nor birds; and on the earth we see only Adam created as an individual, and none of the animals created as species. Condivi's description of the subject of the third scene, in fact, fits very well both the character of the representation and the Augustinian interpretation suggested above. He speaks of God "looking upon the waters, and commanding them to bring forth all those species of animals which that element nourishes."[81]

One other possibility should also be considered. In his analysis of the unmoving structure of the corporeal world constituted on the second and third days of Creation, Augustine notes that "it is usual in our Scriptures to refer to the world as 'the heaven and the earth,' or sometimes to add the sea."[82] It may be that this summary of the components of the visible world is also intended in the second scene (Fig. 9), "the heaven and the earth," and the third (Fig. 10), "to add the sea." This sequence would overlap the descending series of elements in which populations were created on the fourth, fifth, and sixth days, and would function less as a competing chronological sequence than as the stable setting for the history of the populations, and of the supreme population, mankind.

The characteristically Augustinian themes in the whole Creation sequence, then, are the populations created by God (and their divisions) and the orderly structure of the elements in the created universe. That the sequence of elements from fire through earth is intended in the second, third, and fourth scenes of the Genesis series is confirmed by the fact that the same elements, as Frederick Hartt points out,[83] appear in the last three Genesis panels. In the *Sacrifice of Noah* (Fig. 8), the fire under the altar is given great prominence, as one of the sons blows it into flame. The waters rise to engulf sinful mankind in the *Deluge.* In the final scene, Noah digs in the earth to plant the vine, and lies drunken on the ground. His pose echoes Adam's at his creation, except that whereas Adam looks and reaches upward out of the earth, Noah sinks and gestures downward to the earth. Hartt assumes, rightly, that the first scene of each of these series should represent the air, but he has no convincing reason to identify a reference to air in either the *Separation of Light from Darkness* or the *Temptation and Expulsion.* Saint Augustine, however, speaks of the rebel angels as "cast down in confusion to inhabit this air, the lowest region of the sky." In discussing the account in Genesis of the population of the visible world, he remarks that the air "has no visible inhabitant, about which the narrator is here concerned"; but a number of New Testament references led him to believe that it has an invisible population, the Devil and his company of fallen angels.[84] These are represented in the first Genesis scene of the Sistine Ceiling by the darkness that God pushes in the direction of the descending order of elements in the next three. In the Temptation of the sixth panel, the Devil is made visible in the demon-headed serpent. The fallen angels, inhabitants of "this air," complete the series of four elements in the first four scenes of Genesis and in the last four.

The four elements in the Creation series occur over the choir of the Chapel; and God is shown exerting his creative power in each. As is well known, the chancel

[80] Herbert von Einem, *Michelangelo,* London, 1973 (1st ed. Stuttgart, 1959), 70.

[81] Condivi, 108, para. xxix.

[82] *De Genesi ad Litt.,* III, iii, 5; *Pat. Lat.* 34:281.

[83] Hartt, 1950, 187, 196. Hartt suggests that air is symbolized in the fresco of the *Fall* by "the tree that challenged heaven"; and in order to find air in the first Genesis scene, he argues that it combines the *Division of Light from Darkness* with the *Creation of the Firmament.* The double identity of the first Creation scene is not demonstrated, and the first argument is unconvincing.

For Hartt, the elements are part of the reverse reading, which shows us "the world which betrays the sacrifice of Christ with false offerings and forbidden fruit" in the scenes of Noah and the Fall, in contrast to the elements "in submission to the divine authority of the Church," which "reveal the glory of God and lead to salvation through the Eucharist." One cannot, however, characterize Noah's sacrifice as a "false offering." The Prophets might inveigh against the Israelites who offered sacrifice without keeping God's law, but the sacrifice of Noah is nowhere called a false sacrifice. Hartt uses an allegorical reading of the *Sacrifice of Noah* to make it the work of the Devil: the agents of the sacrifice of Christ which he believes it symbolizes are evil. At the same time he is using the literal reading for the "forbidden fruit" of Adam and Eve. To arrive at an orderly pattern by mixing literal and analogical readings as if they were interchangeable may be dubious practice; and if the sacrifice of Noah means the sacrifice of Christ for this purpose, it is even more emphatically not a "false offering."

[84] Cf. above, p. 230 and notes 51, 52. The doctrine rests on Ephesians 2:2, where the Devil is referred to as "princeps potestatis aeris huius." Augustine frequently refers to the fallen angels as "the spirits of the air," "the aerial powers," "the proud and deceitful spirits of the air" (*De Trinitate,* III, vii, 12; IV, xvii, 22; IV, xvii, 23; *Pat. Lat.* 42:875, 902, 903). Cf. also *De Civitate Dei,* VIII, xiv–xv; *Pat. Lat.* 41:238–241 where Augustine discusses the position of man and of demons (i.e., fallen angels) in the four elements; and *De Civitate Dei,* XI, xxiii, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:337: "the worst of the demons has been given a body of air, while man has a body of clay."

screen was formerly placed below the *Creation of Eve*. The four elements from the *Temptation and Fall* to the *Drunkenness of Noah* are therefore above the original nave area. Here it is man who is involved with each element, succumbing to the deception of the 'prince of the powers of the air,' blowing into flame the fire of sacrifice, overcome by the waters of the Deluge, and tilling the ground. The universality connoted by the four elements in the Creation applies also to the history of man's first ancestors; and perhaps the persistence of a divinely established order even after mankind's fall into sin is to be understood from the pattern's repetition.

The effect of these two groupings of four is to make the remaining scene, the *Creation of Eve*, a kind of fulcrum for the whole Genesis series. Indeed, Augustine treats that event as crucial for the history of the two cities. Through it the first man became mankind: "The intercourse of male and female is the seedbed, as it were, of a city, so far as the race of mortals is concerned."[85] The manner of Eve's creation expresses God's intention that the human race should live in harmonious unity.[86] And on the other hand, man "fell into sin through the woman who was made from him before the first sin."[87] The conflict between the principles of unity and division is potential in the *Creation of Eve*; it becomes actual in the four scenes that follow.

5. The Progress and Defined Ends of the City of God

With the help of Saint Augustine's exegeses, therefore, the narratives from Genesis along the spine of the Sistine Ceiling can be read as a coherent presentation of the origin and development of the two cities within the created universe. Its two major divisions are (1) the divine creation of the two populations of those cities, angelic and human, within the whole scheme of Creation, and (2) the early history of mankind consequent on the Fall of Man. The *Creation of Eve* mediates between the two parts.

That the Genesis narrative is the crown of the whole Sistine Ceiling scheme, however, seems less logical. In the hierarchic structure of relationships on the transverse axes, the historical sequence of Christ's physical ancestors, and the successive generations of human families, occupy the lower levels; the spiritual heralds of Christ rise above them, and the angels above these and above their fallen fellows. Even apart from the unusual combination of Prophets with a series of historical events that precede rather than follow them, the logic of the organization of levels seems disrupted if the events of past history appear above the Prophets' thrones and even above the angels. The position of the Genesis narratives suggests, then, what many scholars have maintained, that the events represented have a prophetic and symbolic meaning. Their symbolic significance is confirmed also by the angels' contemplation of them, with emotional reactions that are unexpected in relation to the Genesis scenes, but are understandable and even familiar in relation to the narratives of which the Old Testament scenes are types. For the knowledge of the angels "in the word of God" is, according to Augustine, not merely the observation of events but the direct apprehension of their timeless "causes and reasons."[88] Those reasons which lie behind the creation of Eve from the side of the sleeping Adam, for instance, are twofold in Augustine's analysis. One is the moral teaching to be derived from the historical event; the other is a spiritual interpretation in prophetic allegory.

> Her creation out of man emphasizes the idea of the unity between them; and in the manner of that creation there is . . . a foreshadowing of Christ and his Church.[89]

> The sleep of [Adam] clearly stood for the death of Christ; and Christ's side, as he hung lifeless on the Cross, was pierced by a lance. And from the wound there flowed blood and water, which we recognize as the Sacraments by which the Church is built up. This, in fact, is the precise word used in Scripture of woman's creation; it says not that God 'formed' or 'fashioned' a woman but that 'he built it (the rib) up into a woman.' Hence the Apostle also speaks of the 'building up' of the Body of Christ, which is the Church.[90]

The latter meaning, the death of Christ and the birth of the new community of the Church, is a fitting object of contemplation by the angels. Their sad and wondering looks are like those of the angels who receive the sacramental elements from the side of Christ in familiar Crucifixion scenes. It is both appropriate and traditional, furthermore, for a representation of that subject to be flanked by Prophets and Sibyls.

Many scholars have found it suggestive that the central and pivotal scene of the Genesis series at the apex of the Sistine Chapel Ceiling was commonly understood to symbolize the birth of the Church, the new Eve. A number of additional types or foreshadowings of the Church and of Christian doctrine have been identified in other Genesis scenes. But none of the proposed typological or symbolic schemes has had the structural clarity that is visible in the aspects of the Ceiling discussed so far in this study, or of the architectural organization Michelangelo devised for it; and none of them has incorporated the meaning of the lit-

[85] *De Civitate Dei*, xv, xvi, 3; *Pat. Lat.* 41:459.

[86] *De Civitate Dei*, xii, xxvii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:376.

[87] *De Civitate Dei*, xiii, xiv; *Pat. Lat.* 41:386

[88] *De Civitate Dei*, xi, xxix; *Pat. Lat.* 41:343.

[89] *De Civitate Dei*, xxii, xvii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:779

[90] *De Civitate Dei*, xxii, xvii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:778–79.

eral reading of the Genesis series, or made any systematic connection between the symbolic and the historical reading.[91] In Augustine's view, however, both the symbolic and the historical significance of Scripture must be respected, for the repeated pattern of promise and fulfillment expressed in prophetic events is part of the divine scheme unfolding in historic time.

Augustine's commentary on Psalm 102 (lxx.101), written at the same time as *The City of God,* summarizes the continuum of sacred history and the stages within it.

> How was time made? 'All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made.' O Word before time, through whom the times were made, born also in time though he was life eternal, calling the children of time and making them eternal!
>
> This is the generation of generations. 'For a generation passes away and a generation comes.' And you see the generations of men on the earth like leaves on a tree; but on an olive tree or a laurel, or any other that is clothed in leaves at all seasons. Thus the earth bears the human race like leaves: it is full of men, for to the dying still others succeed, coming to birth. For that tree is always clothed in green: but see how many dry leaves you are treading under it.
>
> Thus there was a generation from Adam; it passed. From him were born, even in that time, some who were to share in the eternity of God; for from him came Abel, from him came Seth, from him came Enoch. That generation passed, the flood came, there remained one household. And that generation produced some, Noah himself and his three sons and his three daughters-in-law; for in that whole household of eight persons was found only one sinner. This number joins the earlier generation. Then from the three sons of Noah, as from three measures of flour, the whole earth has been filled. Abraham was chosen, Isaac and Jacob; holy men, Patriarchs, they pleased God. And that generation produced succeeding generations, produced Prophets, produced heralds of God.
>
> Afterwards also came our Lord Jesus Christ himself; he 'put leaven into the three measures of flour, that the whole might be leavened.' On earth, in the time of his flesh, there were apostles, there were saints, after them other saints, and after us whoever will be saints. From so many generations thou wilt bring together all holy people of all generations, and wilt make of them one generation: 'In [this] generation of generations thy years.' That is, eternity will be in the generation that is gathered together from all generations and is brought into one; that generation will partake of thy eternity. Generations to come will be born to fulfill the times, from which that generation will be regenerated into eternity; it will be brought to life transformed, it will be fit to bear thee, receiving its powers from thee. 'In the generation of generations thy years.'[92]

The story of Noah marks an end to one stage in the history of the two cities, and from Noah's offspring the earth was repopulated, again with citizens of both cities. But the historical sequence continues in Augustine's meditation and in the Sistine Ceiling. Parallel with the movement of time from the altar end to the entrance, from the Creation to Noah, another chronological sequence is established by the genealogy of Christ written on the tablets in the lunettes: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were named in the lunettes (later destroyed) on the altar wall—the Patriarchs, as in the meditation on Psalm 102. Succeeding generations are recorded in the other lunettes, progressing along the walls from altar to entrance end. In the level above those tablets are the generations who belong to the City of God on pilgrimage, and among them "Prophets, heralds of God."

The next stages, the "leavening" of the whole by the coming of Christ, the bringing together of "all holy people of all generations" into the Heavenly City, are to be looked for in the prophetic messages of the Prophets and Sibyls, and in the prophetic meanings of the historical events. Themes of the Incarnation and the age of the Church can in fact be identified in the central panels, in a sequence as logical, and indeed as historical, as the literal reading from the *Creation of Light* to the

[91] Cf. Harry B. Gutman, "Jonah and Zachariah on the Sistine Ceiling," *Franciscan Studies,* XIII, 1953, 159–177; *idem,* "Religiöser Symbolismus in Michelangelos Sintflutfresco," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* XVIII, 1955, 74–76; *idem,* "Michelangelos Botschaft in der sixtinischen Kapelle," *Archivium Franciscanum Historicum,* LVI, 1963, 258–283; Hartt, 1950, 181–199; Hartt, 1965, *passim;* Sinding-Larsen, 148, 154–55; Wind, 1950, 412–13, 416–420; Wind, 1960, 323; Wind, unpublished lectures, "The Iconography of the Renaissance," Morgan Library, New York, 1942. In his New York lectures, Wind identified the *Drunkenness of Noah* as a type of the Mocking of Christ, the *Sacrifice of Noah* of the Sacrifice of Christ, the *Temptation and Expulsion* of the Crucifixion, the *Creation of Eve* of the birth of the Church, and the *Separation of Light and Dark* of the Last Judgment. He apparently did not arrive at a satisfactory explanation of the meaning of the remaining scenes in relation to those identifications, and he never published a comprehensive typological interpretation of the Genesis scenes; neither was he concerned with the literal meaning of the scenes except in the most general way. So far as I can tell from notes and recollections, the principal source he cited for such typological identifications was the *Biblia Pauperum,* and he did not cite Augustine. As will be seen, I accept several of his identifications, but on the authority of Saint Augustine have adopted a different typological meaning for the *Drunkenness of Noah.* It should also be noted that by 1951 Wind believed that Egidio da Viterbo might hold the key to important aspects of Renaissance theology and perhaps to the Sistine Ceiling. (Wind, 1951, 45, 47; cf. also Wind. 1965, 82–84.)

[92] *Enarrationes,* Ps. 102 (lxx.101), sermo 2, v. 25; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1311–12.

story of Noah, but proceeding from entrance to altar wall.

The direction of reading is reversed as, according to Augustine, redemption reverses the natural course of human life and human history. This "life of continual change" is throughout its whole course a "passage toward death. . . . All are driven on at the same speed, and hurried along the same road to the same goal," the return of earth to earth.[93] Human history is "a chain of disasters."[94] The company of those regenerated by God's grace, however, is on pilgrimage to the City that is above, and Augustine speaks of them as making their way toward immortality.[95] These opposing journeys are determined by a central contrast between the first man, Adam, and Christ, the Second Adam. Augustine quotes Saint Paul: 'As it is in Adam that all die, so also it is in Christ that all will be brought to life.'[96]

This is one of Augustine's favorite contrapositions. He explains that Adam prefigures Christ "contrariwise" *(a contrario)*, and he often rewords the Pauline verse to express the contrast as one of direction of movement and of historical direction.

> For as no one except through Adam declines to death, so no one except through Christ rises to life.[97]

> For just as the proud Devil led the proud man to death, so the humble Christ led the obedient man back to life; and as the former fell when he was exalted, and dragged down him who consented to him, so the latter, when he was humbled, arose and raised up him who believed in him.[98]

Similarly in the meditation on Psalm 102, following the early history of man through Noah and his sons, and the brief summary of succeeding generations, "Afterwards came our Lord Jesus Christ himself; he put leaven into the three measures of flour [from the three sons of Noah whose descendants repopulated the earth], that the whole might be leavened,"[99] that is, that fallen humanity might rise again.

The reversed direction of the figurative reading begins at the *Drunkenness of Noah*. As is frequently pointed out, the event was traditionally seen as a type of the mocking of Christ in the Passion. Augustine refers to that reading in *The City of God*, but he also presents an alternative:

> Now Christ himself planted a vineyard about which the Prophet says, 'The vineyard of the Lord of Hosts is the house of Israel,' and he drinks of its wine. And the wine may be interpreted with reference to that cup of which he speaks when he says, 'Are you able to drink the cup which I am going to drink?' and 'Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass me by,' where it obviously means his Passion. *Or*, since wine is the product of the vineyard, *we may prefer this meaning, that from the vineyard itself, that is, from the race of the Israelites, was derived the flesh which he assumed for our sake, and the blood*, so that he might suffer the Passion.[100]

The result is the same: the purpose is to suffer the Passion. But the emphasis is different: in order to suffer and die, Christ takes on the flesh and blood of the people of Israel. The *Drunkenness of Noah*, the last image of Michelangelo's Genesis series, is therefore a type, for Augustine, of the Incarnation, which initiates the reversal of mankind's fall. The scene is also the climax of the list of ancestor names along the borders of the ceiling: Saint Joseph, last in the genealogy, is named in the lunette adjacent to the *Drunkenness of Noah/Incarnation*. The humiliation of Noah through the fruit of his vineyard prophesies the self-humbling of the eternal Word through his incarnation in the "vineyard of Israel," his physical ancestry.

The next two scenes essential to the story of redemption are the Baptism and Crucifixion of Christ. They find familiar types in the *Deluge* and *Sacrifice*. The Flood is a figure of Baptism in 1 Peter 3:20–21 and in Tertullian, and Augustine elaborates on this reading.[101] He treats biblical sacrifices from the earliest times as foreshadowings of Christ's death. "[Christ] is both the priest, himself making the offering, and the oblation. . . . This is the true sacrifice; and the sacrifices of the saints in earlier times [i.e., of Old Testament worshippers of the true God] were many different symbols of it."[102] The order of Baptism and sacrifice necessary for the typological reading may have contributed to the decision to present Noah sacrificing before the Flood, in the literal reading. In the Genesis narrative, a sacrifice by Noah could occur either before or after the Flood, as has been pointed out above, and Augustine's history of the two cities supplies a good reason for making it occur before. But in the drama of redemption, Christ's Baptism must precede his sacrificial death.

The *Sacrifice of Noah*, in its typological reading, sum-

[93] *De Civitate Dei*, XIII, x, xv, xxiii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:383, 387, 396.

[94] *De Civitate Dei*, XIII, xiv; *Pat. Lat.* 41:386.

[95] *De Civitate Dei*, XIV, ix, 6; *Pat. Lat.* 41:416.

[96] *De Civitate Dei*, XIII, xxiii, 3; *Pat. Lat.* 41:398.

[97] *Contra Secundam Juliani Responsionem Imperfectum Opus*, II, cxcvii; *Pat. Lat.* 45:1126.

[98] *De Trinitate*, IV, x, 13; *Pat. Lat.* 42:896.

[99] *Enarrationes*, Ps. 102 (1x-101), sermo 2, v.25; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1312.

[100] *De Civitate Dei*, XVI, ii, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:478. Emphasis added. Cf. also *Adversus Judeos*, VI, 7; *Pat. Lat.* 42:55, for a discussion of the Jewish people as the vineyard: "For he did not plant another, but by his coming changed that one into a better."

[101] Tertullian, *Liber de Baptismo*, VIII; *Pat. Lat.* 1:1209; Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, XII, xiv; *Pat. Lat.* 42:262. In *The City of God*, Augustine refers his readers to the treatise *Contra Faustum* for allegorical meanings of the ark and flood (*De Civitate Dei*, XV, xxvi, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:473).

[102] *De Civitate Dei*, X, xx; *Pat. Lat.* 41:298.

marizes the meaning of Christ's self-immolation in the Crucifixion, but the next two scenes of the symbolic reading are also to be related to that central act of the redemptive scheme. Within the historical sequence of redemption, the *Sacrifice,* with its marked stress on such details as the carrying of the wood and the bringing of the sacrificial animals (Fig. 8), suggests the prelude to the Crucifixion itself. The *Creation of Eve,* as has been shown, prefigures a moment after Christ's death on the Cross, as Augustine repeatedly emphasizes: "Christ's side, *as he hung lifeless on the Cross,* was pierced by a lance." Between the two is the *Temptation and Expulsion* with its central tree; and the Tree of Life is a common image of the Cross in Augustine and other writers.[103]

The tree whose fruit was intended to be "a kind of sacrament" by which Adam would be kept from death, prefigures the tree of the Cross by which mankind gains access to eternal life. "The tree of life, the Holy of Holies," says Augustine, "must be Christ himself,"[104] with the apparent implication that the sacramental food it provided stands for the body and blood, offered on the Cross. The outstretched arm of Adam on each side of the tree, a detail unique to this representation, confirms its symbolic identification with the Cross. For, says Augustine,

> God sent Adam out of Paradise lest he stretch out his hand to the Tree of Life and live eternally. . . . This is an ambiguous expression. For we may use that expression [i.e., in Latin, *ne porrigeret*] . . . wishing that a thing should not be and, again, . . . wishing that it should be. . . . It may be understood instead, therefore, that man is sent out into the labors of this life that he may sometime stretch out his hand to the Tree of Life and live eternally. For the stretching out of the hand indicates very well the Cross, through which eternal life is recovered.[105]

In the panel *Temptation and Expulsion,* Adam stretches out his hand on the left to the tree that brought death, and on the right (defensively or in rejection) to the Tree of Life beyond the angel's sword. In both instances, he is an image *a contrario* of Christ who stretched out his hands on the Cross, and of the believer who stretches out his hand to the Cross.

A still further elaboration of this image occurs in the corner pendentive of the *Raising of the Brazen Serpent.* There a central column entwined by a serpent, and a man and a woman at the left stretching out their hands toward it, are almost a visual pun on the scene of Adam and Eve in Paradise. But in the *Brazen Serpent,* the column is the source of salvation from the serpents' bite. This event (Number 21:6–9) was traditionally accepted as a type of the Crucifixion, on the basis of John 3:14–15: 'As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in him may not perish, but may have life everlasting.' In discussing this passage in the Gospel of John, Augustine makes the serpent of the Temptation the connecting link between type and fulfillment:

> The rod of Moses which was converted into a serpent signified Christ himself, who 'became obedient unto death, even to the death on the Cross' . . . For by the serpent is to be understood death, which was brought about by the serpent in Paradise, according to the manner of speech which indicates the effect by its cause.[106]

The next scene in the reverse succession, the *Creation of Eve,* has already been shown to stand in Augustine's thought (and very generally) as an allegory of the coming into being of the Church. This is the example that occurs most frequently in Saint Augustine's writings to illustrate the prophetic content of the Old Testament narratives. It expresses two essential doctrines: the Sacraments of Baptism and Eucharist by which the Church is "built up," represented by the blood and water issuing from Christ's side after his death on the Cross; and the marital unity of Adam and Eve as "two in one flesh," applied by Saint Paul to Christ and the

[103] *De Civitate Dei,* XIII, XX, XXI; *Pat. Lat.* 41:394–95. Augustine's mentor, Saint Ambrose, summarizes the contrast between the Cross and the tree of man's fall in the terse antithesis: "death through the tree, life through the Cross" (*Expositio in Evangelium Secundum Lucam,* IV; *Pat. Lat.* 15:1614). Cf. the *praefatio* of the Holy Cross before the Canon of the Mass from Palm Sunday to Maundy Thursday: "Death came from a tree, life was to spring from a tree; he who conquered on the wood was also to be conquered on the wood" (G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art,* trans. Janet Seligman, New York, 1972, II, 133–34.) A similar contrast is developed by Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Libros II Paralipomenon; Pat. Lat.* 109:359–360. The word *lignum* is used in the Latin Bibles, and by Saint Augustine and other writers, for both the trees in the Paradise of Eden and the Cross (Genesis 2:9, 16, 17; 1 Peter 2:24; *De Civitate Dei,* XIII, XX, XXI; *Pat. Lat.* 41:394–95; XV, XXVI, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:472; *In Joannis Evangelium,* XIII, iii; CXIX, ii; *Pat. Lat.* 1493, 1950.

[104] *De Civitate Dei,* XIII, XXI; *Pat. Lat.* 41:395.

[105] *De Genesi Contra Mani.,* II, XXII, 34; *Pat. Lat.* 34:213–14.

[106] *De Trinitate,* III, X, 20; *Pat. Lat.* 42:880; cf. also *In Joannis Evangelium,* XII, XI; *Pat. Lat.* 35: 1490; *Epistolae ad Galatas Expositio,* 22; *Pat. Lat.* 35:2120. This association Augustine attributes to Irenaeus of Lyon (*Contra Julianum,* I, iii, 5; *Pat. Lat.* 44:644).

Church, and invoked by Saint Augustine to explain the Church's destined goal.[107]

In *The City of God*, Augustine moves immediately from the allegorical meaning of the manner of Eve's creation to another Pauline metaphor of the unity of Christ and the Church, "the union of head and body." This is the focus around which Saint Augustine developed the doctrine most identified with his theology of the Church. The fullness of Christ is that one body of which Christ is the head and the Church the members: the "whole Christ" is Christ with his Church. To that final 'perfection of manhood' "members are being added . . . every day, while the Church is being built up." "There is produced then as it were out of two, one indubitable person of the Head and the Body." "Let there be one Body under one Head, in one Spirit, in one Life," "one perfect man in the form of his fulness."[108]

The life breathed into that body, the Church, by the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost is prefigured in the gift of life to Adam when God breathed into him 'a living soul.' As Augustine says in a sermon preached at Pentecost, "what the soul is to the body of man, so is the Holy Spirit to the body of Christ which is the Church."[109] In a crucial chapter in *The City of God* on the underlying significance of the manner of Adam's creation, Augustine develops all the relationships inherent in this mystery.[110] Adam's body has a 'living soul' but not yet a 'life-giving spirit.' When Saint Paul contrasts with him 'the last Adam . . . made into a life-giving spirit' (1 Corinthians 15:45), "undoubtedly he means Christ, who has already risen from the dead, so as to be thereafter utterly unsusceptible of death." This is what is meant by the spiritual body as distinct from the animal body. "But afterwards will come the spiritual body, like that which has gone ahead of us in the person of Christ who is our head; this spiritual body will follow, in the person of those who are 'members of Christ' at the final Resurrection of the dead." But it is not only at the final Resurrection that the 'members of Christ' are reborn through the life-giving Spirit: "the sacrament of rebirth may even now have its effect in us; as the Apostle says in another place, 'All of you who have been baptized in Christ have put on Christ.' " The whole chapter is built around Saint Paul's verse, 'If the Spirit of him who raised up Christ from the dead is living in you, he who raised Christ from the dead will bring to life your mortal bodies also, through the indwelling of his Spirit in you.' The body, concludes Saint Augustine, will then be related to the life-giving Spirit as it is now to the living soul. Saint Paul's contrast between the first and second Adam is thus extended to a contrast of the principle of life in each, that of the risen body of Christ being also that of his Church: the Holy Spirit.

This complex of types and models is relevant to the representation of the *Creation of Adam* in the Sistine Ceiling. The billowing wind around the figure of the Creator might perhaps be associated with the living soul "breathed into" Adam. But the act of giving life to Adam prefigures both the Resurrection of Christ ('his Spirit, who raised Christ from the dead'), and the 'mighty rushing wind' (Acts 2:2) of the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, which gave life to that body of Christ which is the Church. The striking image of life imparted through the finger of God outstretched to Adam's finger supports such an interpretation, for "The Spirit is called in the Gospel the 'finger of God.' "[111]

The coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost is the last great event in the sacred history of the Church before the events awaited at the end of time. Saint Augustine nevertheless develops a number of images to describe and characterize the age of the Church, and the nature of the Church's concerns and problems in this time of expectation. Among the images are the waters of the fifth day of Creation (Fig. 10) and the heavenly bodies of the fourth (Fig. 9), the next two scenes in the progress from entrance to altar.

The seas, whether as a vast expanse of waters, as

[107] Cf. above p. 239 and notes 89, 90. The Epistle to the Ephesians quotes Genesis 2:24, "Erunt duo in carne una," and adds, "Sacramentum hoc magnum est, ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia" (Eph. 5:32). This verse, and the extended analogy between the coming of Eve from the side of Adam and of blood and water from the side of Christ, are among Augustine's favorite figures for defining the nature of the Church. Grabowski (p.11) has counted thirty-five quotations of Ephesians 5:32 in Saint Augustine's writings, thirty-four times with reference to the union of bride and bridegroom symbolizing Christ's relation to the Church. Augustine uses Saint Paul's citation as the scriptural precedent for figurative interpretations in general, in differentiating literal and figurative exegesis at the beginning of his treatise on the literal reading of Genesis (*De Genesi ad Litt.*, I, i, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 34:247). Many of the citations, in the *Enarrations* and *Sermons*, as well as in the treatises on Genesis, explain the imagery of the creation of Eve in detail. The figurative interpretation is a very common one; the stress on its historical position is especially Augustinian.

[108] *De Civitate Dei*, XXII, xviii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:779–80. The three final quotations in this paragraph are from *Enarrationes*, Psalm 31 (lxx. 30), Enarratio II, Sermo 1, 4; *Pat. Lat.* 36:232; Psalm 75 (lxx. 74), Sermo, 4; *Pat. Lat.* 36:949; Psalm 102 (lxx.101), Sermo 1; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1295. Grabowski (pp.17–19) gives fifteen citations from Saint Augustine for the concept of one body of which Christ is the head, but he does not imply that these are exhaustive.

[109] *Sermo* CCXLVII, iv, 4; *Pat. Lat.* 38:1231.

[110] *De Civitate Dei*, XIII, xxiii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:395–98. A similar discussion appears also in *Ad Inquisitiones Januarii*, II, ii, 3; *Pat. Lat.* 33:205. Cf. also the references in Grabowski, Pt.2, chap. 1, "The Holy Ghost," esp. 230–242.

[111] *De Civitate Dei*, XVI, xliii, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:522. Seymour (pp.94, 97) calls attention to this metaphor as used by Saint Augustine in *De Spiritu et Littera*, XVI, 28; *Pat. Lat.* 44:218, where the argument is the same as in *The City of God*. It appears in abbreviated form in *Enarrationes*, Psalm 8:7; *Pat. Lat.* 36:111. Seymour also cites the 9th-century hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, where the Holy Spirit is addressed as "Digitus paternae dexterae."

floods and tempests, or as the abode of living creatures, most often stand in Augustine's writings for the secular world, the age, *saeculum*. "The City of God . . . is on pilgrimage in this wicked world as though in a flood." "The sea stands for this age." "Many reprobates are mingled in the Church with the good, and both sorts are collected as it were in the dragnet of the Gospel, and in this world, as in a sea, both kinds swim without separation, enclosed in nets until the shore is reached. There the evil are to be divided from the good. . . ."[112]

The moon stands for the Church in a number of passages in Augustine. His commentary on Psalm 8 identifies 'the moon and stars which thou hast ordained' with "the universal Church, frequently signified by the moon, and the particular churches in various places, intimated I think by the word stars."[113] In two other passages he offers a theory of the moon's light that he finds especially applicable to an allegory of the Church.

> Some . . . say that the moon has no light of its own but is illumined by the sun. When in the face of the sun, therefore, the moon presents to us its shadowy side and thus seems devoid of light; but in proportion as it turns away from the sun, that part which it presents to the earth becomes bright. . . . The Church . . . possesses no light of her own but derives her light from the only-begotten Son of God, who in many places in Holy Scripture is allegorically termed the sun. . . .[114]

The Church in the present age is

> constituted in the mortality of flesh, and because of its mutability it is referred to in the Scriptures under the name of the moon. For until that happens which the Apostle said, 'When Christ who is your life shall appear, then you shall also appear with him in glory,' the Church seems dark in the time of her pilgrimage, among many iniquities.[115]

Both the cosmology and the symbolism of these passages are confusing because they are unexpected. The idea that the moon shows light to the earth when it turns away from the sun and toward the earth does not fit our astronomy; and Augustine does not seem to be making the familiar point that the Church should give light to the world. In fact, his point is a different one. The Church must not strive for earthly glory; indeed, her earthly pilgrimage may be dark and troubled. For

[112] *De Civitate Dei*, xv, xxvi, 2; xx, xv, xvi; xviii, xlix; cf. also xviii, xxiii; *Pat. Lat.* 473, 681, 682, 611, 580. The metaphor is very frequent in Augustine, e.g., *Enarrationes*, Psalm 104 (1xx.103), v. 25; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1380; *De Trinitate*, iv, xv, 20; *Pat. Lat.* 42:902; *In Joannis Evangelium*, ii, xiii; *Pat. Lat.* 35:1394. It also occurs in Renaisance theologians influenced by Augustine: e.g., Saint Antoninus introduces a discussion of sin with a lengthy explanation of *magnum mare* as a figure of the world (*Summa*, Pars ii, Titulus ii, 1). Cf. also Egidio, *Historia*, fol. 159r.

A more detailed study of Egidio da Viterbo, now in preparation, will attempt to deal with the complex multivalence characteristic of Egidio's writings, by which a single symbolic element may stand almost simultaneously for a number of quite different ideas, within constantly fluctuating contexts. Even in Augustine's thinking, water is a remarkably fluid symbol, as he himself points out (*De Doctrina Christiana*, iii, xxv, 36; *Pat. Lat.* 34:79). In the proposed reading of the Ceiling, it has at least two meanings: water is the second of the elements in which visible populations were created; and it is *saeculum*, the world, the present age. In a single passage in Augustine's *Confessions*, the sea stands for both the world with its dangers and temptations and the Sacrament of Baptism (*Confessions*, xiii, xx, 26; *Pat. Lat.* 32:856). As the abyss over which the Spirit of God brooded at the beginning, the waters have a multitude of other implications (cf. *Confessions*, xiii, iv–ix; *Pat. Lat.* 846–49), some of them in turn related to the equation, *mare* = *saeculum*. Several passages in Egidio suggest that in the Ceiling too the sea has meanings besides those relating to the story of the two cities. If this is so, it is quite comprehensible that the representation is kept very general: we are shown the sea, but no storms, which would relate to some meanings but not others, or fish, which would again limit the symbol's application. On the other hand, if as proposed the *ignudi* are angels whose emotions reflect stages in the story of redemption, those of this bay, who are emphatically windblown (Fig. 10), experience the storms and perturbations of this age as they contemplate the sea.

[113] *Enarrationes*, Psalm 8, ix; *Pat. Lat.* 36:112.

[114] *Enarrationes*, Psalm 10, 3; *Pat. Lat.* 36:131–33. The passage gives another theory of the moon's light, by which it can serve as a figure of the Church, that "it has its own light, but half its sphere is luminous and the other half is in darkness. . . ." It concludes with still another way in which the moon can illustrate a spiritual truth: "In so far as she wanes only to be renewed, she becomes even for the most unlettered multitude a figure of the Church with its faith in the resurrection of the dead." Augustine apparently preferred the theory that the moon reflects the sun's light, however, for he repeated it later in the letter *Ad Inquisitiones Januarii*, ii, iv–vi; *Pat. Lat.* 33:209.

[115] *Ad Inquisitiones Januarii*, ii, vi; *Pat. Lat.* 33:209. Augustine speaks as if the moon were a well-known symbol of the Church, so that his contribution is to explore the possible meanings of the metaphor, which depends, for him, on the common identification of Christ with the sun. The latter figurative identification takes on renewed importance with Renaissance Neoplatonism, when the Christian tradition is supplemented by Plato's use of the sun as a metaphor for the divine mind. This is a central theme in Egidio da Viterbo's *Sententiae* (e.g., fols. 15v, 20v, 24r, 52v, 61r, 73r, 110r, 119v, 139r-v, 143v, 153r-v, 168r, 185, 207r, 209r, etc.): The sun stands for *divinus ille filius*; he cannot be apprehended in his full radiance by the senses; indeed, divine truths will be fully manifest only to "those who shall have thrown off the darkness of the mortal body and escaped, altogether immortal, to the light of the divine sun" (fol. 93r). The *Sententiae* is primarily metaphysical in intention, and for the most part the moon stands for the human mind in relation to the divine sun. But in the latest pages, the perspective is increasingly eschatological, and the work ends with a rhapsody on the final reunion of the body of believers with the divine Son, as a union of bride and bridegroom. Several times in this final section, the moon is used as a metaphor for the *sponsa*, the sun for the *Sponsus* (e.g., fol. 193v). In an earlier poetic passage, the moon seems to have both meanings, the human mind and the believing community: "Truly after that bridegroom, the divine word, there is none more beautiful than the bride. . . . 'The queen is at thy right hand in a gilded garment,' that is to say that the bride is not beautiful in and of herself, nor golden, but [derives her beauty] from the golden bridegroom who is beauty itself" (fol. 139v). The biblical quotation is from Psalm 45 (1xx.44):10, and is interpreted by Augustine as a reference to "his Church. . ." (*De Civitate Dei*, xvii, xvi, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:549).

her striving is toward the heavenly glory of Christ. She will reflect him fully only "when Christ shall appear," and when she will "appear with him in glory." The phraseology echoes the New Testament references to the Second Coming, the awaited appearance of Christ, the Son of Man, 'in the clouds of heaven with great power and glory,' the prelude to the end of the world. In Michelangelo's second creation scene, the pale lighted face of the moon at one edge of the panel repeats the shape of the glowing sun at its center: the Church fully reflects the light of Christ, appearing with him in glory at the Second Coming. The pointing gesture of the Creator signalizes the relation between the two, while clearly placing Christ the Sun "at the right hand of God, in the glory of the Father." The earth, from which the Church turns away in order fully to reflect her Lord, is indicated by the green plants in the corner opposite the moon, as if seen far below the luminous heavenly bodies.

This context also provides an explanation for the most puzzling feature in the fresco of the *Creation of Sun and Moon*, the retreating figure on the left side of the panel. This figure was identified in Michelangelo's own time as a second representation of God, turning and moving away into space. We see only his back—and with curious boldness, his buttocks. In his treatise *On the Trinity*, Augustine asks what is meant when Moses was not permitted to see the face of God, but only his 'back parts' *(posteriora)* as he passed by (Exodus 33:16-23). The back parts of the Lord

> are commonly and not without reason understood to prefigure the person of our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus the back parts are taken to be his flesh, in which he was born of the Virgin and rose again, whether they are called the back parts *(posteriora)* because of the posteriority of his mortal nature, or because he deigned to take it near the end of the world, that is, at a later period *(posterius)*. But his face is that form of God, in which he thought it not robbery to be equal to God the Father, which no one surely can see and live, whether because after this life . . . we shall see him 'face to face,' as the Apostle says, ('. . . for we know,' [John] said, 'that when he shall appear we shall be like him, because we shall see him as he is,' and he certainly meant this to be understood as after this life, when we shall have paid the debt of death, and shall have received the promise of the Resurrection), or whether that even now, to whatever extent we spiritually grasp the Wisdom of God, . . . to that same extent we die to carnal affections. . . . *But while we are absent from the Lord and walk by faith and not by sight, we must see the back parts of Christ, namely his flesh, by the faith itself*. . . . For the more certainly we love the face of Christ which we desire to see, the more we recognize in his back parts how much Christ has first loved us.[116]

The 'back parts,' then, are God as he is visible to the Church while it is on earth; the full face of his glory is to be visible only when Christ shall appear and 'we shall be like him.' In the historical sequence of redemption, the *Creation of Sun and Moon* shows on the left the limited vision of God granted the Church in this present age; on the right the Second Coming when she will see Christ face to face and will be like him.[117]

The appearance of 'the Son of man in his glory' in the Gospel of Matthew (23:31-33) is the prelude to his sitting in judgment and separating the people 'as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats.' This in turn is the event Augustine connects with the separation of light from darkness. The historical, not allegorical or analogical, meaning of the separation of light from darkness was the fall of the rebellious angels; but that separation is an analogy of the Last Judgment itself. In discussing the event in Genesis, Augustine ex-

[116] *De Trin.*, II, xvii, 28; *Pat. Lat.* 42:863–64 (emphasis added). Rudolf Kuhn (pp. 19–20) recognizes the biblical significance of God's 'back parts,' but offers no explanation for the image's appearance in this scene.

In his *Sententiae*, Egidio da Viterbo contrasts *posteriora* with *priora*, the former signifying the effects of the First Cause, through knowledge of which one can arrive at only indirect and imperfect knowledge of God, not direct knowledge of the divine essence. The former is the kind of knowledge we attain in this life: "Per effectus ac posteriora cognosci Deum . . . docet et Apostolus et philosophia . . . . Intellectus autem duplex est: alter essentiam: alter posteriora significat. Secundus habetur, prior non nisi post mortem exspectatur" (c. 42, fols. 31r, 32r). Cf. also *Sententiae*, fol. 118r, where the contrast of *prius* and *posterior* expresses the difference between the begetting of the Son and the Creation of the world. The contrast of direct and indirect apprehension of God appears in a prayer found with one of Egidio's Kabbala translations: "And because no man can see you face to face and live, we would contemplate you through these formulas as befits our mortal condition. Grant that we who have here sought your interests from behind, as it were, may be filled with the joy of seeing your countenance" (Paris Lat. 527', fol. 404v, quoted and trans. O'Malley, 1968, 90–91). The same idea appears also in Egidio, *Historia*, fol. 129v.

The forest visible on the earth, on the side of God's 'back parts,' recalls another of Egidio's favorite metaphors for the limitations of human understanding of God: the shadowy forest of the world of sense obscures our vision of the heavens (*Sententiae*, fols. 14v, 60r, 69v, 71v, 110r, 168v, 207r, etc.). Thus Diana, the huntress in the forest, is an image of the human mind searching for God's traces in the shadows of this world; Luna, in the heavens, is the angelic mind with its direct apprehension of the divine essence (c. 56, fol. 56v).

[117] The Synoptic Gospels speak of the darkening of sun and moon (Matthew 24:29; Mark 13:24) or signs in sun and moon (Luke 21:25) immediately before the coming of the Son of Man 'in the clouds of heaven with great power and glory.' In the new Jerusalem as described in the Apocalypse, the Lord himself is to give light; there will be neither sun nor moon (Revelation 21:23). To use the allegorical image of the sun for the appearance of the Christ in glory at the end of the age would therefore be especially appropriate: he is the new Sun (and the Church, reflecting him fully, the moon) of the new heavens and earth at the end of time.

plains that God is not the creator of darkness: he puts the darkness in its place. Similarly, "God is also not the author of our vices; yet he is their regulator, when he sets sinners in that place where they are constrained to suffer their deserts. This is what is meant when the sheep are placed on the right hand, but the goats on the left."[118]

The two panels at the altar end of the Ceiling, then, incorporate allegories and analogies of the last events of all time, before the eternal joining of the two companies of the City of God, angelic and human. At the end of time that City will be restored to the state it had at the creation of light, for citizens from humanity are to replace the angels who fell.[119] Time is to end with a return to its beginning, as the central chronological sequence of the Sistine Ceiling returns, in the figurative reading, to its first event.

The spine of the Ceiling, reflecting the Augustinian exegesis of the Creation and early history of man, and of the divine scheme of redemption, is a kind of palinode, a poetic form well known in antiquity and the Renaissance. A first part presents a thesis and a conclusion; a second, sometimes known as the "repentance," reverses the first to arrive at an opposite conclusion. The histories from altar to entrance correspond to the thesis and its conclusion, the fall from created excellence into sin, humiliation, and death: man made from the earth sinks down to earth. The reading back from entrance to altar end is a "repentance," using the themes of the first to reverse its direction, its thesis, and its conclusion: the self-humiliation of Christ in his earthly life and in his sacrificial death overcomes sin and opens the way back to the Heavenly City. The thesis and "repentance" of the palinode are a metaphor for the condition under which man may participate in the redemption sequence, by repenting of the sin that entered the world in its earliest history and thus returning to the perfection of God's Creation. Such a conceit is not in itself alien to the ideas of Augustine, who presents God as the arch-poet, using the devices of antithesis or contraposition to create "beauty in the composition of the world's history."[120]

Within the balanced antithesis of the literal and figurative readings in the Genesis sequence, other structures occur that are also suggestive of literary forms. It has been seen that in the literal reading, two groups of four scenes, defined by two sets of references to the four elements, are linked by the *Creation of Eve*. In the figurative reading, the beginning and the end of the Incarnation, the beginning and the end of the age of the Church, define two groups of four scenes, joined at the coming into being of the Church at Christ's death. The historical scheme presented in the Genesis scenes can therefore be read in four groups of four scenes, like four four-line stanzas. The central scene holds in balance the themes of the first two, the Creation and the early history of mankind, and it links the last two, the Incarnation and the history of the Church.

Still another formal structure in the central scenes is played in counterpoint against the 4 x 4, the four groups of four scenes, proposed in the preceding analysis. As a number of scholars have pointed out, the original Genesis narrative is plainly organized as 3 x 3, three groups of three scenes. There are three scenes of Creation before the creation of man, three scenes from the story of Adam, and three of Noah and his household. Here the apostrophe that introduces Augustine's meditation on the "generations" of Psalm 102 may furnish an interpretation: "O Word before time, [1] through whom the times were made, [2] born also in time though he was life eternal, [3] calling the children of time and making them eternal!"[121] The eternal Word is the agent of Creation; he was incarnate in history; and he gathers together the community that becomes his mystical Body, to be eternally glorified with him. The first three scenes illustrate the divine activity in the creation of the universe. Adam, in the next three, is a type of the incarnate Christ, the new Adam. Noah is also a type of

[118] *De Genesi ad Litt. imp.*, v, 25; *Pat. Lat.* 34:229.

[119] *De Civitate Dei*, XXII, i, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:752.

[120] *De Civitate Dei*, XI, XVIII; *Pat. Lat.* 41:332. Cf. above, pp. 226f.

[121] *Enarrationes*, Psalm 102 (lxx.101.), sermo 2, v. 25; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1311. Cf. above, p. 240 for a more extended quotation.

Sinding-Larsen (pp. 149ff.) stresses the structure of three threes and develops its Trinitarian implications. The first three scenes, he believes, represent the three persons of the Trinity. To that doctrinal formulation he adds some allegorical and some literal interpretations in the remaining scenes (e.g., Eve as symbol of the Church, but the *Fall of Man* as the *felix culpa*, and the representation of good and evil individuals in the *Drunkenness of Noah*). Such rather indiscriminate mixing produces unclear relationships among the parts of the Ceiling. The confusing incorporation of the distinction among the persons of the Trinity into a quasi-historical scheme may also be partly responsible for the curious argument by which John 1:1, *In principio erat verbum*, is made to challenge the orthodox formulation of the order of "procession" in the Trinity, and to require the first scene on the Ceiling to represent the Second Person, the Son.

The first three scenes may well symbolize, in orthodox order, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. God over the sea in the third panel does call to mind the Spirit of God moving over the waters of Genesis 1:2. As already noted, both the 'back parts' of God and the sun are Augustinian (and Egidian) symbols of the Son, incarnate and in glory respectively. The credal formulation, "Light from Light," to express the relationship of Father and Son, suggests a reason to see the first scene as symbolizing the Father rather than the Son, as Sinding-Larsen argues. If this scheme is intended, it would be a non-temporal sequence overlaid on both the historical scheme of the City of God and the temporal sequence of the three aspects of the Word in time. Such structures of multiple overlapping symbolic units, joined by common metaphors or numerical patterns, are indeed characteristic of Egidio da Viterbo, and several specific links with his thought can be cited. The possibility of this additional symbolic content will be discussed in a later study dealing more fully with Egidio, since the symbolic overload it would entail goes well beyond a characteristically Augustinian scheme.

Christ, but in each of the final three scenes he is shown with his household, and they and the population of the ark are always types of the Church in Saint Augustine's writings.

Each of the Noah stories, therefore, represents the "one Body" of Christ with the Church; and each contains a specific image of the Church (or more than one), besides standing for an event of the Incarnation. The sacrifice of an Old Testament "saint" prefigures not only the death of Christ but also the Church's Eucharistic offering.[122] The ark and its occupants provide a whole series of characterizations of the Church and its place in the redemptive plan:

> Without doubt [the ark] is a symbol of the City of God on pilgrimage in this world, of the Church which is saved through the wood on which was suspended 'the mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus.' The actual measurements of the ark . . . symbolize the human body, in the reality of which Christ was to come, and did come, to mankind. . . . And the door which it was given in its side surely represents the wound made when the side of the crucified was pierced with the spear. This, as we know, is the way of entrance for those who come to him, because from that wound flowed the sacraments with which believers are initiated. And the order for squared beams in the ark's construction refers symbolically to the life of the saints which is stable on every side. . . . All the other details mentioned in the construction of the ark are symbols of realities found in the Church.[123]

In the episode of Noah's drunkenness, Shem and Japheth stand, according to Augustine, for the Church from the Jews and from the Gentiles. In veiling, that is honoring, Noah's nakedness, they are the Church which "celebrates Christ's Passion."[124]

Apart from the three activities of the Word in time, the Ceiling also contains a symbol of the transcendent "Word before time": the light that illumines both the structure of painted architecture and the figures that occupy its spaces. The light source is not the altar, as Hartt suggests, or the created light of the first Genesis panel, or the sun of the second—although the radiance from the latter is recorded within that panel by the angel who shields his eyes. Neither, as so often in Renaissance wall decoration, is the light painted as if it came from actual windows, perhaps those originally in the altar wall. The distribution of light on figures and architecture shows that it does indeed emanate from the altar end. But at that end, light is represented as shining down on Jonah, Jeremiah, and the Libyan Sibyl; and the *ignudi* around the *Separation of Light from Darkness* are lighted also from above, as if from beyond the frame of that panel and above the entablature of Jonah's throne, where a blue area suggests a glimpse of the sky outside the Ceiling's fictive architecture. If indeed the figures and panels contained in the painted architecture present to us the history of the City of God from the beginning to the end of time, the light entering from beyond that structure, by which the whole scheme comes into existence, both transcends and contains all of time.

> For when God said 'Let there be light,' and light was created, then [the angels] immediately became partakers of the eternal light, which is the unchanging Wisdom of God, the agent of God's whole creation; and this Wisdom we call the only-begotten Son of God. . . . This is 'the true light which illuminates every man as he comes into the world.'[125]

This light is placed as the source, the goal, and the illumination of the created universe and the City of God. The Prophet at the end of the longitudinal axis, Jonah who is the Prophet of the Resurrection, looks with glowing face into the brightness that shines on him from above.

The numbers and numerical relationships by which the ceiling is organized are characteristic of the number symbolism that had an enduring fascination for Augustine. Three is the divine number, the number of the Trinity and of God's image in man; and the 3 x 3 of the Genesis series, read as referring to the three manifestations of the Eternal Word, are a suitable expression of this truth. Four is the number of the created universe in time: Saint Augustine cities the four parts of the earth, the four winds, the four times of day, the four seasons, and the four elements.[126] The scheme organized as 4 x 4, around the figure of the Church sprung from Christ, is appropriate to the history of all Creation, the Fall of Man, and human redemption within the frame of time and through the medium of Christ's Church.

[122] *De Civitate Dei*, x, xx; *Pat. Lat.* 41:298.

[123] *De Civitate Dei*, xv, xxvi, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:472–73. Augustine refers readers to the treatise *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (XII, XIV; *Pat. Lat.* 42:262–63) for more extensive allegorical interpretation.

[124] *De Civitate Dei*, XVI, ii, 1–2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:478–79; cf. *Contra Faustum*, XII; *Pat. Lat.* 42:266–67.

[125] *De Civitate Dei*, XI, IX; *Pat. Lat.* 41:325.

[126] On the general significance of numbers in Scripture, and the meanings of 4, 3, 7, 10, cf. *De Doctrina Christiana*, II, XVII, 25–26; *Pat. Lat.* 34:48–49; on the Trinity and its reflection in man, *De Civitate Dei*, XI, XXIV–XXVIII; *Pat. Lat.* 41:337–342, and *De Trinitate*, especially Bks. IX–XI; *Pat. Lat.* 42:959ff.; on three as the number of the soul and four of the body and of time, *Enarrationes*, Psalm 6, Enarratio, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 36:91; on twelve as the product of the four parts of the earth and Baptism in the name of the Trinity, and as therefore the number of the Church Universal, *Enarrationes*, Psalm 60 (lxx.59), Sermo, 4; *Pat. Lat.* 36:715 and Psalm 87 (lxx.86), Sermo, 4; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1104. Cf. Egidio, *Libellus*, fols. 7r and ff., where the four elements of the corporeal world find their counterparts in four affects, four virtues, four disciplines, and so on; and in the *Historia*, fols. 103v–104r, a general discussion of the importance of number.

Saint Augustine's favorite symbolic numbers are also found in other elements of the scheme. That there are four deliverances of Israel, in the corner pendentives, may mean no more than that rectangular rooms have four corners. But the ten gold medallions remind us that ten, for Augustine, is the number of the Law, and this supplies a clue for their interpretation. There are twelve prophetic figures representing the revelation to both Jews and Gentiles; and "by the number twelve is symbolized a kind of universal character."[127]

The representation of all time from the Creation to the Last Judgment is bracketed by the pendentives in the four corners of the chapel: David beheading Goliath and Judith with the severed head of Holofernes at the entrance end, and at the altar end the brazen serpent raised up by Moses in the wilderness and the story of Esther with the punishment of Haman at its center. Literally, these are four deliverances of the Hebrew people, from the threat of hostile armies in the destruction of Goliath and Holofernes; from the lethal bite of the fiery serpents sent to punish their rebelliousness; and from Haman's treacherous plot to put them all to death.

Saint Jerome, in one of the prefaces reprinted in most Renaissance Bibles, observed that "Judith and Esther, as types of the Church, both killed the enemies and, when the Israelites were threatened with death, freed them from danger."[128] David and Moses perform the same functions in their pendentives, David killing the enemy and Moses freeing the Israelites from the threat of death; and these heroes are regularly types of Christ. The yoking of Christ and the Church in parallel actions is a reminder, at the corners of the whole scheme, of a unity that is given allegorical expression at the center of the Ceiling in Eve's creation from the side of Adam.

The distinction between the pendentives at the entrance end and those over the altar bay is also coordinated with the figurative reading of the central scheme. Saint Augustine interprets David's victory over Goliath as "Christ who slays the Devil. But what is the meaning of Christ slaying the Devil? Humility slays pride. . . . God became humble that thus the pride of the human race might not disdain to follow the footsteps of God."[129] A similar theme is voiced by Judith as she undertakes her task of destroying Holofernes:

> Bring to pass, O Lord, that his pride may be cut off with his own sword. . . . For this will be a glorious monument for thy name, when he shall fall by the hand of a woman . . . nor from the beginning have the proud been acceptable to thee: but the prayer of the humble and meek hath always pleased thee. (Judith 9:13–16)

The adjacent scene of Noah drunken with the fruit of his vineyard prefigures Christ reversing the sin of pride through which both the Devil and Adam fell, by humbling himself in the Incarnation.[130] David prefigures this conquest of pride in Christ's Incarnation, and Judith personifies the Church following in his footsteps.

The other two corner pendentives are both crucifixions. The brazen serpent is universally interpreted as a type of Christ's Crucifixion, on the authority of Jesus himself, quoted in John 3:14–15. In the fresco of the story of Esther, the gallows on which Haman is executed at the center takes the form of a rude cross: it is called both *lignum* and *crux* in the Vulgate Bible.[131]

The brazen serpent stands for Christ "lifted up" in the Crucifixion, and it is placed in a scheme highly reminiscent of the Last Judgment, where a reminder of the Crucifixion is usually provided by Christ's display of his wounds and by angels with instruments of the Passion. On the "right hand" of the serpent staff, an orderly company looks up in hope and adoration; on the other side, a chaotic mass of struggling figures is pushed by the serpents that torment them, into the darkness in the far corner. Gestures and actions of this company, and a twining serpent, were echoed much later in Michelangelo's representation of Hell in the lower corner of the *Last Judgment* on the altar wall. The Israelites, says Augustine, commenting on the reference to the brazen serpent in the Gospel of John, "were

[127] *De Civitate Dei*, XX, v, 3; *Pat. Lat.* 41:663; cf. *De Civitate Dei*, XV, XX, 4; *Pat. Lat.* 41:465; also note 126, and Egidio's discussion of the number twelve in the *Libellus* (fols. 32r–40r) and the *Historia* (fols. 98r–100v; and 276r–279r).

[128] Saint Jerome, *Commentarium in Sophoniam Prophetam*, Lib. I, Prologus; *Pat. Lat.* 25: 1337. Cf. also Antoninus, *Summa*, Pars III, Prologus, 1: Esther interceding with Ahasuerus for the deliverance of her people is the Church who "stands praying before Christ, the monarch of the world asking the liberation of her people, i.e., of the elect, from the hands of the Devil and from the destruction of eternal death."

[129] *Enarrationes*, Psalm 34 (1xx.33), 4; *Pat. Lat.* 36:302.

[130] The humility of the Incarnation is a recurrent theme in Augustine. He stresses it as a perception basic to his own conversion (and the principal difference between Platonic and Christian teachings about the Logos) in the *Confessions*, VII, IX, 13; *Pat. Lat.* 32:740: "First of all, desiring to show me how thou resistest the proud but givest grace unto the humble, and by what great mercy of thine the way of humility was shown unto men in the fact that thy Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst men . . . ." Cf. also the antithesis in the treatise *De Assumptione*, still attributed to Augustine in the Renaissance: "[God] came to redeem what he willed to create: to create, indeed, by power; to redeem by humility: assuming the sacred nature of humility from the sanctified body [of the Virgin]" (*De Assumptione Beatae Maria Virginis*, "Proemium," *Opera*, Basel, 1506, x; *Pat. Lat.* 40:1143). Saint Paul's phrase for the Incarnation, 'the form of a servant' (Philippians 2:6), is frequently quoted by Augustine (e.g., *Confessions*, VII, IX, 14; *Pat. Lat.* 32:741; *Enarrationes*, Psalm 31 (1xx.30), 4; *Pat. Lat.* 36:232; Psalm 75 (1xx.74), 5; *Pat. Lat.* 36:950; Psalm 102 (1xx.101), Sermo 1; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1294) and associated with Christ's physical body and his subjection to time.

[131] Esther 5:14, 7:9, 8:7.

[132] *In Joannis Evangelium*, XII, XI; *Pat. Lat.* 35:1490.

healed from death to temporal life, while here [in the Gospel, Christ] says, 'that they might have everlasting life.' Now there is this difference between the figurative image and the real thing: the figure procured temporal life; the reality . . . procures eternal life"[132]—and the eternal death of the damned. For although the narrative in Numbers (21:5–9) implies that all the Israelites bitten by the serpents were healed by the brazen serpent raised up by Moses, in the Sistine Ceiling there is a division between those who look to the serpent for life, and those who turn away into darkness and death. Both in the Gospel of John and in Saint Augustine's commentary, the interpretation of the brazen serpent leads to a discussion of the nature of divine judgment and of those who belong to light and to darkness.

Haman on his cross does not stand for Christ, at least not in the same way: he is "iniquity," "the enemy," "the Devil."[133] Haman is one of the figures who embody the sin of pride in both medieval and Renaissance commentaries. In this scheme, he may stand for the Antichrist, who represents the highest level of pride in Saint Antonine's analysis of that sin, one "who opposes and exalts himself against every so-called god or object of worship." Haman, says Saint Antonine, was humiliated because in his pride he could not bear that Mardochai would not worship him.[134]

Augustine interprets the references in Revelation 20 to the Devil bound and cast down for a thousand years and then loosed 'for a short time' to mean that

> the Devil is bound . . . from the first coming of Christ to the end of the world, which will be Christ's second coming . . . What the binding of the Devil means is that he is not permitted to exert his whole power of temptation either by force or by guile to seduce men to his side. . . . Now this binding of the Devil was not only affected at the time when the Church began to spread beyond the land of Judaea . . . it is happening even now, and will continue to happen until the end of the age, when he is to be unloosed.

Then he will "rage with all his strength . . . for three years and six months." This is the "last persecution, which is to be inflicted by Antichrist . . . for three years and six months." The challenge of the Devil is to be concentrated and finally broken in the person of his false prophet "when Christ . . . kills the Antichrist with the breath of his mouth," before the Resurrection and the final Judgment.[135]

The two pendentives at the altar end, therefore, can be read as counterparts, the humbling of the false Christ by crucifixion, contrasted with the self-humbling of Christ 'even to the death of the Cross,' signified by the serpent staff; the scenes also complete the temporal sequence begun in the pendentives at the other end. The Devil cast down at the first coming of Christ, and his binding during successive ages, is signified by David's defeat of Goliath and Judith's of Holofernes; from then until the end of the world, Lucifer is bound with his host outside the Prophets' thrones, "in the prison of this murky air" and awaiting the final judgment. At the end of the age, the Devil is to be loosed for a short time, during which the Antichrist will persecute; then will come the destruction of the Antichrist and the Last Judgment.

The commentators very commonly find prefigurations of the end of time in the story of Esther, especially in the event in the left corner of Michelangelo's pendentive, the feast of Esther with King Ahasuerus, from which Haman shrinks away in confusion. Augustine does not discuss the story of Esther; but Hugh of St. Cher, a thirteenth-century commentator whose annotations still provided the commentary in printed Bibles of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and indeed well into the seventeenth century, articulates what seem to have been the usual symbolic associations of that story. Ahasuerus is a type of Christ. "Even though he was bad, nevertheless in his good actions he represented Christ, and Esther the Church; the feast *(convivium)* the spiritual delights of Christ and the Church. Ahasuerus reigned from India to Ethiopia, and Christ from sea to sea, from the river to the ends of the earth."[136] The *convivium* and *delicias* to which Hugh of St. Cher refers are the feast and the delights of the final union of Christ and the Church; the reign of Christ is that of the final kingdom. Rabanus Maurus, whom Hugh quotes for his general interpretation, is more explicit. The feast of Esther and Ahasuerus is the wedding feast of Jesus' parable of the Kingdom of Heaven; Haman is the man cast out for lack of the wedding garment of charity.[137]

Antichrist, the Last Judgment, and the reunion of Christ and the Church in the Kingdom of Heaven are

[133] Saint Jerome, *Commentarium in Sophoniam Prophetam*, Lib. I, Prologus; *Pat. Lat.* 25: 1337; Saint Jerome, *Epistola LIII, ad Paulinum de Studio Scripturarum*, 7; *Pat. Lat.* 22:547–48; Antoninus, *Summa*, Pars III, Prologus 1.

[134] Antoninus, *Summa*, Pars II, Titulus II, cap. ii, 7. Cf. also the treatise *De Antichristo* included in the Amerbach edition of Augustine (Basel, 1506, x, 306f): "Christo in cunctis contrarius erit, et Christo contraria faciet. Christus venit humilis: ille veniet superbus. Christus venit humiles erigere, peccatores justificare; ille contra humiles deiiciet: peccatores magnificabit: impios exaltabit . . . ." (*Pat. Lat.* 40:1131. Not by Augustine.)

[135] *De Civitate Dei*, xx, viii, xi, xiii: *Pat. Lat.* 41:670–71, 677–79.

[136] Hugh of St. Cher, *Postilla*, in *Biblia Sacra*, Amerbach *et al.*, Basel, 1504, I, fol. 376v.

[137] Rabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Librum Esther*; *Pat. Lat.* 109:659. Saint Augustine interprets the wedding garment as charity and the Feast as that of Christ and the Church in *Sermo* XC, *De Verbis Evangelii Matthaei*, cap. xxii, 6; *Pat. Lat.* 38:562–63. Cf. Wilhelm Molsdorf, *Christliche Symbolik der mittelalterlichen Kunst*, Graz, 1968, No. 686: Ahasuerus with Esther at a meal while Haman hangs on a tree constitutes a type of the royal wedding feast of Matthew 22 in Ulrich von Lilienfeld's *Concordantia Caritatis*, datable shortly after 1351.

introduced in supplementary images at the altar end of the chapel. Representations of the opposition of pride and humility, and of their paradoxical destinies, the proud to be cast down and the humble to be exalted, frame the historical sequence of the Chapel spine, in which those principles are worked out in the story of the two cities.

6. Augustine, Egidio da Viterbo, and Michelangelo

The spine, the levels on the transverse axes, the relationship of the corners to the central organization—these constitute the basic structure of meaning, as well as the decorative organization of the Ceiling. Three further sets remain to be discussed: the scenes in the ten gold medallions, the particular choice and arrangement of the Prophets and Sibyls, and the distribution of the ancestors' names in the lunettes. These can be related to the basic Augustinian scheme; but several problems of source and other issues arise in connection with them, which require consideration of the Renaissance setting within which Augustinian themes were invoked. Indeed, such a consideration bears on the general validity of the proposed scheme.

Is an Augustinian scheme of the sort outlined above probable at this time and in this place, and in a work by this particular artist? Does it require us to assume that a scholar provide the program; and if so, what is the justification for proposing Egidio da Viterbo? Do we have any indication in the history of the Ceiling as to how and when he might have become involved?

Our principal information on the planning of the Ceiling's content comes from a letter of Michelangelo to Giovanfrancesco Fattucci, written over a decade after the frescoes were completed. The artist says that the original commission was for twelve Apostles, supplemented by customary fields of ornamentation; that he himself considered that the result of this scheme would be "a poor thing"—apparently meaning scanty or meager; that he told the Pope as much, and that Julius II gave him a new commission "that I should do what I wished and he would content me, and that I should paint down to the histories below."[138]

The letter need not mean, as some have thought, that the Pope simply gave Michelangelo *carte blanche* to make any combination of subjects he wished, notwithstanding his lack of theological training or even direct access to theological writings—since he was no Latinist. It clearly does mean that the Pope acceded to the artist's desire for a richer and more complex scheme, and that the new commission was drawn up to satisfy that preference; but it does not, on that account, exclude the possibility that Michelangelo consulted a theologian in order to achieve the complex scheme he wished.

Reasons for Michelangelo's objection to the original commission can be guessed at from his circumstances at the time, and from what we know of standards of value in art in early sixteenth-century Rome. Michelangelo quite understandably resented having work stopped on the ambitious papal tomb for which he had received the commission only a short while before and on which he had already done taxing preliminary work. Creighton Gilbert has reminded us that ceilings in chapels were usually minor commissions;[139] they were often done by assistants or subordinate artists. Alberti's conviction was certainly still alive, that important narrative subjects, *historie*, were "the greatest work of the painter";[140] and Michelangelo's younger rival, Raphael, was receiving a commission for important *historie* while he himself was being asked to paint single figures with the usual decorative fields, like Pinturicchio in S. Maria del Popolo.[141] Further light is cast on Michelangelo's eagerness not only to insert narrative panels into the scheme, but to be given a richer program altogether, by the recommendation of a contemporary cleric of the papal circle, Paolo Cortesi, that the decorations of a cleric's chapel and apartments should be erudite and complex. A mere display of the painter's repertory would not satisfy the ideal that Cortesi enunciates. For in his view, the purpose of painted decoration is to stimulate the intellect to understand the moral teachings contained in its subjects. As an admirable example of such intellectually stimulating complexity, he cites the quattrocento decorations of the

[138] Tolnay, 248–49.

[139] Creighton Gilbert, *History of Renaissance Art Throughout Europe*, New York, 1973, 166.

[140] *De Pictura*, II, 33, 35 (*Alberti On Painting and On Sculpture*, ed. Cecil Grayson, London, Phaidon, 1972, 70–71, 72–73.)

[141] The similarity of the first commission to Pinturicchio's choir vault in S. Maria del Popolo is pointed out by Tolnay (p. 14) and Seymour (p. 81).

Sistine Chapel walls.[142] To look only for the simplest and most direct meanings in the Ceiling, in this context, is inappropriate to the requirements of the place, to the ideals of the time, and to the expressed desires of the artist.

Andrea Mantegna's reported account of his procedure when commissioned to do an allegory of Justice provides a rare glimpse of how iconographical decisions might be made. Assigned the subject by his patron, but with no direction as to how it should be presented, he consulted the philosophers. As Gilbert points out in this connection, Mantegna is thus represented as following Alberti's advice to painters, to associate with poets and literary men whose knowledge is useful for the painter's inventions.[143] Michelangelo himself acknowledged Poliziano's role in introducing him to the subject of his early relief of the *Lapiths and Centaurs*.[144]

Egidio da Viterbo, who was in Rome when the Sistine Ceiling was being planned, was remarkably qualified to fit Michelangelo's and the Pope's requirements; his own interests and known writings present suggestive parallels with the original proposal and with the ceiling program as it was executed.[145] Only a few years older than Michelangelo, he had been a member of the literary and philosophical circle in which Michelangelo had found congenial direction at the beginning of his career. For Egidio had studied Plato's philosophy with Marsilio Ficino in Florence in the 1490's. The treatise on which he was engaged at the period of Michelangelo's execution of the Sistine Ceiling, the *Sententiae ad Mentem Platonis*, was devoted to showing Plato's agreement with and elucidation of the fundamental principles of Christian theology, and it displays a mode of thought closely allied to that of the Florentine Neoplatonists. Like them, Egidio delighted in discovering Christian meanings in pagan myths, Diana and Luna, for example, representing the difference between angelic and human understanding, or Daphne's transformation into a laurel illustrating Saint Paul's dictum, 'this mortal must put on immortality.'[146] Egidio was also a member, and by 1507 the Prior General, of the Augustinian Hermits, the Order that commissioned a painted altarpiece from Michelangelo during his first Roman stay.[147] There is no evidence, unfortunately, to show whether Michelangelo and Egidio had come in contact

[142] Paolo Cortesi, *De Cardinalatu*, Rome, 1510, G v v-vi r: "Now it should be understood that the more erudite are the paintings in a Cardinal's chapel, the more easily the soul can be excited by the admonishment of the eyes to the imitation of acts by looking at [painted representations of] them. The truth of this can be judged by the histories painted in the votive chapel built by the most illustrious Sixtus IV in the Vatican, or seen in the ingenious arrangement of subjects represented in the paintings of Cardinal Olivero Caraffa's chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva." G vi r: ". . . we recommend the depiction of riddles and fables. Their interpretation sharpens the intelligence and their learned representation fosters the cultivation of the mind."

I am grateful to Kathleen Weil-Garris for telling me about this text, of which a translation and commentary are in press at the time of this writing (Kathleen Weil-Garris and John d'Amico, "The Renaissance Cardinal's Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Cortesi's *De Cardinalatu*," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome: Studies in the History of Art*).

The subtle parallels and contrasts of Old Testament and New Testament narratives in the scenes on the lower walls of the Sistine Chapel have been discussed in some detail by L. D. Ettlinger, *The Sistine Chapel Before Michelangelo: Religious Imagery and Papal Primacy*, Oxford, 1965. The recent rediscovery of the *tituli* that accompany the frescoes (published by L. Redig de Campos, "I 'Tituli' degli Affreschi del Quattrocento nella Cappella Sistina," *Rendiconti della pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, XLII, 1969–1970, 299–314) has clarified the doctrines of the Church that they incorporate.

[143] In an imaginary dialogue between Mantegna and Momus, *De Justicia Pingenda*, by the Mantuan physician, Battista Fiera (published in a collection of his miscellaneous pieces, Mantua, 1515), Mantegna is represented as having sought advice from several philosophers and finally from the learned Vicar General of the Carmelite Order, another Mantuan. The situation may be based in fact. Fiera was a friend of Mantegna's; and in the 1480's when Mantegna was decorating the Chapel of Innocent VIII in the Vatican, Fiera seems also to have been in Rome. A description of the chapel before its destruction in the 18th century names Justice as one of the figures in the painted decoration. (Battista Fiera, *De Justicia Pingenda*, trans. with intro. and notes James Wardrop, London, Lion and Unicorn Press, 1957; cf. also the slightly different translation and the comments in Creighton Gilbert, ed., *Sources and Documents: Italy, 1400–1500*, Prentice-Hall, 1979, 197.) Alberti, *De Pictura*, III, 53 (*Alberti on Painting*, as cited in n. 140, 94-95): "Literary men, who are full of information about many subjects, will be of great assistance in preparing the composition of a 'historia,' and the great virtue of this consists primarily in its invention."

[144] Condivi, 45–56, para. ix. The idea of an artist too impatient and too sure of his genius to accept the help of a literary adviser reflects Vasari's later image of Michelangelo as quasi-divine, colored by our own post-Romantic conceptions of artistic creation. Michelangelo's rude rejection in the 1530's of the apparently unsolicited and unneeded advice offered by Pietro Aretino for the representation of the *Last Judgment* cannot be generalized into a character trait, and is quite irrelevant to his situation in 1508. See D. Redig de Campos, *Il Giudizio Universale di Michelangelo*, Milan, 1964, 24–26, for a full account of the correspondence involved in this incident.

[145] Egidio da Viterbo (1469–1532) is the subject of an excellent recent monograph by John W. O'Malley, S. J., who has also edited his *Libellus de Aurea Aetate* (*Traditio*, XXV, 1969, 278–338). O'Malley believes it was about 1494–95 that Egidio studied with Ficino. Fragments of the *Sententiae* have been published by Eugenio Massa, with commentary on their relevance to the Renaissance topic of the dignity of man (see the list of authorities at the end of this article). I have consulted it in the copy in the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome (MS Ang. Lat. 636).

[146] Egidio, *Sententiae*, c. 56, fol. 56v; c. 58, fol. 58v. Cf. Massa, 68, 72.

[147] See the documents published by H. Mancusi-Ungaro, *Michelangelo: The Bruges Madonna and the Piccolomini Altar*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1971, 153, 157, 159, and the discussion on pp. 6–9. Howard Hibbard kindly called my attention to the possible relevance of this contact. Preserved letters of Egidio show that he was in Rome in the late 1490's and at the beginning of the 16th century, at the time of Michelangelo's commission from the Augustinians.

with each other either in Florence or in Rome before 1508, but they had a basis for congenial association even if their encounter came only then.

Julius II's appointment of Egidio as Vicar General of the Augustinians in 1506 presumably contributed to his election as Prior General the next year, and certainly made him available in Rome. He was the Pope's protégé and favorite preacher, frequently called upon for sermons or addresses to mark special occasions. Two texts of such set-pieces have been published; both are expositions of the nature and destiny of the Church. The earlier is an address delivered in 1507, and afterwards elaborated into a presentation booklet, on the occasion of the reintroduction of Christianity into India by a Portuguese expedition commissioned by King Manuel I. Also preserved is the text of the sermon by Egidio which opened the Fifth Lateran Council in 1512.[148]

Egidio was not only an Augustinian monk; he was also a leading scholar of the works of his Order's supposed founder. He referred to Saint Augustine as "dux meus." He cited Augustine's opinions constantly in his writings, and seldom without an expression of special affection and respect: "Augustinus meus," "magnus Augustinus parens meus," "Augustinus eruditorum omnium eruditissimus," "Augustinus meus qui velut sanctitate maximus ita apparet doctrina praecipuus."[149] In the *Sententiae ad Mentem Platonis*, he turns often to Augustine's insights for solutions to difficult theological dilemmas. His next major treatise, the *Historia XX Saeculorum*, was directly inspired by *The City of God*. This universal history, like many earlier descendants of Augustine's great work, starts with Creation and biblical history, brings the account up to the writer's own time, and looks forward to the final events of history and to eternity. Like Augustine, Egidio quotes Saint Paul to justify considering "those things that happened to the fathers" as "shadows . . . and like a painted image of what was to come."[150] But on this pattern derived from Augustine, Egidio has overlaid another: he has divided all human history into twenty ages, ten up to the Incarnation and ten after that turning point, and he finds the particular character of each adumbrated in the corresponding Psalm between 1 and 20. In both Psalms 1 to 10 and the pre-Christian events to which he believes they refer, he discerns prophetic foreshadowings of Christ and the Church. Again, the underlying assumptions can be traced to Augustine: that the Psalms, individually prophetic of Christ and the Church, were also by divine inspiration arranged in a mystically significant sequence.[151]

The division of time before and after the Incarnation into ten ages apiece reflects still another tradition newly revived at this time, the Kabbala, in which ten is the number of the divine emanations. As one of the Renaissance pioneers of Hebrew studies, Egidio became familiar with both Talmudic and Kabbalistic texts, and the Kabbala in particular engaged his attention early in the sixteenth century and for most of the rest of his life. He shared the current belief that the Kabbalistic writings were of the greatest antiquity, and felt that their becoming available to Christian scholars through the study of the Hebrew language was one of the signs of the last days, when all truth would finally lie open to mankind. These writings reinforced, for Egidio, Augustine's emphasis on the wealth of meanings to be sought in the Scriptures, for in Kabbalistic exegesis every word, every Hebrew letter has a mystical significance, and allegorical and prophetic interpretations abound. They also supported Augustine's belief in the power and significance of numbers.[152] Egidio's Kabbalistic studies, however, probably merely confirmed him in his search, from his earliest preserved writings, for hidden meanings to be discerned through allusive connections and verbal echoes, and for elaborate structural parallels—all mysteriously indicative of the divine activity in Scripture and in history.

Augustine was frequently cited to justify the Renaissance conviction held by Egidio among others that Plato and many other pagans had access to divinely revealed truths handed down from the ancient wisdom of the Chaldeans.[153] Egidio appealed to Augustine's authority also for his conviction that the Kabbalistic texts were another channel of the most ancient wisdom: "my Augustine, aware of the mysteries and of the Kabbala, that is of the more hidden theology."[154] Both Egidio's Neoplatonic syncretism and his Kabbalistic allegoriz-

[148] Egidio, *Libellus*; and "Oratio prima synodi Lateranensis, habita per Aegidium Viterbiensem," in J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, XXXII, Graz, 1961, col. 672.

[149] Egidio, *Historia*, fols. 19v, 38v, 53v, 187r; *Sententiae*, fols. 41r, 36r, 169v; *Libellus*, fol. 54r, p. 318; "Epistola XIII ad Marianum Genazensem Eremitarum Generalem," in *Epistolae Selectae*, ed. Martène and Durand, *Veterum Scriptorum . . . Collectio*, III, Paris, 1724, 1253; *Sententiae*, fol. 169v. Such expressions are quite absent from his citations of Aristotle and even of Plato; a somewhat parallel but much less emphatic expression of special affection appears when he speaks of Virgil as "our Maro" (*Sententiae*, fols. 140r, 166v).

[150] Egidio, *Historia*, fol. 309r: cf. 1 Corinthians 10:11, Colossians 2:17; Hebrews 10:1.

[151] *De Civitate Dei*, XVII, xiv; *Pat. Lat.* 41:547–48. The *Historia* is so far unpublished. I have consulted one of two copies in the Biblioteca Angelica (MS Ang. Lat. 502).

[152] Gershom Scholem, *On the Kabbalah and Its Symbolism*, trans. Ralph Manheim, New York, Schocken Books, 1965, chap. 2: "The Meaning of the Torah in Jewish Mysticism." Cf. O'Malley, 1968, chap. 3: "Scripture and the Cabala."

[153] E.g., Filippo Barbieri, *Discordantiae Sanctorum Doctorum Hieronymi et Augustini*, Rome, 1481, fol. 5v ff.; and cf. the discussion of Egidio's beliefs, O'Malley, 1968, 20–25.

[154] Egidio, *Historia*, fol. 272r: "Augustinus meus conscius archanorum et chabalae: id est secretiori theologiae." Cf. also fol. 181[4]: "Augustino meo teste divinorum archanorum interprete unico."

ing of Scriptures represented very current interests among Renaissance scholars. In both respects, Egidio could consider himself to be exploring ideas approved in principle by Saint Augustine, but in fact he combined them to evolve a language of symbolic meanings far more complex in its structure and in its mingling of traditions than Augustine's.

Egidio's two major writings of the period of the Sistine Ceiling and immediately thereafter—the *Sententiae* and the *Historia*—contain a number of unusual images that appear in the Ceiling as well. Some have been cited above in footnotes, and others will be noted for parts of the Ceiling still to be discussed. It is especially suggestive, however, that the perspective of Church history and of universal history, which is such an essential element in the Ceiling's Augustinian character, dominates the later of the two, the *Historia*, which Egidio began the year after the Ceiling was completed. Something of the same perspective appears in the two shorter works done specifically for Julius II, one datable just before, the other just after the Ceiling: the *Libellus* (1507–08) presented to Julius II and King Manuel I, and the sermon for the Lateran Council (1512). In both, Egidio makes extensive reference to Old Testament prefigurations of Christian doctrine and Christian history, and especially of the Church. In both, the twelve Apostles are made the central image of the Church Universal. In the Lateran Council sermon, a metaphor is used that occurs a number of times in Augustine: the twelve Apostles enthroned are the heavens poetically and prophetically indicated by the verse of Psalm 19 (lxx.18), 'the heavens show forth the glory of God.'[155] The recurrence of this theme is of special interest if we remember that Michelangelo was originally commissioned to decorate the Sistine Ceiling with twelve Apostles, that they would apparently have been shown on twelve thrones, and that they would have replaced the star-studded vault previously planned for the chapel.

In the *Libellus*, the Apostles are introduced by a long disquisition on the number twelve and its universal significance. They themselves stand for the summary of Christian doctrine in the twelve affirmations of the Apostles' Creed, beginning with God as creator of Heaven and earth, and ending with "entrance into heaven and eternal life." This passage follows a discourse on "the Golden Age and its four parts" which begins with the first verse of Genesis, interpreted to refer to the creation of the incorporeal and corporeal worlds. The four elements that constitute the latter are then paralleled with groups of four categories defining human nature, activity, and history. The main burden of the discourse is the distinction of four "golden ages," that of the angels before the fall of Lucifer, of Adam and Eve before their sin, the less perfect golden age initiated by Noah, and the golden age of Christ "which surpasses the others."

> As Prophet and Sibyls foretold, God is born on the earth. . . . He assembles varied heroes [i.e., the Apostles]. He casts down the prince of this world. He washes away in the waters of Jordan the traces of the ancient guilt. Death and guilt die at his death. The serpent also dies. Light, day, life rise again at his rising. Powerful heroes are called in secret . . . and then go out into all the world . . . to drive out the ways of iron, to bring forth the golden life, to arouse men to divine things.

Finally, the *Libellus* develops elaborate symbolisms around the oak tree of Julius's family crest, and the acorns that are its fruit.[156]

One of the most enigmatic details in the Ceiling is repeated directly in Egidio's *Historia*, and there revealed as a reflection of his erudition as a Hebraist. An ox and an ass twist their heads sharply in opposing directions in the *Sacrifice of Noah*; between them is a calm horse's head (Figs. 8, 11). Egidio refers to the (standard) identification of ox and ass as symbols of Jew and Gentile. But he cites the prohibition in Jewish law against ploughing with an ox and an ass together (Deut. 22:10), an obscure legal detail elaborated in the Talmud. The Church must be thought of, therefore, not as a yoking together of Jews and Gentiles, but as a new people, for which he proposes the symbol of the horse: "Therefore between the ox and the ass arises the horse."[157] The configuration of three animal heads is thus another symbol of the Church inserted in the stories of Noah, to reinforce the structure of three threes, in which Noah

[155] See above, note 148. Cf. also Egidio, *Historia*, fol. 184v: "God chose twelve men . . . and sent them into all the world. . . . The celestial spheres surround all lands, bringing to things both motion and light; thus these our heavens, borne to the ends of the earth, show forth the glory of God." Similar references occur in the *Historia*, fols. 174 *bis*v, 175 *bis*, 193v, and *Sententiae*, fol. 189v.

This metaphor is developed by Augustine in a number of the Enarrationes: *Enarrationes* Psalm 19 (lxx.18), Enarratio II, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 36:157; Psalm 89 (lxx.88), Sermo I, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1121; Psalm 144 (lxx.143), 12; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1864; Psalm 122 (lxx.121), 9, *Pat. Lat.* 37:1625–26; Psalm 97 (lxx.96), 10; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1243.

[156] Egidio, *Libellus*, fols. 32r–40r, 46v–51v, 5v, 6v, 7v–12v, 21r–22v, 40v, 27r. The references to the Rovere oak tree (fols. 11(a)r, 17r, 23v–24r, and esp. 45r–54v) are of course not peculiar to Egidio at this time: cf. Hartt, 1950, 133–34.

[157] Egidio, *Historia*, fol. 32r: "Hebreos bovi: gentes asello comparant etenim illi in legis fruge laborarent hi ad legem . . . surdi atque ignavi lascivirent: quare utrumque aratro iungere non licebat . . . quamobrem inter bovem asellumque equus nascitur. . . ." The pretext for introducing the idea at this point in the *Historia* is a play on the word *equitatem* in a symbolic interpretation of Psalm 11 (lxx. 10, second part):8. The prohibition against ploughing with ox and ass together is quoted again in the *Historia* at fol. 183r. I am indebted to Werner Dannhauser for the biblical and Talmudic references to this prohibition.

11 Detail of Figure 8 (photo: Anderson)

and his family stand for the fullness of Christ in the union of Christ and the Church.

Whether Egidio or another theologian was responsible for the structure of theological and historical meanings in the Sistine Ceiling, Michelangelo's role cannot have been the merely passive acceptance of a prescribed series of scenes. Details like the ox, ass, and horse in the *Sacrifice*, visual echoes like the coiling serpent on the forbidden tree and on Moses' staff, the frequently noted parallel poses of Adam at his creation and Noah in his humiliation and their significantly different relationship to the earth, and many other echoes in gesture and pose, suggest that the artist invented visual equivalents to the complex play of verbal and narrative allusion characteristic of Egidio. The extraordinary structural logic of Michelangelo's architectural framework creates hierarchical relationships comparable not only to Augustinian structures in *The City of God*, but also to Egidio's preoccupation with parallel elements in higher and lower levels of reality. The compartmentalization of the Ceiling makes it possible to deploy the rich variety of figures and scenes in sets of three threes, of twelve, of ten, in four fours, and possibly in still other significant groupings—again in precise counterpart to the elaborate numerologies of Egidio's treatises. It is hard to imagine the invention of such visual relationships by anyone but an artist, or of such symbolic relationships by anyone not thoroughly versed in Augustine's theology. A relationship of collaborators seems to be implied.

One set of references to be found in the Ceiling is especially suggestive of both Michelangelo's artistic character and Egidio's special interests: the "quotations" from classical works of art. It has been shown that the gesture of one of Noah's daughters-in-law in the *Sacrifice* reflects that of Althea in Roman reliefs of the story of Meleager, burning the brand whose destruction was to coincide with the death of her son; and that the configuration of Adam, Eve, and the forbidden tree in the *Temptation* is patterned after a scene on a Roman altar representing Hercules plucking the golden apples of the Hesperides.[158] Such classical quotations from visual sources are, of course, extremely common in Renaissance art; they occur in a number of earlier works by Michelangelo. What is at least less recognized, and perhaps also less common, is the use of such classical references to elaborate symbolic meanings, in the manner of Egidio's *Sententiae*. In the case of these two quotations, the mythological actions are so apt for the figurative reading of the scenes in which they occur as to suggest that the artist was working with a scholar like Egidio, who used ancient myths to express Christian theological concepts. For if, as argued above, the *Sacrifice of Noah* stands both for the sacrifice of Christ and for the Church's reenactment of that sacrifice in the Eucharist, the reference to the hero's mother who gives her son over to death would be an appropriate figure of Mary-Ecclesia accepting the death of Christ. The typological correspondence of the tree of death and the Tree of Life is reinforced by the reference to Hercules—invoked as Hercules Savior on at least one Roman altar with this configuration—in one of the Labors whose theme is his conquest of death. "Golden" is a recurrent metaphor for Christ and for divine grace in Egidio's writings, and he cites the myth of the Hesperides as illustrating the liberating power of divine love.[159] Here, then, the artist's formal inspiration from ancient art, and the theologian's invention of symbolic correspondences with ancient myth, are fused in the Ceiling's imagery.

A degree of personal identification with the program and its meaning may help explain the tone of Michelangelo's account in the letter to Fattucci, and the fact that he painted the Ceiling from entrance to altar

[158] These two quotations were recognized by Ernst Gombrich ("A Classical Quotation in Michelangelo's *Sacrifice of Noah*," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, 1937, 69) and Avraham Ronen ("An Antique Prototype for Michelangelo's Fall of Man," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXIII, 1974, 356–57) respectively. Hartt (1950, 185) suggests the connection between Althea's brand and Christ's death.

Ronen's source is a drawing and description by Pirro Ligorio of a relief Pirro locates in Benevento, inscribed ΗΡΑΚΛΗ CΩΤΗΡΙ (Cat. No. 60 in E. Mandowsky and Charles Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities*, London, 1963). The same configuration, although with a different inscription, occurs on a *cippus* now in the Lateran Museum, which was in S. Rufino in the 15th century (Mandowsky-Mitchell, Cat. No. 34).

[159] For Egidio's associations with the term "golden," cf. the *Libellus*, *passim*; and *Sententiae*, fol. 38v, 139r, 164v, 180v, 183r, 207r; and for the Hesperides, *Sententiae*, fol. 165r.

end, backwards in the literal reading but forward in the allegorical, from the start of the redemptive scheme to the events of the end of time. The Pope's continued patronage of Egidio throughout this period demonstrates his approval of the symbolic structures elaborated for papal commissions as early as the *Libellus* of 1507–08. Egidio's involvement might make it easy to understand why Julius deferred, apparently without hesitation, to Michelangelo's desire for a richer program.

Egidio's concern to demonstrate true theological insights in the pagan myths, his Kabbalistic studies, his restatements of the relationship of Jew and Gentile within the Church in such imaginative metaphors as the horse between ox and ass, are part of a larger pattern in his life, as a searcher in both unfamiliar Hebrew religious writings and Greek theological tradition. Reflections of the special character of Egidio's concerns and beliefs are especially evident in the remaining subjects of the Ceiling. These, although they can be coordinated with the Augustinian scheme of the central narrative scenes, are less directly dependent on Augustine's writings.

(Part II of this article will appear in the September issue.)

Cornell University

List of Frequently Cited Sources and Authorities

SOURCES

Works available in the *Patrologia Latina (Pat. Lat.)*, ed. J. P. Migne, are cited from that edition, with the section designations used there.

Biblical quotations (in single quotation marks) follow the Douai translation. Familiar English forms are used for Prophets' and Patriarchs' names, however, in preference to those in Douai. References to the Psalms are to the numbering of the Hebrew Bible (and most Reformation and post-Reformation translations), with the Septuagint (and Vulgate and Douai) numbering in parentheses, thus: Psalm 12 (1xx.11).

The following are the works of Saint Augustine most frequently cited. Translations quoted in the text or notes follow each listing; where none is indicated, translations are my own. Texts cited are also available in the following Renaissance edition, among others: *Opera*, 11 vols., Amerbach, Basel, 1506. Several of the texts included in that collected edition of Augustine's works had been published by Amerbach over the preceding decade and a half, e.g., *De Civitate Dei* (1489), *De Trinitate* (1489), *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (1489), *Epistolae* (1493).

Augustine, *Confessionum Libri XIII; Pat. Lat.* 32:659–868; *Confessions*, trans. Vernon J. Bourke, *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, XXI, New York, 1953

———, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum Libri XXXIII; Pat. Lat.* 42:207–518

———, *De Civitate Dei Contra Paganos Libri XXII, Pat. Lat.* 41:13–804; *Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans*, trans. Henry Bettenson, Baltimore and Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1972

———, *De Genesi ad Litteram Liber Imperfectus; Pat. Lat.* 34:219–246

———, *De Genesi ad Litteram Libri XII; Pat. Lat.* 34:246–486

———, *De Genesi Contra Manichaeos Libri II; Pat. Lat.* 34:173–220

———, *De Trinitate Libri XV; Pat. Lat.* 42:819–1098; *The Trinity*, trans. Stephen McKenna, C.SS.R., *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, XLV, Washington, D.C., 1963

———, *Enarrationes in Psalmos; Pat. Lat.* 36, 37:67–1968; *St. Augustine on the Psalms*, trans. and annotated Scholastica Hebgin and Felicitas Corrigan, Westminster, Md., 1960–61 (Psalms 1–37 only)

———, *Epistolae; Pat. Lat.* 33:61–1094

———, *In Joannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV; Pat. Lat.* 35:1379–1976; *Homilies on the Gospel of John*, trans. Rev. John Gibb and Rev. James Innes, in *A Select Library of The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, VII, New York, 1888, 7–452

Antoninus, Saint, Archbishop of Florence, *Chronicon*, Basel, Kessler, 1491

———, *Summa Theologiae*, 4 vols., Nürnberg, Koburger, 1477–79.

Condivi, Ascanio, *La Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, ed. by Paolo d'Ancona, Milan, 1928

Egidio da Viterbo, *Historia XX Saeculorum per Totiden Psalmos Digesta*, ca. 1513–18, from MS Ang. Lat. 502

———, *Libellus de Aurea Aetate*, 1507–1508, from MS Evora CXVI/1–30, published in J. W. O'Malley, S.J., "Fulfillment of the Christian Golden Age Under Pope Julius II: Text of a Discourse of Giles of Viterbo, 1507," *Traditio*, XXV, 1969, 278–338.

———, *Sententiae ad Mentem Platonis*, ca. 1500–1512, from MS Ang. Lat. 636

Vasari, Giorgio, *La Vita di Michelangelo nelle redazioni del 1550 e del 1568*, ed. with notes Paola Barocchi, Milan and Naples, 1962

AUTHORITIES

Grabowski, Stanislaus, *The Church: An Introduction to the Theology of St. Augustine*, St. Louis and London, 1957

Hartt, Frederick, 1950, "*Lignum Vitae in Medio Paradisi:* The Stanza d'Eliodoro and the Sistine Ceiling," *Art Bulletin*, XXXII, 115–145, 181–218

——, 1951, "Pagnini, Vigerio and the Sistine Ceiling: A Reply," *Art Bulletin*, XXXIII, 262–273

——, 1965, *Michelangelo Buonarroti, Paintings*, New York

Kuhn, Rudolf, *Michelangelo, Die sixtinische Decke: Beiträge über ihre Quellen und zu ihrer Auslegung*, Berlin, 1975

Massa, Eugenio, *I fondamenti metafisici della "Dignitas Hominis,"* Turin, 1954

O'Malley, John W., S.J., 1968, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought*, Leiden.

——, 1969, "Fulfillment of the Christian Golden Age Under Julius II: Text of a Discourse of Giles of Viterbo, 1507," *Traditio*, XXV, 265–338

Seymour, Charles, Jr., *Michelangelo: The Sistine Chapel Ceiling*, New York, 1972

Sinding-Larsen, Staale, "A Re-Reading of the Sistine Ceiling," *Acta ad Archeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia*. IV, 1969, 143–157

Steinmann, Ernst, *Die Sixtinische Kappelle*, Munich, 1905

Tolnay, Charles de, *The Sistine Ceiling*, Princeton, 1945

Wind, Edgar, 1944, "Sante Pagnini and Michelangelo. A Study of the Succession of Savonarola," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 6e série, XXVI, 211–246

——, 1950, "The Ark of Noah: A Study in the Symbolism of Michelangelo," *Measure*, I, 411–421.

——, 1951, "Typology in the Sistine Ceiling: A Critical Statement," *Art Bulletin*, XXXIII, 41–47

——, 1960, "Maccabean Histories in the Sistine Ceiling," in *Italian Renaissance Studies*, ed. E. F. Jacob, London, 312–327

——, 1965, "Michelangelo's Prophets and Sibyls," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, LI, 47–84

Rubens and Aguilonius: New Points of Contact

Julius S. Held

The six books on optics by Father Franciscus Aguilonius (1567-1617), published in 1613 but approved by the censor on December 9, 1611, constitute the only volume for which Rubens not only designed a title page but also provided illustrations in the conventional sense of the word.[1] (Neither the plates added to the slim book of philological notes written by his brother Philip and published in 1608, nor the large engravings he designed for the Roman Breviary and Missal of 1614 are, strictly speaking, illustrations of the accompanying text; and a volume planned to contain illustrations of ancient gems never materialized during Rubens's lifetime.)[2]

We may assume that Rubens consented to design six large vignettes for the opening page of each book of Aguilonius's *Optics* not only as a favor to his friend Balthasar Moretus, soon to be sole publisher of the Plantinian Press, but because the subject itself was of interest to him. The artist is known to have occupied himself with theoretical problems, but not much of these studies has been preserved.[3] The Aguilonius vignettes, in fact, are delightful as designs (and ably engraved by Theodoor Galle) and also render complex scientific actions and experiments with utmost clarity.[4] It stands to reason that for some time Rubens and Aguilonius must have been in close contact; and just as the first great manual on optics must have been of considerable interest to Rubens, so the learned Jesuit surely was aware of the intellectual capacity and outstanding artistic talent of the painter, ten years his junior.

No wonder that scholars have not been content with studying merely the prints Rubens contributed to Aguilonius's *Optics* but have also tried to see whether the oeuvre of the artist shows traces or reflections of some of the theoretical positions assumed by the author. It was Charles Parkhurst[5] who first suggested that in his choice of the principal colors in the painting the *Death of Argus* (Cologne), Rubens had followed the color scheme that Aguilonius described and rendered in a diagram accompanying Proposition 39 in his book (p. 40). In the center of that diagram are placed the three primary colors (yellow, red, and blue), each one connected by arched lines with the value extremes of black and white, while below them are the three composite hues (orange, purple, and green), each connected equally by lines with the respective primary colors from which they are derived. Although Aguilonius distinguishes between the colors as optical phenomena and the physical pigments used by painters in their effort to reproduce them, Parkhurst, who was well aware of this distinction, nevertheless made his thesis persuasive since Rubens's picture belongs chronologically to the period of his closest contacts with Aguilonius, and also because the main action of the painting, the transfer of Argus's eyes to the tail of Juno's peacock, involves the organ of sight, *pars corporis pretiosissima*, in Aguilonius's words, the faculty to which the entire first book is dedicated. Parkhurst wisely left open the question whether the color system here outlined was developed by Aguilonius himself or in conjunction with Rubens; the scholar also considered the

[1] *Francisci Aguilonii e Societate Iesu Opticorum Libri Sex*, Antwerp, 1613.

[2] Some of the engravings destined for that publication were included in a book by Rubens's son Albert (*De Re Vestiaria Veterum . . . Libri Duo*), published posthumously in Antwerp in 1665.

[3] A lost notebook containing such studies has in part been reconstructed by Michael Jaffé, *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook*, London, 1966, *passim*. This aspect of Rubens's personality is given emphasis by Caspar Gevaerts (Gevartius) in the text of the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Antwerp, 1642 (p. 171), when he compares him to the Athenian painter Metrodorus whom the consul L. Paullus Aemilius employed for his triumph; the Roman consul had asked the Athenians to recommend a philosopher and a painter but was satisfied with Metrodorus who in the judgment of his fellow-citizens qualified on both counts. Gevartius continued: "Magnificum quidem istud Plinij de Metrodoro Elogium est; at eximiae ac singulares Rubenij virtutes maius sibi merito deposcant. Cuius in universa litteratura, encyclioque Mathematum omnium studio sit absolutissimus rerumque gerendarum solertia ubique spectatissimus." (This is a magnificent praise for Metrodorus, as reported by Pliny; yet the outstanding and singular virtues of Rubens justly demand an even greater one, as he has perfect knowledge of literature, and all the sciences, and is everywhere respected for his expert knowledge of public affairs.)

[4] See Wolfgang Jaeger, *Die Illustrationen von Peter Paul Rubens zum Lehrbuch der Optik des Franciscus Aguilonius, 1613*, Heidelberg, 1976. For Rubens's activity as illustrator of books, particularly his designs of title pages, see the exhibitions of this material held in 1977 in Williamstown, Mass. and Antwerp. The catalogue of the first (*Rubens and the Book*), ed. J. S. Held, contains contributions by students in the graduate program in the history of art at Williams College. The catalogue of the second (*P. P. Rubens als Boekillustrator*) is the work of J. Richard Judson and Carl van de Velde. I regret to say that an article on Rubens's illustrations for Aguilonius's book by E.G. Lisenkov (*State Hermitage Museum Yearbook*, III, Leningrad, 1949, 49-60) has not been accessible to me.

[5] Charles Parkhurst, "Aguilonius' Optics and Rubens' Color," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XII, 1961, 35–49.

third and I believe most likely possibility, that it was essentially derived from older sources. Aguilonius, in fact, includes Aristotle and Pliny among his references.

Ten years after Parkhurst's study, Michael Jaffé[6] turned to the same question, claiming that Rubens had—in fact "didactically"—applied every color of Aguilonius's diagram in his *Annunciation to the Virgin* (Vienna) in addition to his painting of Juno and Argus. Since the subject matter in this case, unlike the myth of Argus's death, has no recognizable connection with the sense of sight to which the first book of Aguilonius's *Optics* is dedicated, Jaffé seems to be implying that Rubens adopted the color scheme described by Aguilonius because the picture was intended for the oratory of the professed house of the Antwerp Jesuits where Aguilonius was a teacher of mathematics (and, later, rector until his death). It seems to me that such a claim could be substantiated only if it can be shown that a fair distribution of the principal hues of Aguilonius's scheme cannot also be found in other paintings by the master not connected in any way with the Antwerp Jesuits and their learned mathematician. At any rate, Jaffé is hard put to make his point. Yellow, for instance, he finds only in the glory of the Holy Spirit and the angel's hair; and although he correctly states that no liturgy prescribed that the angel's wings should be done in black and white, he might also have added that these are the colors Rubens habitually used for the wings of eagles, surely the best models for the wings of one of the archangels. In view of Aguilonius's own distinction between the colors we see and the pigments that painters use, even Jaffé's naming of the colors in the Vienna picture in terms of Aguilonius's schematized diagram (*albus, flavus, rubeus, caeruleus, niger, aureus, purpureus,* and *viridis*) seems to be rather problematical. Only a thorough study of Rubens's approach to color in the light of existing color theories can provide an answer to such questions; as far as I know, no one has as yet undertaken such a study.[7]

The section of Jaffé's article concerning the reflection of Aguilonius's color theory in Rubens's work is actually appended and clearly subordinate to a more thoroughly argued publication of two paintings that, in the author's opinion, are Rubens's "tribute" to Aguilonius's book and its author. The two paintings accepted as Rubens's work by Jaffé evidently deal with aspects of optics and are indeed related to activities depicted in two of the vignettes that Rubens had contributed to Aguilonius's book. The first one (Fig. 1)[8] recalls the vignette at the opening of Book Two of Aguilonius's *Optics (De Radio Optico et Horoptere,* Fig. 2). But whereas in the vignette the surveyors' tools are expertly handled and their function is made perfectly clear, the action in the painting is largely meaningless. Jaffé himself admits that it is difficult to say at what object the central figure sights through the aperture of his cursor; neither can we tell the aim of the crouching man with the diopter (not a circumferentor, as Jaffé calls it), although it has surely nothing to do with the obelisk near the center and the "difference in azimuth" between it and "the mark" (no further explanation is given). More surprising still is the author's explanation of the action of the man with the telescope which, as he says, "only makes sense" if its focus is the gold orb on top of the circular temple. Yet the prolongation of the telescope leads to a spot far above that object. Leaving aside the question of the style and the quality of this obviously damaged painting, it seems to me inconceivable that Rubens's "tribute" to Aguilonius should be so devoid of scientific precision and logic—and this about twelve years (Jaffé thinks) after the period in which Rubens had personally associated with the great mathematician. Given the virtually unique subject, I still believe (although Jaffé has since rejected it) that the painting could well be identical with one described in an inventory of 1653: "een stucxsken met Mathemathici die eenen tempel affmeten van van Hoeck" (a small piece with mathematicians who survey a temple, by Van Hoeck).[9]

The case made by Jaffé is not any better for the companion piece (Fig. 3).[10] Here the action is obviously related to the vignette preceding Book Six of Aguilonius's *Optics* (Fig. 4). Aguilonius was convinced that Book Six was the most important part of the entire opus; it is certainly the longest.[11] In the introduction *(argumentum)*, he goes to great lengths to make clear that the science of planimetric projection is indispensible in the study of astronomy, cosmography, architecture,

[6] Michael Jaffé, "Rubens and Optics: Some Fresh Evidence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XXXIV, 1971, 362–66.

[7] For other 17th-century color theories, see Allan Ellenius, *De Arte Pingendi,* Uppsala and Stockholm, 1960. 180–83.

[8] Cradled panel, 54.5 x 61.5cm. In note 5 of his article, Jaffé mentions two recent restorations, the second, in his opinion, more successful than the first. Our reproduction shows the painting without any of these modern improvements.

[9] See the catalogue of the Williamstown exhibition, pp. 24–25; for Jaffé's rejection see the *Burlington Magazine,* CXX, 1978, 144. For the inventory, see J. Denucé, *De Antwerpsche 'Konstkamers', Inventarissen van Kunstverzamelingen te Antwerpen in de 16e en 17e Eeuwen,* Antwerp, 1932, 155.

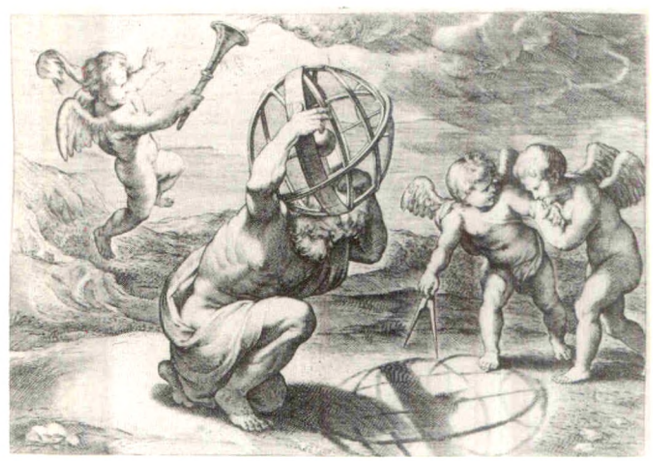
[10] Panel, 58 x 76.3cm. The burnt mark of Antwerp can be seen on the upper one of the two boards making up the picture. I am indebted to E. Speelman, London, for permitting me to examine the painting (1967).

[11] Aguilonius expressed his own assessment of the importance of Book Six in the opening phrase of that section: "Tametsi fateri oportet, ea quae superioribus quinque libris sunt pertractata, magnam habere et voluptatem et utilitatem; haec tamen pars, quae de Proiecturis est, longe habet maximam" (although it must be granted that what has been investigated in the previous five books gives much [intellectual] pleasure and profit, yet this section, which deals with Projections, provides both to the highest degree by far).

1 Unknown artist (J. van den Hoecke?), *Geographers with Measuring Instruments*. Present whereabouts unknown (reproduced in cleaned condition)

3 Unknown artist (J. van den Hoecke?), *Scientists Examining a Shadow Projection*. Present whereabouts unknown

2 Peter Paul Rubens, Vignette to Book Two of Aguilonius's *Optics, De Radio Optico et Horoptere*, engraving by Theodoor Galle



4 Peter Paul Rubens, Vignette to Book Six of Aguilonius's *Optics, De Proiectionibus*, engraving by Theodoor Galle.

warfare, navigation, and, last but not least, the art of painting. Discussing astronomy, he makes the point that the usefulness of planimetric projections is unlimited in contrast to the various three-dimensional instruments (such as astrolabs) which are not always handy or accurate. Nevertheless, even they were great achievements, beginning with the first accurately made celestial spheres, supposedly invented by Atlas, "qui cum illud postea Graecos docuisset, magnam inde consecutus est gloriam quod coelum velut humeris sublatum in Graeciam deportasset" (who having instructed the Greeks in its use, attained great fame for having brought Heaven down into Greece, carrying it, as it were, on his shoulders). The subsequent perfection of the armillary sphere is credited to Archimedes, in accordance with a passage in Claudianus's epigrams (No. 21). The massive figure crouching on the ground in Rubens's print is certainly Atlas *coelum humeris tollens* (not "a scholar in the guise of Atlas," as the catalogue of the Antwerp exhibition has it).[12] With intense intellectual concentration, Atlas looks at the shadow that the armillary sphere on his shoulders casts on the ground, owing to the light of a burning torch held by a flying genius above and behind him. By this simple

[12] See Judson-Van de Velde, 26, No. 3.

5 C. Schut, *Allegory of Astrology,* etching

device of an instantaneous planimetric projection, Rubens ties the origins of scientific astronomy to the subject of the book announced in the title directly above the print, *De Proiectonibus,* but also, in an ingenious way, to a particular section of the book entitled *De Umbrarum Scenographicis Proiecturis,* possibly because Rubens himself was interested in the problem of shadow projection.[13] The composition is completed by two additional genii, one of whom, carrying a divider, appears to explain the virtue of planimetric projection to a duly impressed companion.

By introducing Atlas himself into the image and thus shifting the action into a timeless sphere, Rubens consciously removed it from the concrete scientific procedures depicted in the preceding five vignettes, where they were carried on in a rationally defined environment by typical scholars, albeit with the aid of eager and scientifically interested putti. Both Aguilonius and Rubens knew, or course, that tracing the shadows of an armillary sphere—or of any other object—is only a crude way of obtaining a planimetric projection; Aguilonius mentions the method only once, in passing, and as a mere experiment, in his *Praenotationes* to his discussion of the different types of projections (Section 5, pp. 494f.). Yet although the procedure depicted in Rubens's print lacks scientific reliability, it is at least rendered convincingly on its own terms: the artist (and his engraver) took care to relate the shadows correctly to the light accounting for them; the flame of the torch, the armillary sphere, and its shadows are lined up along one oblique axis, and the shadows are shown as far in front of the sphere as the torch is behind it.

All this is very different in the painting (Fig. 3). The action has been shifted to a human level and now three earnest people—ancient philosophers, no doubt—look at and are measuring the shadow of a complex astronomical sphere, projected on the ground with the aid of a crude firebrand held above it by a younger man. If, as I suspect, one of them is intended to be Archimedes, the painter of the picture hardly did justice to the scientific acumen of the great Syracusan. Whereas in Rubens's engraving the divider is only held but not used by the putto to indicate the central role played by this tool in constructing projections scientifically, in the painting one man actually uses the device apparently to take measurements from the shadows on the floor. Yet, unlike those in the engraving, the outlines of the shadows are painted so vaguely that they are practically useless for such a purpose. The shadow area, furthermore, is seen directly below the sphere, despite the fact that the source of light is off to the side; if Rubens did paint the picture, he must have forgotten what he had known when he drew the vignette about twelve years earlier. I do not consider myself competent to discuss the sphere itself, suspended in the center of the picture, but with its many concentric circles it is evidently a very different object from the standard armillary sphere as depicted in Rubens's print or, for instance, in Cornelis Schut's etching, *Astrology* (Fig. 5). Neither does it resemble any of the terrestrial and celestial spheres diagrammatically illustrated in the many admirable woodcuts interspersed in Aguilonius's book. If one notes, further, that its place in depth is ambiguous (it seems almost to sit on the central post of the balustrade in the rear); that the boringly symmetrical architecture is very un-Rubensian; and that the clumsy figures with their plump hands and feet have no analogies in the artist's oeuvre, one is led to conclude that this painting, too, has no place in the canon of Rubens's work. (In the inventory listing of the "Mathematici" by Van Hoeck, mentioned before, that entry [No. 24] was followed by No. 25: "Eenen Archimethes die gedoot wort van van Hoeck." Van Hoeck must evidently be reckoned with as a painter of pseudo-scientific historical subjects.)

Therefore, whereas the two paintings published by Jaffé fail to increase our knowledge concerning the contacts between Rubens and Aguilonius, two rather different observations may add new support to the assumption that the painter was well acquainted with the contents of the manual on optics by the Antwerp Jesuit.

In his fifth book (*De Luminoso et Opaco*), Aguilonius concerned himself at considerable length with the perception of shadow (*De Umbris,* 423-443). Having defined the nature of shadow as "diminished light," he describes the different appearance and degree of luminosity in cast shadows (especially when the lights are mul-

[13] See Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann, "The Perspective of Shadows: The History of the Theory of Shadow Projection," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XXXVIII, 1975, 258–287. I am grateful to Dr. Kaufmann for having reminded me of his article and for having made valuable suggestions after reading my manuscript.

tiplied), distinguishing between the uniformly dark "core"-section of shadows and the increasingly lighter marginal areas (*umbra perfecta* versus *umbra diminuta* or *imperfecta*).

It is in this connection that Aguilonius speaks of an optical phenomenon in words that bring to mind the inscription Rubens placed on a lovely, if slight, study of trees at sunset, reflected on the smooth surface of water (British Museum, Gg. 2-229) (Fig. 6). Recorded without any comment by Hind and Glück-Haberditzl, and misunderstood by Evers,[14] the work was given a brief study in my book on Rubens's drawings.[15] Sensing the interest of the touches of red chalk, I insisted that the drawing be reproduced in color (opposite p. 80). John Rowlands included it in his exhibition of Rubens's sketches and drawings and discussed it in the catalogue.[16]

Rubens's inscription (poorly translated on the same sheet either by J. Richardson, Senior or his son) reads: "de boomen weder-schyn[en] In het Wadter bruynder ende veel perfecter in het Wadter als de boomen selvde." Rowlands translated it: "The reflection of the trees in the water is darker and clearer in the water than the trees themselves." In my translation I kept the puzzling word "perfecter" (as "more perfect") with the addition of a parenthetical "clear?" My chief comment was that Rubens "here reveals his keen observation and an inclination toward theoretical problems"; Rowlands put the stress on Rubens's "interest in the precise recording of nature." Neither I nor anyone else gave further thought to the curious text, being satisfied with considering it the artist's spontaneous reaction to an observed optical effect.

It is therefore of great interest that a comparable statement is found in the fifth book of Aguilonius's *Optics*, under the heading "PROPOSITIO LXV. THEOREMA./Umbra corpori opaco propinquior, obscurior est; et longè etiam quam reipsa sit, obscurior apparet" (p. 427 E-F). (The closer the shadow is to an opaque body, the darker it is; and it appears to be even darker than the thing itself.) It is his explanation of the second part of this *Theorema* that is pertinent here. (In his discussion of the first half Aguilonius takes issue with Proposition 31 of the second book on optics by the medieval Polish scholar Witelo which had been published in 1535 and again in 1572.) The short paragraph given to this phenomenon reads:

> Now the other part of the proposition remains to be explained, namely that the shadow near an opaque body appears darker than the thing itself. Since shadow is a diminished light compared to the stronger light which surrounds it (according to the twelfth definition of this book), the brighter the surrounding light, the more it dulls the observer's sight and the more fully will it darken that which is [already] reduced. Thus the shadow will appear darker than the thing itself.[17]

The observation that under certain conditions the shadow of a thing appears darker than the thing itself is associated by Aguilonius with the psychological effect of contrast. It is well known that a field surrounded by a very bright area appears darker than it would without that foil, just as, for that matter, it would appear lighter if surrounded by a darker field. Aguilonius formulated his *Theorema* without reference to any specific objects in nature, and it may be no more than coincidence that in the twelfth definition (p. 361), to which he refers, he had in fact mentioned the shadow of trees; there the context, however, had been the harmful effect that the shadows of some trees may have on human health.

I am naturally aware that Aguilonius's "shadow" is a different thing from the reflection in water of Rubens's remark. Yet there is one circumstance when that cast shadow and the reflected image of the object coincide: when the place of the beholder, the object he sees on the far side of the water, and the light behind that object are all located on a straight line. And this is precisely the condition depicted in Rubens's drawing (Fig. 6). His observation was probably helped because the light source, as can clearly be seen in the drawing, was not a well-defined small area but rather a broad band (drawn by him in red chalk) along the horizon. In fact, I believe the phenomenon he considered worthy also to be recorded in writing is true *only* under these specific conditions, when the bright light of the evening sky is reflected along with the trees in front of it. I doubt that Rubens's remark should be read to mean—as I believe it has generally been taken—that the reflection of trees (or of solid objects in general) on the surface of water is *always* darker than the objects themselves.

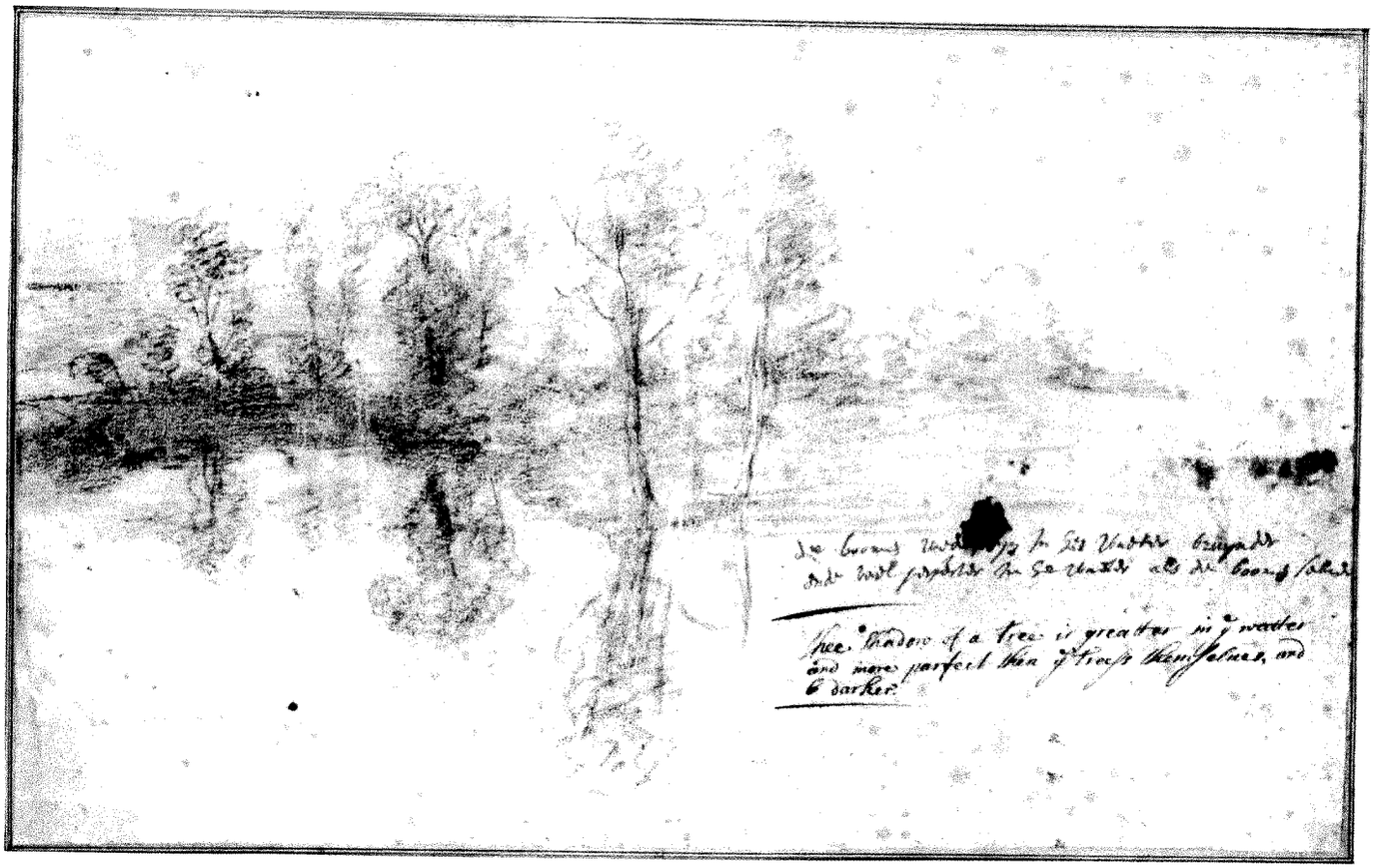
When Rubens drew the trees and their reflection many years after his association with Aguilonius and his book on optics, the painter surely did not intend to verify points made by the learned Jesuit. Yet with that marvelously retentive memory of his, he may well have recalled the passage about the effect of contrast described by Aguilonius. The connection can, I believe, be supported by one additional argument. Rubens's

[14] A. M. Hind, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists . . . in the British Museum*, II, London, 1923, No. 108; G. Glück and F. M. Haberditzl, *Die Handzeichnungen von Peter Paul Rubens*, Berlin, 1928, No. 171; H. G. Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Munich, 1942, 434.

[15] Julius S. Held, *Rubens Selected Drawings*, London, 1959, 45–46 and No. 135.

[16] John Rowlands, *Rubens, Drawings and Sketches*, London, 1977, No. 195.

[17] "Nunc explicanda superest altera propositionis pars, quod videlicet circa opacum corpus umbra obscurior etiam quam re ipsa sit, appareat. Cum umbra lumen sit imminutum, maioris quod circumstat luminis comparatione, per. 12. huius libri definitionem: quo excellentius erit circumstans lumen, eo efficacius perstringet intuentium acies, uberiusque id quod minus est obfuscabit. obscurius ergo hoc, quam reipsa sit, apparebit."



6 Peter Paul Rubens, *Landscape at Sunset*, drawing. London, British Museum

choice of the word "perfecter" had always puzzled me and has never been explained. It was ignored by Rowlands who accepted my tentative interpretation ("clear?") but without its qualification. Yet as we have seen before, the word *perfect* plays a central role in Aguilonius's discussion of the different degrees of darkness in cast shadows. The darkest part is called *umbra perfecta*, and this expression must have been in Rubens's mind when he wrote that the reflection of the trees is "bruynder ende veel perfecter" in the water than the trees themselves. (*Bruynder* is the usual word for darker.) Thus, what he recorded on the London sheet is that, under the conditions prevailing as he looked at the scenery, the reflections of the trees were as *uniformly* dark (and even darker than the trees) as the core of the shadows in Aguilonius's demonstration.[18]

Just as the brief note about the reflection of trees in water, seen against a glowing sky, had hitherto been taken as nothing but a spontaneous reaction by a keen observer, another and even more celebrated word of Rubens's has been accepted as a highly personal and boldly confident self-appraisal of an artist who knew his own capabilities. It is found in a letter (unfortunately known only from a French translation) that Rubens wrote on September 13, 1621, to William Trumbull, the English agent resident in Brussels. Having been informed of the plan to provide the new Banqueting House at Whitehall with paintings, he made a forthright effort to obtain the commission. "As regards the hall in the new palace," he wrote, "I confess that by a natural instinct I am better fitted to make large works than small curiosities. Everyone according to his gifts; my talent is such, that no undertaking, no matter how huge in size and variety of subject has ever exceeded my courage."[19]

Proud words, and fully justified in a man who had just placed thirty-nine paintings on the ceiling of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp. But the statement involves

[18] Van Mander had already called special attention to the differences in the appearance of reflections in water. See Karel van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, ed. Hessel Miedema, with commentary, Utrecht, 1973, I, 201 (57); II, 512.

[19] C. Ruelens and M. Rooses, *Correspondance de Rubens et documents epistolaires*, II, Antwerp, 1898, 286–87. See also Ruth S. Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, Cambridge, 1955, 77 and 446–47.

more than Rubens intended to say about himself in this particular situation, when he hoped to obtain one of the most desirable commissions for a large-scale piece of decoration. Implied is a belief that an artist's work will be successful to the degree that it reflects and is in harmony with a "natural instinct." In his own case, that innate preference (the "ingenium" of art theory) urged him to work on the largest scale; and, happily, his heart was stout enough to tackle any such commission—one might even say, to relish it.

There is a passage in Aguilonius's book on optics that immediately brings this statement to mind. It is found in the last theorem of the third book (p. 194D), as part of a none-too-original disquisition on the nature of beauty and ugliness. The author tries to make the point that there is a direct correlation between the nature of an artist and the character of his work. In this endeavor he distinguishes different types of artists, each one producing works fitting his personal character and inclination. This is how the index of Aguilonius's book identifies them: "Painters who by nature are phlegmatic depict even fierce subjects with a certain restraint and sweetness./Painters by nature melancholic aim in their work at gravity./Painters feeble of heart express little themes in a small picture./Painters whose mind is noble delight chiefly in large shapes."[20]

The text is slightly more detailed:

> Finally, according to general opinion, that is certainly esteemed as the more distinguished and more honorable which corresponds more to each individual's character and inclination. The examples [proofs?] of this fact are nowhere more manifest than in painting. Thus by nature the melancholics aim at gravity in everything; the gentle and phlegmatic ones at a certain restraint, even in fierce subjects; those whose temperament is spirited and bold paint large shapes [*figuras*], noble gestures, profuse vestments, and render everything with greater power and energy. Those whose spirit is feeble and whose heart is low will be more pleased with small forms in which they render subjects maimed and abridged. For certainly the kind of thing which each individual conceives in his mind according to the inclination of his own nature will also please and captivate him and he [will] depict, select, and praise it before everything else.[21]

It is obviously not only the underlying concept of a close correspondence between an artist's nature and the nature of his art that connects Rubens's self-appraisal with Aguilonius's text. There should be no doubt that in his letter to Trumbull, Rubens described himself in terms of one of the four basic types Aguilonius had distinguished—the third in the text, the fourth of the index; neither should we be astonished that Aguilonius contrasted this large-minded painter to the feeble-hearted producers of small pictures, just as Rubens draws a clear line between his own art and the "small curiosities" done by painters with other (meaning lesser) gifts.[22]

Since there are exactly four types of artist in Aguilonius's statement, and since he identified two of them as representatives of the melancholic and phlegmatic humors, we may wonder if the entire scheme should not be read in light of the theory of the four temperaments. A straightforward application, however, is not possible: the choleric temperament is obviously absent. Yet it seems to me that the artist "whose temperament is spirited and bold" can be associated—and probably was so by Aguilonius—with the happiest of humors, the sanguine. Following up this thought, we may ask if Rubens might have been thinking of himself as a representative of the sanguine temperament when he characterized himself in his letter of 1621. There are other personal statements in his letters that could be quoted in support of this theory.

Yet the words of both Aguilonius and Rubens are obviously also related to another concept familiar in theoretical pronouncements on the arts: the doctrine of the "genres." When Rubens said that he was better fitted to execute large paintings than small curiosities, he surely had not only physical size in mind but also the subjects that alone are worthy to be so treated: dignified and heroic actions. Aguilonius's words, too, leave no doubt that the painter whose "ingenium" is "acre et audax" would by preference deal with themes commensurate with his nature. And with their disdain

[20] "Pictores natura phlegmatici quandam etiam in rebus ferocibus modestiam et suavitatem exprimunt./Pictores natura melancholici gravitatem in operibus affectant./Pictores qui angusto sunt pectore, res parvas exili tabella comprehendunt./Pictores quibus generosus est animus, magnis figuris praecipue delectantur."

[21] "Denique ex hominum opinione illud omnino excellentius augustiusque existimatur, quod uniuscuiusque ingenio ac propensioni magis est accommodatum. Cuius rei exempla in nulla re clarius, quam in pictoria elucent. Natura enim melancholici gravitatem in omnibus affectant, mansueti ac phlegmatici quamdam etiam in rebus ferocibus modestiam ac suavitatem: quorum ingenium acre et audax, hi figuras magnas, gestus liberales, vestes profusas, et omni majore efficacia atque energia depingunt: quibus angustus est animus, pectusque suppressum, his parvae figurae magis arrident, in quibus res ipsas mutilas contractasque efformant. Qualia nempe unusquisque animo concipit iuxta naturae inclinationem, talibus delectatur et capitur, eademque prae ceteris sibi effingit, deligit atque collaudat."

[22] It is regrettable that owing to the loss of Rubens's original formulation of the letter, we do not know what expression he had used where the translator put "small curiosities." We do not even know what language Rubens used writing to Trumbull since the two letters to Trumbull preserved are known only in translation; it is likely, however, that Rubens wrote in Italian, just as he did in his correspondence with Sir Dudley Carleton. Many years later Samuel van Hooghstraten used the words "kleyne beuzelingen" (trifles) in a similar context (Samuel van Hooghstraten, *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst*, Rotterdam, 1678, 77.)

for works on a small scale, both surely espoused the idea that base, unworthy subjects go with limited formats.[23] Consciously or not, the argument probably also worked the other way: a painter opting for works on a large scale and for the subjects going with it proclaimed himself to be a man of noble spirit and high aspirations (rather as, at a later time, an artist assuming a melancholy pose would thereby make sure that he was recognized as a genius). With ideas and information derived from Horace and Pliny, various Renaissance authors had touched on the subject of different categories of art,[24] but I wonder if the "academic prejudice" was ever as closely tied to the actual size of the works as in Rubens's and Aguilonius's statements.[25] It was only in the course of the seventeenth century and with the ascendency of the academies that a fixed value-scale of "genres" was established; but even then, it was the subject depicted, not the size of the picture, that decided the ranking.

Although recognizing the conventional elements in Rubens's self-appraisal, we ought not to overlook what it reveals of his most personal ambitions. In fact, the modern art historian would probably give less credit to a "natural instinct" to explain Rubens's preference for large-scale paintings and concomitant subjects, than to his admiration for and study of the monumental art of the great Italian masters of the Renaissance and of his own time. To compete with them, and to establish in the North an art as large in scope and grand in themes as theirs, was his goal—and, we may say, his achievement. Rubens's letter to Trumbull was prompted (at least in part) by the hope of demonstrating again (and in a most prominent place) that he could rival anything a painter trained in Italy could do. It took about nine more years for him to obtain that commission; and there surely was no other painter available who could have adorned the Banqueting House with an equally grandiose set of pictures.

Admitting the close similarity between the passages quoted from Rubens's letter and Aguilonius's *Optics*, we must still explain it; that they should have been written independently of each other seems to me most unlikely, particularly since we know that at least for some time both men had been in fairly close contact. Yet, Parkhurst's dilemma is unresolved. Looking at the problem with respect to chronology alone, we would evidently have to assume that, consciously or not, Rubens followed formulations he remembered from Aguilonius's book. There is, however, a rather strong argument for a different solution. The description of the four types of painters comes at the very end of Aguilonius's third book; it is not very organically related to the arguments before, or the mere nine lines that follow. We ought to consider seriously the possibility that the short paragraph was interpolated into a preexistent text, and that it was his contact with the brilliant young artist recently returned from Rome, and some conversations he may have had with him, that prompted Aguilonius to insert the paragraph into a rather conventional Aristotelian discourse on the nature of the Beautiful and the Ugly.

Old Bennington, Vermont

[23] It hardly needs stressing that Rubens's disdain for painters of "small curiosities" echoes an aesthetic prejudice already known to antiquity: the Athenian painter Nikias disparaged the painters of small pieces depicting birds and flowers, as reported by Demetrius Phalereus (see also Charles Sterling, *Still Life Painting from Antiquity to the Present Time*, Paris, 1959, 12, 14).

[24] For the growth of "genres," see for instance E. H. Gombrich, "The Renaissance Theory of Art and the Rise of Landscape," in *Norm and Form*, London, 1966, 107–121, and by the same author, "Tradition and Expression in Western Still Life," in *Meditations on a Hobby Horse*, London, 1963, 95–105.

[25] Admiration for works of unusually large size is of course older; Vasari more than once praises works particularly for their large dimensions.

1 John Singleton Copley, *Watson and the Shark*, 1778. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Politics, Prints, and John Singleton Copley's *Watson and the Shark**

Ann Uhry Abrams

John Singleton Copley's *Watson and the Shark* (Fig. 1) dramatizes an incident of 1749 when fourteen-year-old Brook Watson lost his leg to a shark swimming in Havana harbor.[1] The stark white body of Watson, back arched, arm upraised, and head tilted back, shares the foreground with an unusually large shark. Nine men in a crowded rowboat are engaged in a rescue operation. Two lean over the side in an attempt to save Watson; another shouts directions. A harpooner poises his weapon above the shark while a black man holds the

* Portions of this paper were presented at the Northeast American Society for 18th Century Studies in October, 1978. I am indebted to Theodore Stebbins of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for his helpful comments and suggestions; and to Linda Hyman and Elliott Mackle for their encouragement and assistance.

[1] The original painting is now in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C.; another large version from 1778 is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; and a smaller vertical version is in the Detroit Institute of Arts. A third, smaller oil sketch at the Metropolitan Museum has been attributed to Copley. John Caldwell, Assistant Curator at the Museum, has now positively identified the painting as a copy made by Copley between the Washington and Boston versions.

towline. The scene is marked by contrasts: the dark, powerful shark attacks the pale, helpless boy; the turbulent sea lashes the seemingly stationary boat; the black man stands majestically apart from the white crew. With its two triangular configurations, the composition is at once schematically rational and structurally illogical. Indeed, the peculiar combination of Baroque drama and unorthodox subject matter produces a puzzling yet compelling picture.

Traditionally, scholars have agreed that the painting is simply a recreation of the unfortunate accident that maimed the London merchant Brook Watson in his youth.[2] This viewpoint has been recently challenged, however, by Irma Jaffe and Roger Stein,[3] both of whom have presented evidence to prove that the painting contains a complex scheme of theoretical and aesthetic references extending far beyond the surface narrative of Watson's accident. Jaffe explores religious symbolism by relating Watson's nudity, the boat at sea, and the crosses in the harbor background to biblical parables. She makes some interesting associations with Raphael's and Rubens's versions of *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes;* and clearly the triangular configuration in Raphael's tapestry cartoon (then in Buckingham House, London) parallels that of the rescuers in Copley's painting. Jaffe concludes that the figure of Watson represents naked innocence reaching for salvation through the redemptive strength of the Church. Stein, on the other hand, explains that the painting marks a transition between earlier stylistic traditions and a new type of characteristic American seascape painting, noting how Copley synthesized the Neoclassical aesthetics and Puritan traditions that he had learned and inherited.

Both fine studies establish the groundwork for the explorations presented in this essay. At the end of her article, Jaffe suggests that the painting "can be seen to have political connotations."[4] This article follows her suggestion, and concerns the relationship between the painting, done in 1778, and the American Revolution then in progress. In line with Stein's observations on the variety of empirical and sensory data that Copley accumulated, I will investigate the influences of popular images on the composition and iconography of *Watson and the Shark*. The provocative socio-cultural observations of Jaffe and Stein can be anchored, I believe, to specific information, namely the influence of eighteenth-century prints on the development of Copley's painting.

The importance of reproductive and original prints to painting in the eighteenth century cannot be overemphasized, for they served as a common means of artistic education. Provincial artists depended upon engraved reproductions for their knowledge of the great masters, and upon original etchings for examples of accepted techniques of drawing and printmaking. In fact, Copley was indoctrinated into art by learning the intricacies of printmaking from his stepfather, Peter Pelham, one of Boston's leading engravers. In Pelham's studio, Copley learned the techniques of engraving, studied mezzotint reproductions of European works, and met Boston's leading artists who brought their paintings to Pelham for reproduction.[5] Not surprisingly, two of Copley's first works, the mythological allegories *Galatea* and *The Return of Neptune,* were based on engravings of European painting.[6] It is significant that these works were taken from prints that dealt with nautical themes. I suggest that when Copley planned *Watson and the Shark* twenty-four years later, he returned to two of his earliest methods of history painting: he took cues from engravings and used the sea as a background.

I. Copley and the American Revolution

During the twenty-four years that elapsed between Copley's youthful attempts at history painting and the mature achievement of *Watson and the Shark,* a variety of influences shaped his concepts of allegory and iconography. He was affected by his expanded knowledge of European culture, and by social and political events of his early career. His correspondence reveals that he was deeply concerned with two pre-Revolutionary episodes: the Stamp Act controversy and the Boston tea crisis. The first, resulting from passage of a Parliamentary revenue bill in 1767,[7] sparked extensive rioting in Boston. Protesters sacked and burned the stamp office along with the homes of several British officials.[8] A

[2] For the usual interpretation, see: Jules D. Prown, *John Singleton Copley,* Cambridge, Mass., 1966, 267–274.

[3] Irma Jaffe, "John Singleton Copley's *Watson and the Shark,*" *American Art Journal,* IX, 1977, 15–25; Roger Stein, "Copley's *Watson and the Shark* and Aesthetics in the 1770s," in *Discoveries & Considerations . . .,* Albany, 1976, 85–130.

[4] Jaffe, 25.

[5] For information on Peter Pelham, see: Andrew Oliver, "Peter Pelham . . ." in *Boston Prints and Printmakers, 1670–1775,* Boston, 1973, 133–169; and Sinclair H. Hitchings, "The Graphic Arts in Colonial New England," in *Prints in and of America to 1850,* Winterthur, 1970, 83; and D. M. Stauffer, *American Engravers Upon Copper and Steel,* New York, 1907, I, 206–08.

[6] Copley's early career is discussed by Prown, 18; and Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, "A Copley Primitive," *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin,* XX, 1962, 257–263.

[7] That year had been an important one for Copley because the portrait of his half-brother, Henry Pelham, entitled *Boy with a Squirrel,* was exhibited at the Society of Artists in London. The painting was well received and praised by such prominent artists as Sir Joshua Reynolds and Benjamin West. The latter began to correspond with Copley, advising him to continue competing in international exhibitions and to plan a trip abroad. See *Letters & Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham, 1739–1776,* Boston, 1914, 41–45 (hereafter cited as *C-P Letters*); see also: Prown, 47–51.

[8] For further information on the Stamp Act, see: E. S. and H. M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis,* Chapel Hill, N.C., 1953, 180–204.

letter of September 10, 1765, substantiates Copley's interest in these events. On that day, he wrote to Captain R. G. Bruce:

> Capt. Jacobson is just arrived with the stamps which has made so much noise and confusion among us Americans . . . in Boston we demolished the Lieut. Govour ours House, the stamp Office, Mr Storys and Greatly damaged Capt Hollowells and the Secretarys Houses sence which there is a strong Military watch kept every night which keeps the Town in quietness.[9]

During these tense autumn days in 1765, a cartoon entitled *The Deplorable State of America* was issued (Fig. 2). The only known copy bears the inscription: "The original print done in Boston by J°S. Copley." After studying the engraving, now in the Library Company of Philadelphia, E. P. Richardson concluded that it was indeed from Copley's hand. If Richardson's attribution is correct, as I believe it to be, the print represents Copley's only known attempt at political cartooning. Furthermore, it signifies the artist's only clear declaration of partisan politics, for in later years he professed neutrality.[10]

On November 1, 1765, the day scheduled for implementation of the Stamp Act, an advertisement appeared in the Boston *Evening Post* stating: "A Caricatura being a representation of the Tree of Liberty and the Distress of the Present Day, sold by *N. Hurd* near the Exchange."[11] *The Deplorable State of America* attributed to Copley fits this description, as we shall see shortly. Mention of the print in the Boston press further strengthens Richardson's conclusions concerning the caricature's American origins.

In 1769, Copley married Susanna Clarke, daughter of Boston's leading importer. Because the welfare of his wife's family depended upon harmonious relations with Britain, Copley chose to avoid partisanship in the dispute between England and America. In 1770, he wrote West that he would like to be considered merely as "an Artist imploy'd in the way of my profession . . . [for] Political contests . . . [are] neither pleasing to an artist nor advantageous to Art itself."[12]

In 1773, Boston again became the focal point of Colonial unrest after Parliament attempted to levy a tax on tea. Three Massachusetts firms were designated as consignees for the British East India Company: Richard Clarke & Sons, Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson, and Fanueil & Winslow. The first firm belonged to Copley's in-laws; the second to the sons of the Massachusetts governor who were also cousins of Susanna Clarke Copley; the third to another Clarke cousin, Joshua Winslow. The Winslow company served as Boston representatives for the London exporting firm of Watson & Rashleigh, led by Brook Watson, subject of Copley's famous painting. During the summer of 1773, Watson met often with Copley's brother-in-law, Jonathan Clarke, and other consignees to coordinate plans for shipping tea to America.[13]

While the first tea shipment was en route between London and Boston, American patriots were uniting in opposition to the East India Company and its consignees. Protests were directed against the Clarke family, with angry demonstrations taking place in front of Richard Clarke's residence.[14] By the time the tea ship Dartmouth arrived on November 28, the patriots had coordinated a unified resistance movement. A large assembly held on the day of the ship's arrival issued an ultimatum to the consignees demanding that the tea be returned to England. But the merchants, who were equally adamant in their resolve, answered the townsmen with a letter delivered to the assembled Bostonians by John Singleton Copley. Copley explained to the assembly that although the consignees could not return the tea, they would be willing to store the shipment until the controversy was resolved. The assembly, however, emphatically refused to consider this suggestion. After several conferences with the consignees, Copley reported to the assembly that the merchants would not concede.[15] Copley's mediating attempts, which might have changed the course of history, were not entirely in vain, however, for participation in a pivotal historical moment made him extremely sensitive to the passions roused by the American conflict.

For over a decade, Copley had planned to complete

[9] *C-P Letters*, 3[illegible]; this and subsequent quotations preserve Copley's spelling and punctuation. His brother-in-law, Jonathan Clarke, connected Copley with the Sons of Liberty. In a letter jokingly commenting about the expensive life of London, Clarke warned: ". . . here money will go and . . . [as] you Sons of Liberty will find sometimes without your consent." *Ibid.*, 193.

[10] The print was found in the papers of the collector Pierre Eugène du Simitière in the Library Company of Philadelphia. Richardson explains that du Simitière was a scrupulous collector of American memorabilia. He obviously obtained the Copley engraving shortly after he immigrated to American from the West Indies in 1765. As far as can be ascertained at present, there is only one impression of the print. See: E. P. Richardson, "Stamp Act Cartoons in the Colonies," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XCVI, 1972, 275–297.

[11] *Boston Evening Post*, November 4, 1765. The date of November 1 is also given in Stefania A. Munsing, *Made in America, Printmaking 1760–1860*, Philadelphia, 1973, 3. It is interesting to note that in 1765 Copley also painted a portrait of Nathaniel Hurd, the noted silversmith and engraver, placing books in the composition to illustrate Hurd's relationship to the printing profession.

[12] *C-P Letters*, 98.

[13] For an insight into the complex negotiations preceding the tea crisis, see: the letters in F. S. Drake, *Tea Leaves*, Boston, 1884, 202–03, 205, 222–23, 235, 237–38, 262.

[14] Details concerning the activities of the Clarke family during the tea crisis may be found in: B. W. Labaree, *The Boston Tea Party*, New York, 1964, 33, 50–51; I. R. Christie and B. W. Labaree, *Empire or Independence, 1760–1776*, New York, 1976, 116–17.

[15] *C-P Letters*, 200–02, 211–13; Drake, 282–291, 322–330; Labaree, 104–125.

his education by touring Europe, but he repeatedly postponed the journey because of family responsibilities. The tension engendered by the Boston tea crisis may well have hastened his departure, because after involvement in the events of late 1773, it became increasingly difficult for him to remain neutral. In April, 1774, a group of demonstrators caused a disturbance at his residence, acting on suspicion that he was housing a British official.[16] Two months later he sailed for Europe. While in Italy, Copley received word that war had erupted in Boston. Although the news came as no surprise, it troubled him greatly. His letters were filled with his concerns about the fighting, especially the letter to his wife written on June 22, 1775:

> Whoever thinks the Americans can be easily subdued is greatly mistaken; they will keep their enthusiasm alive till they are victorious, if I am not extremely mistaken. You know, years ago, I was right in my opinion that this would be the result of the attempt to tax the colony; it is now my settled conviction that all the power of Great Britain will not reduce them to obedience. Unhappy and miserable people, once the happiest, now the most wretched! How warmly I expostulated with some of the violent "Sons of Liberty" against their proceedings they must remember; and with how little judgement, in their opinion, did I then seem to speak! But all this is past; the day of tribulation is come, and years of sorrow will not dry the orphans' tears not stop the widows' lamentations; the ground will be deluged with the blood of its inhabitants before peace will again assume its domain in the country.[17]

The nostalgic insight expressed in this and other letters reveals Copley's frame of mind. He was emotionally involved with the plight of America yet determined to remain neutral. Although he left Boston in June, 1774 with intentions of returning, his associations with the Clarke family labeled him as a Tory despite his persistent efforts to prove that he had sympathies for both sides. When American forces captured Boston, Copley's family prepared for departure. In October, 1775 they joined him in England, never again to return to their native land.

Letters from Copley to his family indicate that when the artist removed himself physically from America, he purposely abandoned the direct style of portraiture that had brought him patronage in the Colonies. After touring Europe, he expressed admiration for Correggio, Titian, and Rubens as well as a desire to create a monumental history painting to achieve academic acceptance.[18] Following the example of his American predecessor, Benjamin West, Copley decided to base his work on a contemporary event rather than a classical or religious theme.[19] Thus when he received the commission from Brook Watson in 1778, he was prepared to attempt a new style of history painting.[20]

In many ways, Watson was the perfect subject for a modern allegory because his adventurous career had often put him in danger. As a young orphan in 1749, he had been sent from Britain to live with a distant relative in Boston named Levens. It was Levens who sent the youth to Havana. There he took a swim in the harbor only to encounter the shark that severed his left leg. When Watson returned to Boston, he found that Levens had vanished. This was the year 1750, when Copley was twelve and Watson fifteen. There is no record of their meeting, but Watson did remain in Boston for several months while seeking employment. Finally, after becoming an apprentice on a schooner, he arrived in Nova Scotia, where he stayed for a decade as commissary agent for Lt. Colonel Henry Monckton of the British Army. The chief commissary to Monckton's army at the time was the Boston merchant Joshua Winslow, the uncle of Susanne Clarke Copley and the father of Watson's future partner in the East India Company transactions.[21]

While in Nova Scotia during the French and Indian War, Watson distinguished himself by acts of bravery.[22] These deeds gave the young amputee a heroic reputation before he returned to England in 1759 in the employ of a mercantile company. Fourteen years later he was well established as the leading partner in his own firm of Watson & Rashleigh, which not only

[16] Copley's letter states that the protesters wanted to see a "Mr. Watson," which leads one to speculate about the presence of Brook Watson, who was rumored to have been in America in 1774. Editors of Copley's letters, however, note that it was Colonel George Watson, a Mandamus Counsellor from Plymouth. *C-P Letters*, 218.

[17] This letter, published by one of Copley's descendants, was obviously edited to correct the grammar and spelling. Martha Babcock Amory, *The Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley*, Boston, 1882, 62.

[18] From Italy, Copley wrote Henry Pelham: ". . . I don't think a Man a perfect Artist who on occation cannot Paint History . . . but portrait painting I shall pursue, unless tempted by some things in history by any that may wish to imploy me in that way." *C-P Letters*, 339–340.

[19] See: Edgar Wind, "The Revolution of History Painting," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938–39, 116–127.

[20] Copley's biographers state that Brook Watson commissioned the artist, although no record of the transaction exists. On the other hand, as there is no evidence to prove that the work was not commissioned, we must assume that Watson did negotiate with Copley to paint the work. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that Watson owned the original painting until his death in 1807. See Prown, 268, 272.

[21] C. J. Webster, *Sir Brook Watson . . .*, Sackville, New Brunswick, 1924, 3–5. Also see: "Letters from Watson to the Reverend Mr. Brown of Halifax, 1 July, 1791," in "Reverend Hugh Graham's Account and Trade of the Arcadians, 1791," in "Papers Relating to Nova Scotia, 1720–1791"; and "Minutes of the Commission of Trade, Whitehall, 20 March, 1784," MSS Division, British Museum

[22] Watson was credited with single-handedly rescuing a herd of British cattle from the French, a deed that required swimming through an icy river. Webster, 5–10, and "Letters from Watson."

worked with the East India Company, but also monopolized the trade between London and Halifax.[23] Watson's biographer, Clarence Webster, found proof in the Congressional records that Watson was spying for the British Army while traveling in New England and Canada presumably on business. Watson established close relationships with American soldiers in order to advise British troops of their whereabouts. When his letters to the British Army were intercepted by American officers, he quickly prepared to sail for England. During the American war, Watson resumed his post as a commissary officer, supplying provisions for British troops through his connections in Halifax.[24] Known throughout England as an outspoken Tory, he served in Parliament from 1784 until 1793. Then, after another three years as a chief commissary officer and London alderman, he became Lord Mayor of London in 1796.

In many ways, Watson and Copley were opposites: Watson was an avowed Tory, Copley proclaimed his neutrality; Watson's realm was the world of commerce, Copley's the world of art. Yet both had risen from humble backgrounds to attain material wealth, and both owed their prosperity to members of Boston's mercantile elite. Indeed, the fates of both Copley and Watson were intertwined with the political and economic fortunes of the trans-Atlantic trade. Consequently, it was more than just a casual artistic contract that bound Copley to the principal subject of his monumental painting.

II. Iconography and Eighteenth-Century Popular Prints

Copley's political experiences were conveyed in *Watson and the Shark*, I believe, through the symbolism he found in English and American satirical prints. By the middle of the eighteenth century, these engravings served as one of the most popular means of introducing an increasingly astute and politically active public to controversial issues. Appearing on broadsides, in newspapers, and as individual documents, satirical engravings contained a complex system of familiar symbols and emblems, many of which harked back to medieval manuscripts and early Protestant anti-papal literature. Emblem books, filled with a variety of allegorical symbols, constituted an essential part of an artist's library. The intricate language of enlightened learning that literate British subjects had mastered brought numerous classical references into the visual dictionary of eighteenth-century satire. Hogarth utilized a number of these symbols to expand satirical allegory into a vehicle for publicizing social and political views. Thus by mid-century, printmakers in England and the Colonies had transformed graphic satires into an accessible and emphatic means for expressing editorial opinion. By employing the entire lexicon of mythological, political, and religious emblems, publishers and the public engaged in a sophisticated dialogue, which grew more complex with each new Parliamentary controversy.[25]

In America, Benjamin Franklin, Paul Revere, Nathaniel Hurd, and other publishers reprinted English political satires, utilizing local artists to reinterpret the British cartoons. These American prints, like their English counterparts, employed the full range of allegorical symbols, which spoke a graphic language as comprehensible to the eighteenth-century public as that of the modern comic strip is today.

As part of this visual dialogue, Copley's satirical print of 1765 was designed as a response to an earlier British cartoon that was also entitled *The Deplorable State of America* (Fig. 3). This drawing shows the female figure of Britannia handing Pandora's Box (the Stamp Act) to an Indian brave who represents America.[26] At the Indian's feet, a female figure of "Liberty" lies prostrate, saying: "It is all over with me." The staff and cap (symbols of the libertarian John Wilkes) fall from her grasp. A serpent, which crawls across the body of Liberty, carries a large thistle which symbolizes Lord Bute's Scottish lineage. Bute, personification of royal tyranny, is also represented by a jack-boot encased in a comet. Fleeing from the comet's light, Mercury tells America: "It is with Reluctance I leave ye." On the right the figure of Loyalty stands under a tree labeled "to Liberty," while the Indian remarks: "Secure Me O Goddess by the Wisdom for Labour it as Death" [*sic*]. On the right, the king of France attempts to bribe the boot (Bute) with a bag of gold, and on the left Minerva advises America not to accept the Stamp Act. In the background, stampmen gather around a gallows which bears the message: "Fit Entertainment for Stampmen."

Copley's cartoon (Fig. 2) is a stronger and more personalized representation of the English satire, using the same symbols and bearing the same title. In comparing the Boston engraving to a reversal of the print made by

[23] "Minutes of the Commission of Trade."

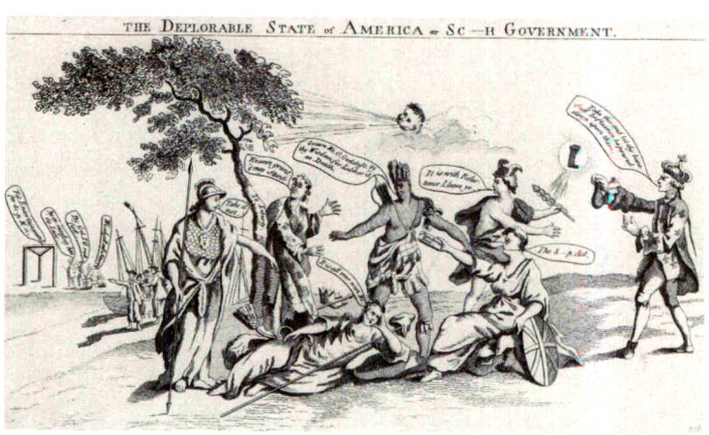
[24] While he was in Italy, Copley wrote his wife that she could "be supplied by the ships from Nova Scotia with necessaries," undoubtedly through the family's connections with Watson; Amory, 60. For Watson's connections with the Nova Scotia trade, see: "Ledger of Exports from Great Britain to North America," Liverpool Papers, MSS Division, British Museum.

For rumors about Watson's spying, see Samuel Isham, *The History of American Painting*, New York, 1936, 26; and James T. Flexner, *John Singleton Copley*, Boston, 1948, 84–85; and Webster, 11–13.

[25] For information on 18th-century printmaking, see: Jean Adhémar, *Graphic Art of the 18th Century*, New York, 1964; M. Dorothy George, *English Political Caricature to 1792. . .*, Oxford, 1959, 1–13; and E. P. Richardson, "The Birth of Political Caricature," in *Philadelphia Printmaking. . .*, West Chester, Pa., 1977, 71–89; and Joan D. Dolmetsch, *Rebellion and Reconciliation. . .*, Williamsburg, Va., 1976, 1–11.

[26] For a discussion of the American image, see: Joshua C. Taylor, *America as Art*, Washington, D.C., 1976, 3–36.

2 John Singleton Copley, *The Deplorable State of America*, 1765. Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia



3 Anon., *The Deplorable State of America*, 1765. New York, New-York Historical Society (courtesy: New-York Historical Society)

4 Robert Wilkinson, *The Deplorable State of America*, 1765. Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia

the Philadelphia printer Robert Wilkinson (Fig. 4), Richardson notes that the print attributed to Copley was done by a more accomplished hand than the one by Wilkinson. Richardson also observes that Copley changed the British satire by adding a number of references to events that took place in Boston.[27]

In his rendition of *The Deplorable State of America*, Copley pictured both France and Britain as flying female figures, the former handing her bribe to Bute, symbolized by the jack-boot in a comet. Britannia gives the Pandora's Box to America (now a woman dressed in robes with feathers in her hair), saying "Take it Daughter it's only ye S---p A-t," as fragments of the Magna Carta float away in the breeze. Copley has depicted Liberty as a partially clothed Indian brave, who lies under a tree marked "The Tree of Liberty, Aug. 14, 1765" (the date of the first Boston riot). With arched back and flailing arms, the Indian cries, "and canst thou Mother! O have pity this horrid Box." Three figures minister to the dying Liberty: Loyalty, who leans against the tree clutching a heart and crown as she remarks, "O tis a horrid blast I fear I shall lose my support"; Minerva, who warns America, "Take it not See poor Liberty"; and America, who responds,"Minerva shield me I abhor it as Death." On the lower left, a dog symbolizing William Pitt lifts its leg over the Scottish thistle, which represents Bute. A snake emerges from the thistle to bite Liberty. In the left portion of the background, a more elaborate group of stampmen prepare a gallows; and on the right a group of sailors hunt for stampmen along the coast. On the upper left, Mercury is departing with the lament: "Must I be exiled from my America." Below the entire picture, an emblem of a hanged man bears the slogan "Arms and the Man I Sing," the opening lines of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Rich with classical references and political nuances, Copley's cartoon uses the sophisticated language of eighteenth-century caricature. In both the English and American versions of the cartoon, the essential message is of Liberty's demise at the hands of unscrupulous European powers. Copley has made a significant change, however, by representing Liberty as a partially clothed Indian brave, thereby placing the accepted symbol of America in the position previously occupied by the emblematic denotation of freedom. Thus the impending death of the Indian signifies the death of American liberty. Death is much more explicit in Copley's drawing than in the English version. Perhaps this is because Copley is referring to events that took place during the Boston riots. A newspaper account described the activities of August 14, 1765 in the following manner: "Last Wednesday morning to the surprise and joy of the Public, was exhibited on the Great Trees in the High Street of this Town, the Effigies of a *Distributor* of Stamps, pendant behind whom hung a Boot newly soled with a Greenville Sole, out of which proceeded the Devil."[28] The Devil mentioned here is symbolized in Copley's cartoon by the viper biting Liberty. The verse that accompanies the drawing verbalizes the theme of poison, especially in relation to the contents of Pandora's Box. Its message reads:

> Contagious Box what PLAGUES dost thou contain
> HORROR without and RUIN all within
> Some latent MISCHIEF in each Corner lurks
> In every Cell a secret Venom works,
> FATE lies in ambush in the Center hid
> And DEATH itself hangs hovering in the lid.

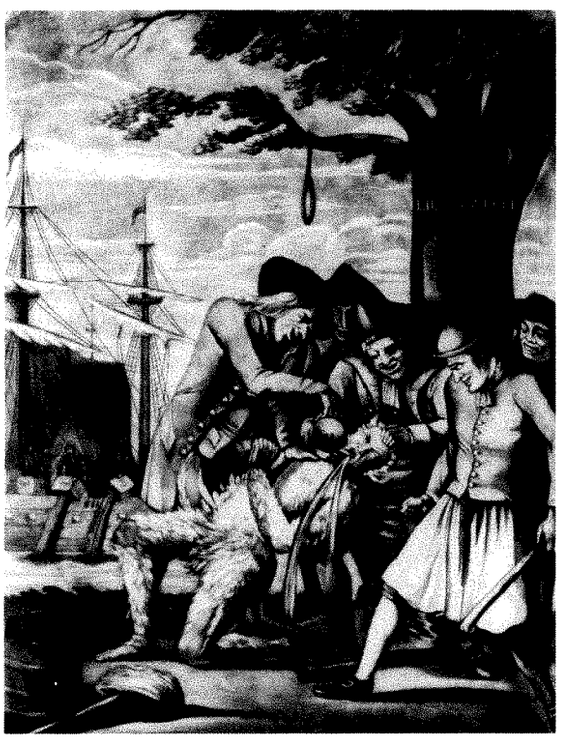
Potential death and danger are also principal themes of Copley's *Watson and the Shark*, for the body of young Watson founders between the creature threatening to kill him and the men who promise to save him. The body of the afflicted Indian brave (Liberty) dominates the lower section of the cartoon, his state of partial undress strongly akin to Watson's nudity. If we reverse the picture, as Wilkinson has done, we can see that the tilt of the brave's head, the position of his knees, and the arch of his back are repeated in Watson's awkward pose. The waves cover Watson's body in almost the same places that the drapery covers the figure of Liberty. Similarly, the figures of the black man, harpooner, and kneeling man in the painting form a triangle matched by the figures of Minerva, Loyalty, and America in the cartoon. In both the print and the painting, this central configuration is placed above a single horizontal figure. Minerva, goddess of Wisdom, at the upper left point of the triangle in the reversed print, corresponds to the black man in the painting. Both extend their right arms without bending the elbow. At the righthand apex of the configuration, the harpooner in the painting corresponds to "Loyalty" in the reversed print. Not only do both fill the corner of the triangle, but both have their left arms raised above their right arms. The kneeling man in the boat occupies the lower point of the triangular grouping as does the figure of America in the print, and both are observing the prone figure beneath them with expressions of dismay.

The shark in the painting corresponds to several areas of the cartoon. The shoreline in the prints matches the shark in the painting in its shape and compositional position. Both fill the lower right corner of the composition, with the bottom point of the shore line paralleling the head of the shark, and the second indentation forming an angle that corresponds to that of the shark's tail. In addition, the flying figure of Britannia approaches the group from the right, threatening the prone figure with her "poisoned" Pan-

[27] See: Richardson, "Stamp Act Cartoons," 279–281; and George, 134.

[28] Boston *Evening Post*, August 19, 1765. For further details see: Morgan, 190–94.

5 Anon., *The Able Doctor or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught*, 1774. New York, New-York Historical Society (courtesy: New-York Historical Society)



6 Philip Dawe, *The Bostonians Paying the Excise-Man, or Tarring and Feathering*, 1774. New York, New-York Historical Society (courtesy: New-York Historical Society)

dora's Box, which relates symbolically to the shark's destructive bite.

Although these few compositional parallels between *Watson and the Shark* and *The Deplorable State of America* can be seen to link sections of the painting to the earlier print, there are other portions of the painting that do not match. Thus we must look further at contemporaneous political prints. Among the many engravings directed against the British tea tax is a caricature reproduced by Paul Revere in 1774 entitled *The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught*[29] (Fig. 5). In it Lord Mansfield holds down America, a partially clad Indian maiden, as Lord North pours tea down her throat. The standing figure of Britannia covers her eyes, although Lord Bute along with the kings of France and England watch the scene with interest. The Earl of Sandwich is kneeling at the feet of America, leering as he peeks inside her skirt. Again a figure representing Liberty has been forced into submission by conspiring European rulers.

Although America is a woman in *The Able Doctor*, her prone body occupies the same space as the Indian does in Copley's cartoon. The principal figures in the print form a triangle which corresponds to a similar triangle formed by the men in the boat in *Watson and the Shark*. At the upper apex of the triangle, the figure of Britannia in the cartoon parallels that of the harpooner in the painting. Both figures bend forward and both hold a pole which crosses the composition at the same diagonal. In both *The Able Doctor* and *Watson and the Shark*, the figures in the foreground are grouped before a harbor.

In the prints concerning the Stamp Act and the tea crisis, all attention is concentrated on a prone, partially clad figure whose helplessness is the central theme of the cartoon. Similarly, Watson is in a recumbent position, and nude in contrast to the clothed men around him. As with the cartoon figures, Watson's misfortune is the principal object of all concern. In other pictures relating to the Boston Tea Party, similar relationships appear between a helpless subject and a group of men. In one entitled *The Bostonians Paying the Excise-Man, or Tarring & Feathering* (Fig. 6), the tax agent John Malcomb, covered with tar and feathers, is held down by a group of patriots who force him to drink tea. Here, too, a man surrounded by a crowd has become an unwilling victim.[30]

Copley may have also been influenced by a figure in *The South Sea Scheme* (Fig. 7), published by Hogarth in 1721, his first political satire. This important print ridiculed a land speculation scandal that involved all levels of English society.[31] In Hogarth's engraving, a figure labeled "Honesty" (Fig. 8) lies nude on a wheel in the foreground. His left leg is raised at an angle similar to Watson's in the painting. His left arm is by his side and his hair flows behind his head in a manner resembling Copley's treatment of Watson. "Honesty" lies prone before a crowd like the victims in the Stamp Act and tea crisis prints and like Watson in the painting. In fact, Hogarth's print may have been a common

[29] For a further description of the cartoon, see: George, 150.

[30] Dolmetsch, 66–67.

[31] Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Garphic Works*, I, rev. ed., New Haven, Conn., 1970, 94–96.

7 William Hogarth, *The South Sea Scheme*, engraving, 1721

8 Detail of Fig. 7

source for all of these political cartoons. By relating his own printmaking endeavor to that of England's great satirist, Copley may have been emphasizing his debt to Hogarth's innovative contributions to history painting.

In composing *Watson and the Shark*, Copley appears to have borrowed segments of configurations from various other satirical prints to reinforce the contemporary allegorical content of his painting. From other prints he utilized emblems themselves to add didactic meaning to the painting. The most familiar of these derives from *Magna Britannia her Colonies REDUC'D* (Fig. 9), first published by Benjamin Franklin in 1765. Here the partially clad figure of Britannia has been dismembered, her severed limbs marked with the names of Colonies: the two arms, "Pennsyl" and "New York," the two legs, "Virg." and "New Eng." Accompanying one version of this popular and widely distributed satire is a long explanation designating the picture as "the Miserable State of Great Britain and her Colonies, Shou'd She persist in restraining their Trade, destroying their Currency, and Taxing their People . . ." The document continues: "Behold her Colonies, the Source of Her Commerce, Wealth and Glory, Separated from her Body, and no longer Useful to her." The moral of the cartoon is specified as the ruin of Britain due to her own foolish errors. Such errors, the text explains, will lead to "a total Separation of Affections Interests, Political Obligations and all manner of Connections . . . by which the whole State is weakened and perhaps ruined forever."[32]

It can be deduced that Copley incorporated these sentiments into *Watson and the Shark*, for like Britannia, the Loyalist Watson has lost his limb, specifically the right leg, marked "New Eng" on Britannia. The dismembered Britannia of 1765 was patterned after a popular print published by Franklin eleven years earlier, the famous "Join, or Die," which shows a serpent separated into several parts, each one labeled with the initials of the Colonies. This serpent was an emblem used by Franklin to rally support for Colonial unity during the French and Indian War.

The severed limb was a common symbol indeed for the dismembered British Empire, dating back to the early eighteenth century. In 1765, an English cartoon pictured the British lion with a severed paw to represent the loss of Minorca to France. This symbolism was so familiar in cartoon parlance that later Revolutionary War cartoons used the same paw-less, bleeding lion, merely substituting the name "America" for "Minorca" on the severed paw.[33] Thus the represention of the loss of Watson's leg could well evoke a popularly accepted emblem of a colony's removal from the Empire.

Reference to the cessation of international trade is found in two prints: *The Bostonians in Distress* of 1774 (Fig. 10) and a print published in 1767 by John Almon as a companion piece to Franklin's *Magna Britannia her Colonies REDUC'D*.[34] The former print depicts the closure of Boston's ports during the tea crisis; the latter refers to rivalries among European nations concerning the international trade. Because the provisioning of American ports was Watson's occupation as well as the chief source of income for Copley's wife's family, these prints spoke directly of incidents that severely handicapped the Clarkes as well as Watson. Thus cargo ships symbolize the destruction of maritime commerce, the

[32] See Edwin Wolf, "Benjamin Franklin's Stamp Act Cartoon," *Proceedings of the American Philodophical Society*, XCIX, 1955, 392.

[33] Dolmetsch, 22–23, 126–127.

[34] *Ibid.*, 43–43.

9 Anon., *Magna Britannia Her Colonies REDUC'D*, 1768. Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia

10 I. M. Will, *The Bostonians in Distress*, 1774. New York, New-York Historical Society (courtesy: New-York Historical Society)

economic backbone of the British Empire, in the prints and, I believe, the painting.

In summarizing the relationship between popular prints and the iconography of *Watson and the Shark*, several parallels are notable. First there are the compositional similarities between Copley's painting and such prints as his own *The Deplorable State of America* and *The Able Doctor*. These links include the pyramidal configurations, the grouping of figures in the foreground against a harbor setting, and the concentration of attention upon a prone figure. Furthermore, these prints may all be based on Hogarth's *The South Sea Scheme*, a landmark in political satire. There are also the emblematic implications, the severed limb and cessation of the trans-Atlantic trade, which integrate the messages of the prints into the narrative of the painting. By considering the symbolic content of popular prints, in light of Copley's own experiences, observors might discover new complexities in the iconography of *Watson and the Shark*.

III. Politics, Prints, and the Planning of the Painting

In composing *Watson and the Shark* Copley utilized the vast store of visual images well known to painters, printmakers, and the general public. Such images were so familiar that they probably occurred spontaneously to Copley as he sought to add symbolic meaning to his painting. In one of his *Discourses*, Reynolds addressed the importance of sense impressions and past recollections for the artist. The imagination, he wrote, is "the residence of truth." Impressions of past experiences occur to an artist through "a kind of intuition," for although the details of a subject "in the process of time are forgotten, the right impression remains fixed" in the artist's mind. Consequently, "ideas are infused into his design without any conscious effort."[35] Copley himself confronted the problem of such images when he advised Henry Pelham: "all our Ideas of things is no more than a remembrance of what we have seen."[36] By incorporating familiar emblematic configurations and messages from political satires, Copley was drawing upon those impressions and recollections which would add substance to the surface narrative of Watson's accident.

To set the monumental painting in its proper historical perspective, we must return to the war itself. Because Copley was in Italy when fighting erupted in 1775, his knowledge of the conflict came through correspondence from his family. Both Henry Pelham and Susanna Copley described the fears they experienced when the patriots routed British forces from Boston. The departure of British protection separated the Clarkes from their lifeline to Britain and thus spelled an end to the comfortable life Copley had once enjoyed. From the outset Copley had anticipated with sadness Britain's inevitable defeat. He wrote Pelham in 1775:

> I don't mean to ward off the evils attendant on Civil War, but . . . Ocians of Blood will be shed to humble a people which they never will subdue, and the Americans [assuming] . . . that England would not

[35] Joshua Reynolds, *Sir Joshua Reynolds' Discourses*, ed. Helen Zimmern, London, 1887, 212–14.

[36] *C-P Letters*, 1302.

> act against them have tempted its Power to the extreem and drawn all its weight [of] rage upon them, and after they have with various success deluged the Country in Blood the Issue will be that the Americans will be a free independent people.[37]

With sympathies for both sides, Copley maintained his neutrality, although he did meet occasionally with American Loyalists when they assembled in London. For Copley, however, this was a social association, as he was extremely careful to avoid public pronouncements in favor of either side.[38]

By 1778, when Copley painted *Watson and the Shark*, the British defeats he had predicted were becoming realities. Boston had fallen two years earlier; Washington had been victorious in New Jersey; Burgoyne had surrendered at Saratoga. In early 1778 came the heaviest blow of all. France became an American ally, requiring Britain to fight a defensive war on sea as well as on land. One major concern of British strategists was possible French control of the West Indies, a move the English tried to prevent by concentrating naval forces in the Caribbean. Against this background of impending defeat and possible battles in the waters of the West Indies, Copley planned a monumental history painting.

Neoclassic in both composition and aesthetic, as Roger Stein suggests, and reminiscent of the spiritual struggle between unredeemed man and his Savior, as Jaffe has indicated, the painting is indeed a modern allegory. These themes are further enhanced by two literary references which relate directly to Copley's interests: the *Aeneid*, the first lines of which appear as the motto of his Stamp Act cartoon, and *Paradise Lost*, which Copley's daughter specified as her father's favorite book.[39] In both of these classics, man confronts the elements; the voyage through life is constantly threatened by forces beyond human control. This larger message is transformed into the language of 1778 through subtle emblematic reminders of contemporary controversies.

When the symbolic messages of political satire are superimposed upon the narrative of Watson's misfortune, a new allegorical scheme emerges. The figure of Watson appears as transformed into a multivalent political caricature as complex and contradictory as any cartoon image of the period. At the same time that he personifies the heroic Loyalist he is the young naked lad, symbol of Liberty. These seemingly opposite themes are compatable if we remember that Copley considered British rule to represent stability for America. The emblem of Liberty is synonymous with the less repressive type of Colonial government that America knew before Parliament imposed taxation and other restrictions on the Colonies. In the language of satirical imagery, Watson thus symbolized simple virtue and individual freedom, the positive elements of British commerce and prosperity. Irresponsible political maneuvering brought Britain's dismemberment, which seriously damaged Liberty. Therefore, the Loyalist Watson was Liberty wounded, vulnerable, and foundering, struggling to escape from Franklin's "Join or Die" serpent, now united and potent enough to kill the helpless Empire. The rescuers provide the bridge from chaos to stability: Loyalty, Minerva, and America combine their diverse ethnic backgrounds and experiences to salvage what remains of Liberty. To Copley, the loss of Britain's American appendage was a tragedy of classical proportions, a worthy subject for modern history painting.

One clear reference to the classical world was observed by both Jaffe and Stein.[40] The figure of Watson resembles that of Laocoon with his raised arm and arched back. This parallel is strengthened when we recall that the story of Laocoon appears in Virgil's *Aeneid*, already noted as of special interest to Copley. In Book II, Aeneas tells the story of Laocoon, the priest of Neptune, who warned his fellow Trojans not to accept the horse offered by the Greeks. To reinforce his admonitions, Laocoon thrust a spear into the wooden horse. As punishment for this deed, he and his sons were devoured by giant sea serpents. "Their breasts were reared amid the waves, and their sanguine manes over-topped the billows; the rest of them swept the sea behind, wreathing the huge rolling length of spine; and the foaming waters roared beneath." When these serpents attacked the two boys, Virgil tells us, their "gnawing fang, preyed on their hapless limbs."[41] How similar this is to the plight of young Watson. Like the figures in the Stamp Act and tea crisis prints, Laocoon predicted that if the Trojans accepted bribery the result would be war; like Liberty in those satires, Laocoon suffered from the repercussions of his own tragic insight. Fate, a basic determinant of events in classical literature, caused the serpent to attack Laocoon. As his correspondence indicates, Copley believed from the outset that Fate was on the side of America, so Watson as Britain-Liberty was fated to suffer from the attack of the united Colonies.

We are also reminded of Pandora, represented in Copley's Stamp Act cartoon. Her box, like the Trojan Horse, was a bribe that contained the forces of destruction.[42] The slogan accompanying the cartoon ended with the grim reminder: "FATE lies in ambush in the

[37] *Ibid.*, 348–49.

[38] Prown, 260–61; also "Diary of Elisha Hutchinson," MSS Division, British Museum.

[39] See: Augustus T. Perkins, *Sketch of the Life of John Singleton Copley, R.A.*, Cambridge, Mass., 1873, 12.

[40] Jaffe, 19–20; Stein, 101, 126, n. 20.

[41] J. Johnson's trans., 1906, repr., Chicago, 1956.

[42] For an interesting discussion of the Pandora theme, see Dora and Erwin Panofsky, *Pandora's Box, the Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol*, New York, 1956.

Center hid. And DEATH itself hangs hovering in the lid." With the coming of war in 1775, Copley's prophecy came true. Pandora's box was opened, its evil contents scattered throughout the land. Now the devil-serpent-shark takes on additional meaning as the penalty that Britain must suffer for unleashing the forces of evil.

Such complexity of iconographic, symbolic, and allegorical elements provided the necessary substance for an accepted academic history painting. This *Watson and the Shark* has been shown to contain. On the surface, it appears to do nothing more than recount one man's accident and to allude thereby to mankind's struggle for survival, but behind the narrative lies a welter of richer allegorical messages. From his vast knowledge of eighteenth-century culture Copley has drawn upon familiar religious and literary themes; from his background in printmaking he has used an array of familiar satirical references; from his participation in the events preceding the American Revolution he has brought his abhorence of the cruelties of needless destruction. Each figure in the painting is laden with multiple and often contradictory meanings. Yet when considered together with Copley's own experiences, these images appear as symbols of personal and popular beliefs. In this context, the painting reflects Copley's patriotic ambivalence, his tragic awareness of inevitable violence, his sense of irreversible fate. If *Watson and the Shark* is reexamined in the light of popular imagery, then new insights may be gained into the American contribution to history painting.

Spelman College

Bibliography of Frequently Cited Sources

Amory, Martha Babcock, *The Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley*, Boston, 1882.

Dolmetsch, Joan D., *Rebellion and Reconciliation, Satirical Prints on the Revolution at Williamsburg*, Williamsburg, Va., 1976.

Drake, Francis S., *Tea Leaves: Being a Collection of Letters and Documents Relating to the Shipment of Tea to the American Colonies in the Year 1773, By the East India Tea Company*, Boston, 1884.

George, M. Dorothy, *English Political Caricature to 1792, A Study of Opinion and Propaganda*, Oxford, 1959.

Jaffe, Irma B., "John Singleton Copley's *Watson and the Shark*," *American Art Journal*, IX, May, 1977, 15–25.

Letters & Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham, 1739–1776, ed. Charles F. Adams, Guernsey Jones, and W. C. Ford, Boston, 1914.

"Minutes of the Commission of Trade," and "Papers Relating to Nova Scotia, 1720–1791," MSS Division, British Museum.

Prown, Jules D., *John Singleton Copley*, 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1966.

Richardson, Edgar P., "Stamp Act Cartoons in the Colonies," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XCVI, July, 1972.

Stein, Roger B., "Copley's *Watson and the Shark* and Aesthetics in the 1770's," *Discoveries & Considerations. Essays on Early American Literature & Aesthetics Presented to Harold Janta*, ed. Calvin Israel, Albany, 1976, 85–130.

Webster, J. Clarence, *Sir Brook Watson, Friend of the Loyalists, First Agent of New Brunswick in London*, Sackville, N. B., 1924.

Meissonier's *Souvenir de guerre civile**

Constance Cain Hungerford

Today, as it hangs in the Louvre, Ernest Meissonier's *Souvenir de guerre civile* never fails to shock the viewers who move nearer in order to determine the subject of the tiny panel (Fig. 1).[1] On a surface measuring only 11²/₅ x 8⁷/₁₀" (29 x 22cm) is depicted the corpse-strewn rubble of a demolished barricade. The scene is one from the June days of 1848, when armed insurrection broke out in the streets of Paris in opposition to the moderate republican regime, which in February had replaced Louis-Philippe's monarchy. Universally discussed when it was publicly exhibited for the first time at the Salon of 1850–51, and the painting that Baudelaire remarked as the artist's greatest,[2] *La Barricade* (the *Souvenir*) remains one of Meissonier's more familiar works. Recently, its contemporary and potentially political subject has prompted its inclusion in broad discussions of nineteenth-century realism.[3] It is striking, however, that since the first Salon reviews and the monographs of Valery C. O. Gréard (1897) and Léonce Bénédite (1910),[4] the painting has never been examined in the context of Meissonier's own life and art. In its subject the painting is indeed unique in his art.[5] But the *Souvenir de guerre civile* is by no means unrelated to the artist's other work. Above all, the style in which it is painted had more precedents than has sometimes been thought.

Although perhaps better known for later Napoleonic military scenes, such as *1807, Friedland* (1875, Metropolitan Museum) and *1814, The Campaign of France* (1864, Louvre), Meissonier's artistic production until around 1860 is much more appropriately typified by another painting shown at the Salon of 1850–51, *A Painter Show-*

* I have benefited greatly from the knowledge and attention of Jacques De Caso, who supervised the Ph.D. dissertation from which this article developed. I am also deeply appreciative of the generous support and encouragement of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, which made my research possible. I would like finallly to thank J. Kirk T. Varnedoe for his sensitive suggestions about the manuscript.

[1] Sometime before 1863 the painting was acquired by the noted Belgian connoisseur and statesman Jules van Praet. After 1884 it passed into the collection of Carlos de Beistegui, who included it in his impressive bequest to the Louvre in 1942.

[2] ". . . *La Barricade*, le meilleur tableau de M. Meissonier. . . ." C. Baudelaire, "Oeuvre et vie d'Eugène Delacroix," *Oeuvres completes*, Gallimard, Paris, 1961, 1137.

[3] Linda Nochlin (*Realism*, Baltimore, 1971, 103–111), citing its contemporary subject, relates the painting to developments in European realism, which she characterizes in part by Daumier's axiom, "Il faut être de son temps"—the artist must paint his own times. T. J. Clark (*The Absolute Bourgeois*, London, 1973, 24–29) interprets the specific political and social implications of the image and the manner in which he believes the artist has represented it. Gerald M. Ackerman has also discussed Meissonier in the context of realism. Cf. his introduction to the Dayton Art Institute exhibition, *Jean-Léon Gérôme* (1972, 9–15) and his review of Nochlin's *Realism* (*Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, 466–469).

[4] The two most useful publications on Meissonier are L. Bénédite, *Meissonier* (Paris, 1910), which incorporates Philippe Burty's first-hand documentation of the 1860's and is usually reliable, and V. C. O. Gréard, *Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, ses souvenirs, ses entretiens* (Paris, 1897), which is most comprehensive, although all the opinions and recollections quoted date to the 1870's and 1880's. I give my translation of the French original, together with references to both the Paris and the New York editions. Published in 1897 in New York and London, the English translation (*Meissonier, His Life and His Art*) is incomplete and not always accurate.

[5] Meissonier did undertake comparable subjects on a subsequent occasion of civil disorder, but his treatment was significantly different. In 1871, returning to Paris after the destructive period of the Commune, the artist was struck by a telling scene—the façade of the fire-gutted Tuileries Palace framed a view of the sculptural group atop the Arc du Carrousel, with Victory, who seemed to move away into the distance, turning her back on a defeated France. Meissonier commented on the resulting painting:

> Au fond, la victoire semble s'en aller sur son char, elle nous quitte . . . En arrivant là, en 1871, j'ai été saisi par le tragique aspect des choses (un vers latin l'explique au bas). Les deux noms de victoire, épargnés par le feu, sont "Austerlitz, Marengo," deux noms de victoire pure étincelants dans l'histoire. Emporté par l'émotion, j'eus la vision subite du tableau, et j'en ai fait immédiatement une aquarelle. . . . Par deux fois, là, aux Tuileries, et rue de la Mortellerie, en 1848, pour le tableau de la barricade, j'ai eu la chance de passer au moment saisissant. (*Exposition Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier*, École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1893, 6–7).

Meissonier's conception was thus considerably more deliberately meaningful than his modest and straightforward image of 1848. As well as the pointed use of the Carrousel sculpture, he painted in the Latin inscription "Gloria Maiorum Flammas usque Superstes Maius," underlining the tragedy of the scene. He also chose to paint this vision of a monumental canvas measuring 53 x 37²/₅" (1.36 x .96m) (*Ruines des Tuileries*, Musée du Second Empire, Compiègne). In 1870–71 Meissonier sketched an even more ambitious project, an allegorical composition dealing with the Siege of Paris (Louvre), in which the figure of Paris (modeled on the woman who became Meissonier's second wife) stands amid the victims of the Prussian attack, while Famine, bearing the Prussian eagle on her wrist, flies over the scene of destruction. Both paintings reflect Meissonier's loftier ambitions as he matured as a member of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, to which he was elected in 1861.

1 Meissonier, *Souvenir de guerre civile*. Paris, Louvre (photo: Musées Nationaux)

2 Meissonier, *A Painter Showing Some Drawings*. London, Wallace Collection (by permission of the Trustees)

ing Some Drawings, now in the Wallace Collection in London (Fig. 2).[6] The subject, an artist, who in the seclusion of his own studio shares his drawings with an appreciative connoisseur, is one version of a theme often depicted by Meissonier. Like his scenes of gentlemen smoking long-stemmed pipes, reading quietly by a window, or playing chess, this painting deals with anonymous, private individuals engaged in reflective pastimes. Little, if any, physical activity is involved and the moment depicted is one that could be prolonged indefinitely. There is none of the dramatic narrative interest of history painting, which isolates exceptional events. There is, rather, a modest presentation of tranquil and inconsequential genre occupations. They are removed from the viewer's own experience largely by their eighteenth-century setting, a historical distancing on which Meissonier always insisted, because he felt that nineteenth-century man presented a lamentably shoddy appearance. Replying in the 1880's to critics like Philippe Burty, who regretted that the artist's keen observation and craft in recording appearances should not be applied to preserving the poetry of his own epoch,[7] the artist explained:

> If I were to respond to the accusation of having multiplied my *Readers* of another epoch: "It's because they were numerous then," I would say, "in those days gone by, when people really read, delicately holding their volumes, like an *amateur* in love with good books and beautiful bindings." If I did a *Reader* today, I would have to put a newspaper in his hand, and as the library background, there would be visible a series of pamphlets scarcely worth the trouble of binding. Oh yes, certainly, one-franc editions.[8]

Another characteristic of Meissonier's work, and the one most popularly associated with his name, is the painstaking precision of his execution. He worked on a remarkably small scale: *A Painter Showing Some Drawings* measures 14½ by 11¼" (36.9 x 28.6cm). He succeeded nevertheless in incorporating into each of his scenes an astonishing amount of detail, all of it rendered with the greatest delicacy. In *A Painter Showing Some Drawings*, every area of the painting is embellished with telling accessories. The two men, suitably costumed, stand in a limited space, crowded with furniture, and littered with loose drawings. On the rear wall hang elaborately framed paintings, which even allude to Meissonier himself, since they include a large version of his never-finished *Samson Battling the Philistines* (Louvre),[9] a self-

[6] In the *Wallace Collection Catalogue of Pictures and Drawings* (London, 1968), it is suggested that *An Artist Showing His Work* (P325) may be the *Amateur de tableaux chez un peintre*, shown at the Salon of 1857. The panel is signed with Meissonier's initials, but bears no date. Descriptions in the criticism of the Salons of both 1850–51 and 1857 make it clear, however, that P325 must be *Un Peintre montrant des dessins*, No. 2171 at the Salon of 1850–51. Between 1834 and 1850–51, Meissonier's exhibited *oeuvre* was largely composed of two paintings representing chess players, three dealing with artists, one reader, two musicians, three smokers, three guardroom scenes, and six portraits.

[7] P. Burty, "Livres d'art: Les Contes Rémois . . .," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, XI, Aug. 11, 1881, 188. Meissonier had provided illustrations to Louis de Chevignés verses, which were set in the 18th century.

[8] "Si j'avais à répondre à l'accusation d'avoir multiplié mes *Liseurs* d'une autre époque: 'C'est qu'alors ils étaient nombreux,' dirais-je, 'en ce temps d'autrefois, où on lisait vraiment, en tenant délicatement son volume en amateur amoureux des bons livres et des belles reliures.'

"Si je faisais un *Liseur* aujourd'hui, il faudrait lui mettre un journal en main, et comme fond de bibliothèque, je devrais voir une série de brochures qui ne valent pas le peine d'être reliées, à coup sûr, des éditions à un franc!" Gréard, Paris, 216; New York, 235. Meissonier did represent gentlemen in contemporary environments when doing portraits of such friends as Alexandre Dumas fils (1877, Versailles).

[9] *Samson abattant les philistins*, ca. 1845, 11³/₅ x 15½" (29.8 x 39.7 cm), Louvre, R. F. 1252.

portrait, and the *Smoker*, which had appeared at the Salon of 1842.[10] Finally, on the mantel is a casual display of still-life objects, including a statuette, a pot of brushes, an assortment of bottles, ewers, and jars, and a porcelain vase with fresh blossoms. A mirror doubles each of these small possessions. Avoiding the coarse surface of canvas, and preferring instead to paint on wood, Meissonier depicted each minute detail with such virtuoso meticulousness that delighted critics hailed him as the court painter to the Lilliputians. Seemingly brought back to Europe in another Gulliver's pocket, he painted with a refined accuracy that appeared miraculous.[11]

The demonstration of his talent for choosing and painting secondary motifs is such an important component of Meissonier's personal style that other elements tend to be subordinated to it. In *A Painter Showing Some Drawings*, space is visually limited in extension and complexity. Colors are muted and orchestrated into simple harmonies of red, green, or brown, with only small passages of bright, local color, as in the flowers. A diffuse light filters into the studio from an unspecified source, picking out the diverse surfaces of porcelain, metal, crystal, and fabric.

The sources for Meissonier's aesthetic, as it is manifested in his genre paintings, are diverse. His only experience in a traditional studio, that of Léon Cogniet, lasted only four or five months and Meissonier attributed little formative influence to it.[12] More significant was the example of previous artists, principally those of eighteenth-century France, such as Greuze and Chardin, and Dutch and Flemish artists, such as Rembrandt, and especially the "little masters" of the seventeenth century, Metsu, Mieris, Teniers, Ostade, and Ter Borch, whose works Meissonier studied in the Louvre and in reproductions.[13] Far more important than such orthodox sources, however, was the artist's experience designing wood-engraved book illustrations.

In the 1830's and 1840's the old technique of wood engraving experienced a major revival, especially among publishers of romantic authors and editors of the burgeoning popular journals, such as *L'Artiste* (1831), *Le Magasin pittoresque* (1833), and *L'Illustration* (1834).[14] The wood-engraving technique was economically advantageous, since the blocks, though incised with a linear pattern in the manner of intaglio, were printed like woodcuts and therefore could be inked and run through the press at the same time as the type. In the hands of imaginative editors like Léon Curmer, the medium also lent itself to fanciful innovations in page design, because illustrative blocks could actually be interspersed among those of type, permitting complete integration of the image with the text. As well as serving as marginalia—initial letters, page headings *(têtes-de-page)*, or decorations at the foot of the page *(culs-de-lampe)*—motifs might appear entirely embedded in the text.

Curmer was responsible for the nine-volume series, *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, which appeared between 1839 and 1842, with illustrations by Daumier, Gavarni, Grandville, Monnier, Jeanron, and Meissonier. Curmer's most celebrated editorial achievement, however, was his presentation of J.-H. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie suivie de la chaumière indienne*, which he published first in serial installments, beginning in March, 1836, and finally in a bound volume in 1838. Curmer's personal concern for the quality of the book is everywhere evident, in his use of the best English engravers, for example, and especially in his close working relationship with the artists to whom he ultimately dedicated his "typographical monument."

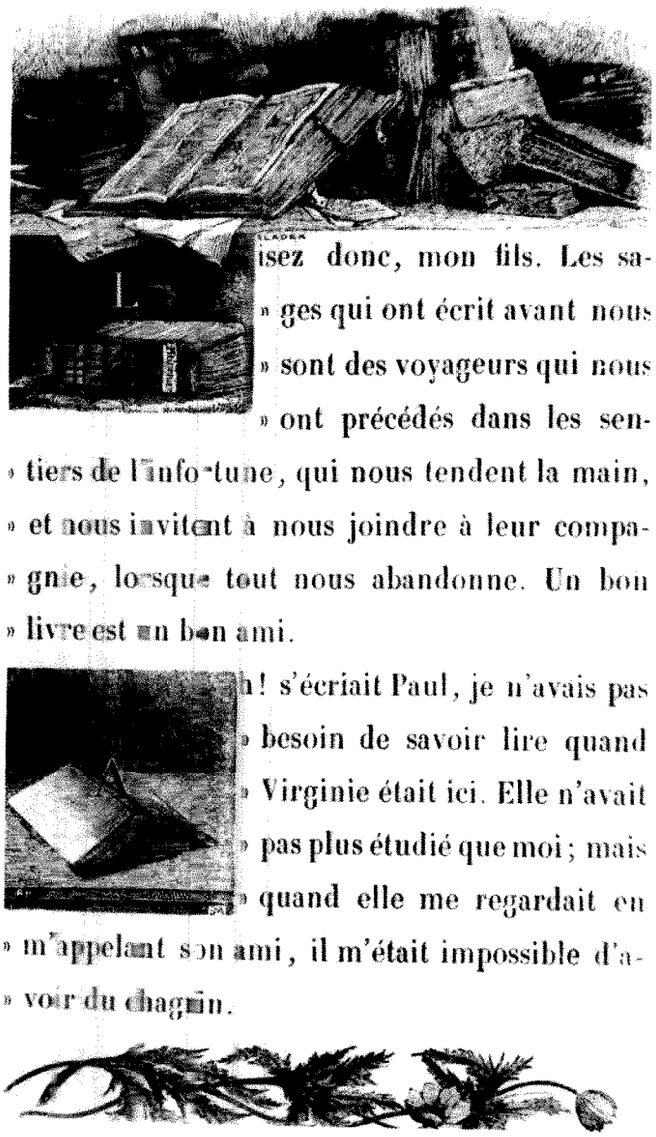
[10] It was this painting that was reproduced in an etching by Meissonier in the *Cabinet de l'amateur et de l'antiquaire* of 1843.

[11] E.g., ". . le roi de Lilliput l'aurait choisi assurément pour son peintre ordinaire" (T. Gautier, "Salon de 1840," *La Presse*, Mar. 24, 1840); "Quelle charmante galerie lilliputienne l'on pourrait faire des tableaux de M. Meissonier" (T. Gautier, "Salon de 1841," *Revue de Paris*, III, 28, 1841, 261). "M. Meissonier est sans doute le peintre ordinaire de l'empereur de Lilliput; un Gulliver dont Swift a négligé d'écrire l'histoire, l'a rapporté dans sa poche par mégarde car on ne peut comprendre que nos mains grossières arrivent à un tel degré de délicatesse" (T. Gautier, "Salon de 1845," *La Presse*, Apr. 16, 1845). "Patience, je trouverai demain mes deux Gulliver dans l'Île de Brobdingnag" (T. Burette, "Salon de 1840," *Revue de Paris*, III, 16, 1840, 136); and others. Such remarks exemplify a major concern in criticism lauding Meissonier's gifts—an interest in entertaining through colorful descriptions and comments.

[12] Gréard, Paris, 254, 282; New York, 274, 298–99.

[13] Meissonier declared his admiration for the "little masters" not only in the appearance of his paintings, but in the titles of the earliest ones: *Bourgeois flamands* (1834, Wallace Collection) and a "sujet flamand," which was rejected by the Salon of 1835 (Archives des Musées Nationaux, *KK29, No. 1850). Critics almost universally explored the Dutch-Flemish analogy in their remarks, even when the painting under discussion would not seem to suggest the comparison. The persistence of the reference is in part attributable to the fact that, in a period of growing interest in the field of history, it was very much a convention of the literary genre of Salon criticism that the writer make educated allusions to earlier art, whether of the Greeks, the Italian Renaissance, the 17th-century Lowlands or Rococo France.

[14] For an introduction to the wood-engraving revival see D. Bland, *A History of Book Illustration*, London, 1958, 276–300; R. Blun, *Le Livre français*, Paris, 1948, chap. 5; G. C. Johnson, "English Wood Engravers and French Illustrated Books," in U. Finke, ed. *French Nineteenth Century Painting and Literature*, Manchester, 1972, chap. 15; A. Léjard, *The Art of the French Book*, Paris, 1947, 87–112; and H. Zerner's entry "Romantisme: Les Arts graphiques et le livre illustré," in the *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, Paris, 1968, XIV, 375–78.



3 Meissonier, *Books*, from Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Paul et Virginie*. Léon Curmer, 1838, 228 (photo: author)

These included Paul Huet, Louis Français, Eugène Isabey, Tony Johannot, and, most outstandingly, Ernest Meissonier. For it was in the course of this project, in which he necessarily worked within prescribed limits, that Meissonier emerged from artistic anonymity and first acquired a reputation as a leading creative talent.[15] It was here, too, that he evolved what may properly be called the "vignette" aesthetic, which brought him success not only as a book illustrator, but later as a painter, as well.

A fused page heading and initial from *Paul et Virginie* (Fig. 3) typifies the vignette, the decorative illustration, at its most distinctive. Avoiding mere duplication of the narrative in the verbal account, it complements the text by elaborating on a lesser detail, expanding visually on what is only mentioned briefly and incidentally in words. The arrangement of the books on the page of text describing Paul's solitude focuses attention on a single aspect of the written commentary: the boy is urged to occupy himself by reading. Meissonier chose motifs like this one, composed largely of inconsequential still-life objects, because human figures or major action would be inadvisable in such a small format, in this case only 2⅛ by 3½ " (5.4 x 8.9cm). But he lavished all his gifts on such accessories, creating compositions of maximum variety and minute detail. Twenty-four books of all sizes, together with several loose pages, are scattered over the top of a desk and on a simple stool to the lower left. Some volumes lie flat, while others stand upright at odd angles. Some books remain closed, others fall open to varying degrees. A few have their page edges facing out, while others display their finely bound spines. Two have clasps, one has marbelized end papers, and another is markedly battered. So detailed are the thumbnail-size objects that one can read not only the date 1836 on a loose paper and the artist's name labeling one binding, but also the names of several authors: Plutarch, Xenophon, and Cicero. In its small scale, the rich image is indeed, in Meissonier's own words, "seductive."[16]

This same exploitation of the fascination exercised by tiny, astonishingly crafted detail constitutes a primary quality in the diminutive genre paintings, of which *A Painter Showing Some Drawings* is but one example. In the painting, even the figures, although endowed with

[15] Curmer's account books for this project, conserved in the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, show a steady increase in the number and importance of the assignments Meissonier received. His name figures ever more prominently in the advance publicity on future issues, which was included in each *livraison*, and in the final bound volume he was honored with a medallion portrait. His name on the title pages of later illustrated books was a recognized asset.

[16] Working on another vignette for the same book, Meissonier debated in a letter to Curmer whether to represent several conferring figures half-length, in order to make the heads more legible, or full-length. In the end, he opted for the latter alternative: ". . . Au lieu de faire une foule de petits bonshommes, j'ai pensé que je pourrais seulement faire les individus à mi-corps; je pourrais ainsi mieux indiquer les têtes et ce serait plus facile à graver. . . . Je rouvre ma lettre, ... J'ai pensé toute le nuit (façon banale de parler, vu que je dors la nuit) . . . que je ferais décidément mieux de faire des petits bonshommes car de jolis petits bonshommes sont séduisants." Letter dated Sept. 13, 1836, quoted in G. Vicaire, *Manuel de l'amateur de livres au XIXe siècle, 1801–1893*, Paris, 1894–1920, VII, 61.

human personalities, are arranged and meticulously depicted like so many still-life objects. Such concern for the choice of vignette-like subject and style characterizes almost all the paintings Meissonier exhibited, from the year of his Salon debut in 1834, through the years between 1840 and 1845 when his reputation was becoming fully established, and long thereafter. Thus, it is especially striking at this point that he should represent with awful precision a subject like the barricade of a popular insurrection, an event at once unflinchingly modern and the dismal contradiction of all the finer accomplishments of civilization on which his genre paintings so lovingly dwell. Yet his choice is not due to any particular wish to take up a new theme. Neither does it signal the ambition to become a history painter, a desire which was to emerge after 1859.[17] Quite simply, the painting originates in the rude impact of reality itself upon the artist. Painting the scene, in this manner, was the most natural means by which Meissonier could come to terms with a profoundly shocking personal experience.

On June 25, 1848, Meissonier had been on duty as a captain in a National Guard artillery unit assigned to defend the Hôtel de Ville in Paris. As he recalled in a letter written shortly before his death in 1891, he witnessed and participated in the successful attack on the barricade in what is now the rue de l'Hôtel-de-Ville, just off the rue Geoffrey de l'Asnier:

> I was then an artillery captain in the National Guard. For three days we had been fighting. I had had men killed and wounded in my battery. The insurrection surrounded the Hôtel de Ville, where we were, and in the moments after this barricade in the rue de la Mortellerie had been taken, I saw it in all its horror, the defenders slain, shot down, thrown from the windows, covering the ground with their corpses, the earth having not yet drunk up all the blood.[18]

This is the terrible spectacle that Meissonier starkly and accurately presents in his painting. The defensive wall, erected across the narrow street, is now reduced to a tumbled heap of paving stones. The resolute, impromptu garrison, stripped of its weapons, lies dead, the bodies sprawled awkwardly on top of each other as they fell. One particularly horrifying casualty in the center at first appears to be yet alive: his head is propped up by the body behind him, while his listless hand, resting against another comrade, seems raised in one further gesture of protest, perhaps now against death as much as any mortal adversary; his eyes remain open as if in pained bewilderment. Nothing lives now on this street of shuttered houses and store fronts, whose features are blurred and streaked. Viewed from the opposite side of the street, the row of unarticulated façades streams monotonously back to the left, until the view of its recession is almost blocked by the buildings on the left side of the street. The cul-de-sac of death becomes as visually inescapable for the viewer as it was in life for the dissidents. Coloristically, too, the scene is utterly bleak. The paint is often thinly applied, allowing the brown panel underneath to show through. Overall, grays and browns predominate, suggesting the dreary twilight hour. The only notes of color are the blues of the victims' clothing and the vivid red of the bloodstains.

Devastating in the unrelieved clarity of its imagery, Meissonier's painting represents his coming to terms with a haunting experience. He explained in the later letter: "When I executed it [the preliminary watercolor, Fig. 4], I was still in the grip of the terrible spectacle I had just seen, and believe me . . ., these things penetrate into your very soul. When one reproduces them, it isn't just to make a work. It's because one has been stirred to the depths of one's being and because this memory must endure."[19]

The title the artist ultimately gave to the painting also confirms the special nature of the painting as a personal commemoration of events witnessed. Meissonier first submitted the panel to the Salon of 1849, titling it *Juin*, and thus identifying it with the specific historical moment. Since by 1849 the artist was *hors concours* (he could submit his works directly for exhibition, without obtaining the approval of the admissions jury), and since that year he was himself on the jury, the painting could hardly be rejected. Meissonier, however, withdrew it from the Salon before the catalogue was edited, perhaps in response to the suggestions of friends, colleagues, and administrators that the work was too strong to be shown so soon after the traumatic events that had occurred. He sent the picture to the Salon again in 1850, but this time the painting bore the title

[17] As early as 1840, Meissonier had enunciated his ambition to occupy the highest rank in the hierarchy of genres. In signing his daughter's birth registration, he had identified his profession as "peintre d'histoire" (Paris, Archives de la Seine, État Civil, 9e arrondissement, déclaration de naissance de Jeanne Marie Marguerite Thérèse Meissonier, 22 mai 1840). Paintings such as *Samson abattant les philistins* may be seen as the first attempts toward the fulfillment of this ambition. But it was only in 1859 that the artist made his most decisive commitment by obtaining a government commission to represent the Emperor during the current military campaign in Italy. Completed in 1863, *Napoléon III à la bataille de Solférino* (Louvre) was shown at the same Salon as *1814, la campagne de France* (1864, Louvre), the first in Meissonier's long series of works depicting the first emperor of the French. Periodically, too, the artist tried to memorialize current historical events in appropriate visual form, notably in the images inspired by the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune of 1871 and in the never-completed decorations for the Pantheon, for which Meissonier received a commission in 1874.

[18] See Appendix.

[19] *Ibid.*

Souvenir de guerre civile.[20] No longer did the artist refer pointedly to a particular period in the Revolution, which had lingering political and social associations. Instead, the scene was generalized as one of civil war and, above all, identified as a personal *souvenir*, a memory.

Meissonier's painting is particularly striking in the artist's apparently noncommittal attitude toward the implications of his scene: Meissonier declares no outright sympathy with the insurgents, but neither does he seem to condemn them or insinuate that their fate is other than they deserved.[21] In marked contrast to such antecedents as Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People* (1831, Louvre), a large, monumental scene of dramatic action, Meissonier's image is entirely lacking in rhetoric and movement. He reduced the scene to the size of a page and then labored over it with seemingly dispassionate care, rendering each form with a refined and considered accuracy which effects a rather disconcerting transformation of the terrifying subject. The craft bestowed equally on the representation of everything that lies in the street results in an unsettling dehumanization of the tragedy, as the inert bodies are robbed of any visual, and hence psychological, uniqueness. Especially distracting are the paving stones in the immediate foreground, each stone as scrupulously individualized as a fallen man. With its liquid, polished surface, the panel perversely suggests an enameled, lovingly worked *objet d'art*. One contemporary referred to it as a "devastating miniature,"[22] and another made an analogy to the "pitiless fidelity of the daguerreotype."[23]

So distinctive is this "pitiless," jewel-like rendering that at least one author has tried to see in it the expression of Meissonier's middle-class antipathy to the People, to men who by their behavior, threatening to the social and economic order, have abrogated their rights to be considered as individuals with personal

[20] The possibility exists that in 1849 the painting simply was not finished in Meissonier's final estimation. Gautier described a visit to the artist's studio in his review of 1849 and discussed at length the "tableau de Meissonier qui n'a pu être achevé pour le Salon" ("Salon de 1849," *La Presse*, Aug. 8, 1849). It seems unlikely, however, that Meissonier would physically submit an unfinished painting and then withdraw it, as the official records indicate (Archives des Musées Nationaux, *KK43, No. 2910 and *KK100, No. 2910). Meissonier's registration is marked "retiré," leaving as his only exhibited work *Un Homme fumant*. For 1850 see *KK44, No. 5274 and *KK105, No. 5274.

[21] Meissonier's dispassionately objective rendering must have been particularly striking in contrast to other paintings dealing with the same events. Few works have been located (Clark reproduces some, together with contemporary newspaper illustrations), but from what can be determined from the titles and explanations printed in the official catalogues of the Salons of 1849 and 1850–51, most of the twenty-odd works representing the Revolution seem to have been marked by rhetorical drama or pointed moralizing. A few scenes dealt sympathetically or positively with admirable revolutionaries: one painting depicted the victorious populace sparing the municipal guards of the Hôtel de Ville, following its capture in February (Jean-Adolphe Beaucé, *La Clémence du peuple vainqueur, 24 février 1848*, Salon de 1849, No. 100). Many more were politically and socially conservative in the lessons they taught. One popular anecdote, represented several times, was the pious respect accorded the sacred objects in the chapel of the Tuileries, when the mob rampaged through the palace in February (cf. Louis-Nicolas Lemasle, *Une Scène de la révolution de février*, Salon de 1849, No. 1318). An even more frequently treated subject was the tragic death of the Archbishop of Paris, who was mortally wounded by a stray bullet while trying to halt the fratricide on a barricade in the Faubourg St.-Antoine (cf. Raymond-René Aiffre, *Portrait de Mgr. Affre, entouré de quatre médaillons renfermant les principaux épisodes des ses derniers moments*, Salon de 1849, No. 6; Amable Delaunay, *L'Archevêque Martyr meurt en exprimant ce voeu suprême:* "Que mon sang soit le dernier versé . . .", Salon de 1849, No. 511; Joseph Felon, *Mort de Mgr. Denis-Auguste Affre, Archevêque de Paris*, Salon de 1849, No. 702; Victor de Jonquières, *Dévouement et mort de Monseigneur l'Archevêque de Paris, à la Barricade St.-Antoine, le dimanche 25 juin 1848*, Salon de 1849, No. 1134; and J.-E. Lafon, *Denis-Auguste Affre, Archevêque de Paris, 25 juin 1848*, Salon de 1849, No. 1179). The one scene that sounds somewhat like Meissonier's was Eugène Lacoste's *Le Premier Travail après l'insurrection* (Salon de 1850–51, No. 1716), whose accompanying comment read: "Inhumer les victims après l'insurrection, tel est le premier devoir. Pauvres et riches, citoyens et soldats, tous confondus dans la mêlée, le sont bientôt après sur le pavé sanglant où ils ont reçu la mort. Triste et terrible drame, résultat des ces combats de frères, que la raison publique, l'honneur national et la religion doivent bannir à jamais de nos coeurs." Unlike Meissonier's painting, however, the focus here on the dead would have been active and purposeful and the import of the painting, which was commissioned by the government, overtly affirmative of the established order. Apparently only the more genre-like paintings adopted unpretentious attitudes comparable to Meissonier's. One example is Adolphe Leleux's *Le Mot d'ordre* (Salon de 1849, No. 1310, Musée de Versailles), which suggests the role played by the anonymous man in the street. Daumier, too, in unexhibited paintings such as the *Uprising* (Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C.), perhaps dating from around 1849, presents, without editorializing, unnamed figures caught up and buffeted by larger historical forces.

[22] "Foudroyante miniature"; Mery, "Salon de 1850," *La Mode, revue politique et littéraire*, XIII, 1850, 160.

[23] "Il l'a attachée à la toile avec l'impitoyable fidelité du daguerréotype;" L. Peisse, "Salon de 1850–51," *Le Constitutionnel*, Mar. 2, 1851. Peisse errs in identifying the support as canvas: it is panel.

tragedies.[24] Much of the evidence about Meissonier's social and political background might indeed lend itself to a straightforward, class-derived interpretation of his position in relation to the political and social realities of 1848.[25] As an adolescent, Meissonier had been momentarily swept up in the excitement of the Revolution of 1830 and with his school companions had plotted to escape from school in suburban Thiais and to rush to Paris.[26] Anti-monarchical sentiments in 1830 were perfectly in keeping with a liberal bourgeois position and Meissonier's background was indeed middle class. He was the son of a dye merchant in the Marais quarter of Paris. Although ruined by the Revolution of 1830, Meissonier *père* had been able to contribute to his son's career by financing a trip to Italy (a cholera outbreak confined the excursion to southern France) and by briefly renting a studio for him. The artist inherited a sizeable capital upon his father's death in 1845[27] and with this, together with savings from his already impressive income as a painter, he bought a former abbey in Poissy. Although he continued to maintain his old apartment on the quai Bourbon on the Île Saint-Louis, he thereafter lived and worked increasingly on his suburban estate. A proper, responsible citizen, Meissonier ran, albeit unsuccessfully, for election to the Poissy Municipal Council in July, 1848.[28]

Yet, the assumption that Meissonier is simply reflecting class attitudes and grimly recording the just deserts received by socialists neither follows necessarily from the evidence nor finds support in the painting. The color scheme seems to impart an acknowledgment of patriotic intent to the insurgents, since the uniform blue of the workers' trousers and smocks, the crimson of their wounds and spilled blood, and the white of their shirts and city-dwellers' pallid skin suggest a ghastly *tricolore*. Most important, Meissonier's title stresses what for him was the chief horror of the episode, not "revolution," or "the barricades of the insurgents," but "civil war." In the letter that has already been quoted, Meissonier mentioned an incident that likewise points to his shock at the spectacle that involved fratricide among Frenchmen and indiscriminate slaughter of the innocent along with the guilty. He recalled "the terrible utterance, which, more fully than anything else, conveys to what degree, in these frightening street wars, emotions run out of control. 'Were all these men guilty?' asked Marast [the mayor of Paris] of an officer of the Republican Guard. 'Monsieur le Maire, you can be sure, not more than a quarter were innocent.'"[29]

[24] T. J. Clark has attributed to Meissonier the conscious motive of showing the grim outcome of resistance to established order as a fearful reminder to those who might contemplate such actions in the future: "Meissonier's intention in the *Barricade* is clear—to paint a picture of civil war as a sober warning to the rebels of the future" (p. 27). Clark develops much of his argument with particular reference to the execution of the painting. He writes regarding the camera-like indifference with which the scene is recorded:

> This is the real anonymity of the People, a created sameness, the result of violence and not of a "natural" fact. That is the point of the scrupulous painting, the care taken to articulate every detail of the men in the road. Each of these men is distinct from his neighbour, every face different, every body has a weight of its own and has died in its own private agony. These are not anonymous men. They become anonymous only because they are confused with each other, only because they have been killed and have fallen together in a heap. Some such confusion is what always makes the People anonymous, to its masters (pp. 28–29).

Clark appears to be saying that the People become anonymous, not simply in death, as all men do, but because they acted together in a concerted fashion in which their interests were identified *en masse* in opposition to those of their "masters." According to Clark, Meissonier's technique, depriving individual forms of separate meaning, expresses a class-based lumping together in the aftermath of the violence which had threatened the control and property of the "side of order" with which he was allied as a member of the National Guard.

[25] It should be remembered that whereas a degree of unity had existed in the Revolution of 1830 between liberal politicians, journalists, students, the middle class, and "the people," who fought together against the Bourbon monarchy, in 1848 the alliance of the bourgeoisie and "the people" had become more tenuous. By June, when the barricades went up in protest against the provisional government's decision to close down the national workshops, which had been established to guarantee to all Frenchmen the right to work, the potential for division and conflict between classes was closer to becoming a reality and the bourgeoisie began to look upon revolution with considerable uneasiness, especially when it involved popular street manifestations by workers and the unemployed. Karl Marx was to base his *Class Struggles in France, 1848–1850* and Friedrich Engels his *Days of June, 1848* on this struggle. Flaubert's scenes from the Revolution in *L'Education sentimentale* also reflect the lack of sympathy between middle-class property owners, who were qualified to serve in the National Guard, and their more unruly compatriots.

[26] Meissonier reminisced in his old age, "Nous étions dans un étrange état d'effervescence; nous entendions au loin le bruit de la fusillade. A trois ou quatre, nous prîmes la résolution de nous coucher habillés et de nous relever, aussitôt que la maison serait endormie, pour franchir les murs bas du jardin qui donnait dans la campagne, et courir à Paris. Mais un lacheur nous trahit. . . ." Gréard, Paris, 10; New York, 9.

[27] Paris, Archives de la Seine, DQ^7 3675: Déclaration de succession, No. 278, May 18, 1846, Charles Meissonier.

[28] Versailles, Archives des Yvelines et de l'Ancien Département de Seine et Oise, 2 M 28/84, Procés verbal des opérations de l'Assemblée Communale, July 20, 1848.

[29] See Appendix.

It is worth remembering that this was Meissonier's own neighborhood, the area in which he had lived, at several different addresses, ever since his family had moved to Paris when he was three. He still had a residence directly across the river, almost within immediate view of the site of this barricade. In a phrase from the verbal description of his experience that June day, which is often appended to the title, Meissonier identified the street as the rue de la Mortellerie. He used, then, the former name of the street, which at the request of its residents had been changed in 1835 to the rue de l'Hôtel-de-Ville. Although the name derived initially from the mortar masons who had settled there, the dreadful appropriateness of the syllable *mort*, death, had been demonstrated during the cholera epidemic of 1832, which, in the space of three months, claimed 19,000 victims in Paris, three hundred of them living in the street.[30] That Meissonier should use the old name at least communicates an element of long-time personal familiarity with this abject street where he may well have grieved to see such an incident occur. Although he may not actually have known of the reason behind the official change in name, perhaps he, too, was struck by the allusive potential of the old name. Like the cholera, civil war is a scourge visiting death on those who all too often are blameless and uncomprehending.

Ultimately, however, it was not political, social, and economic sympathies that determined the appearance of Meissonier's scene of the barricade. Although in comparison to more romantic images of strife, Meissonier's painting may seem to exhibit a "deliberate deadpan in the face of horror,"[31] it should now be clear that many of the terms in which the execution of the *Souvenir de guerre civile* has been characterized are not so strange when they follow a discussion of genre paintings such as *A Painter Showing Some Drawings*. Like the scenes of cultivated gentlemen in leisurely genre pursuits, the *Souvenir* depicts a non-narrative, inactive scene. The surprisingly small scale accorded the subject, the painstaking attention to the least details, which consequently vie with the human elements for visual emphasis, and the high degree of surface finish are all found in most of the paintings done before the *Souvenir*. They, too, as critics like Théophile Gautier frequently exclaimed, were as exquisite as gems.[32] Thus the technique that seems at such odds with the frightful subject of the *Souvenir*, when viewed in the context of the artist's own work, represents the logical application again of the "vignette" aesthetic, which Meissonier had evolved in his designs for wood-engraved illustrations and which he subsequently developed in his genre paintings.

The *Souvenir* was given its final appearance through a process little different from that by which Meissonier created his other works. He had first recorded his impressions in a watercolor (Fig. 4). Although it is unlikely that he was equipped with the necessary materials to make such a sketch while he was fulfilling his military duties, he must have done this work, which is initialed and dated 1848 in the foreground, very soon after he witnessed the scene, either from quick notations made at the time, or from memory, shortly upon his return home. Reflecting the immediacy of the artist's inspiration, the relative rapidity with which it was undoubtedly executed, and the fact that it was probably done without any models to imitate, the watercolor has a directness and expressive impact that is missing in the finished oil, prompting Baudelaire to remark that Meissonier's "talent is conveyed much more energetically with the simple pencil than with the brush."[33] Delacroix, too, was so struck by the work when he saw it in the artist's studio that Meissonier was pleased to give it to him.[34]

The page has a spontaneous sketchiness that enhances the impression of chaos vividly perceived and hurriedly taken down, as if by one unwilling to linger on the scene. Broader contrasts of dark washes against the cream color of the paper define the general masses of the forms, emphasize awkward angles of fallen bodies, and dramatically silhouette the outflung limbs. Only selectively are details picked out and delineated, in a brown that almost suggests dried blood. The skeletal right hand of the figure in the foreground is a particularly ghostly example of the greater expressiveness of minimal definition, for with the link to the body left undefined, the languid fingers, indicated only by a series of wavy, vertical lines, appear as if altogether severed from the body. In the background façades this sketchy handling results in a hallucinatory effect of gloom and despair.

[30] J. Hillairet, *Dictionnaire historique des rues de Paris*, 1963, I, 650–51; F. and L. Lazare, *Dictionnaire administratif et historique des rues et monuments de Paris*, Paris, 1855, 420; Marquis de Rochegude, *Promenades dans toutes les rues de Paris par arrondissements*, Paris, 1910, IV, 80.

[31] Clark, 24.

[32] "Un joyau à faire monter en broche et en chaton de bague"; T. Gautier, "Salon de 1840," *La Presse*, Mar. 24, 1840.

[33] "M. Meissonier, dont le talent . . . s'exprime bien plus énergiquement par le simple crayon que par le pinceau"; Baudelaire, 137.

[34] The watercolor was auctioned in Delacroix's posthumous sale, Feb. 22–27, 1864, No. 674, for 3,000 francs. The purchaser, Meissonier's brother-in-law Louis Steinheil, offered to sell it to the Louvre, but Louis Reiset refused it, whereupon it was sold for 6,000 francs, probably directly to Arthur Stevens. Cf. J. Claretie, *Peintres et sculpteurs contemporains*, 1884, 2e sér., II, 19; Delacroix's reflections in his *Journal* for Monday, March 5, 1849, Paris, 1932, I, 270; and Gréard, Paris, 218; New York, 238.

4 Meissonier, *La Barricade*. Belgium, private collection (photo: owner)

5 Meissonier, *Study of an Insurgent*. France, private collection (photo: author)

6 Meissonier, *Study of an Insurgent*. France, private collection (photo: author)

Despite the evident power of the watercolor, such a loose manner was not Meissonier's accustomed one, in oils or even in watercolors, and he accordingly proceeded to translate this first version into the highly finished panel, which bears no date beside the artist's initials marked on the curb, but which was finished in time for the Salon of 1849. Meissonier evidently returned to the scene to insure the accuracy of the setting. He executed at least one precise pencil drawing of the façades in the middle ground, carefully articulating the recesses and projections of doorways and windows.[35] Observantly, he added to the panel the graceful street light, which was still present in photographs taken in the 1860's. He slightly altered the perspective of the street, so that where the disaster appears inescapable in the watercolor, as the façades rise to block off most of the sky, the oppression of the scene in the oil is relieved by the greater lightness of the patch of sky and the slender strip of light marking the opening at the other end of the street. Probably with a model, Meissonier also systematically worked out each figure individually (Figs. 5 and 6), exploring the disposition of each body, even where it would ultimately be obscured by another, and refining the details of shirt folds, shoes, and hands. Such partial studies were generally the only preliminary sketches Meissonier did before

[35] This drawing is now in a private collection. In ten lots, studies of individual figures in the painting were sold in Meissonier's studio sale (Paris, Hôtel Drouot, May 13–20, 1893, Nos. 553–562). Nos. 556, 559, and 561 have been located in private collections.

7 Meissonier, *Ruins of Troy*, from Bossuet, *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*, Léon Curmer, 1841, I, 39 (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

beginning to paint directly on a panel: he rarely made an overall compositional drawing, such as the watercolor.[36]

It is in the final crafting of the composition that Meissonier's vignette aesthetic is most evident. The artist fitted together all the motifs with the infinite patience that is characteristic of his treatment of other still-life arrangements, both in his paintings and in his book illustrations. In the *Souvenir*, as in his other works, there is the same impulse to fill all available space with telling details. Meissonier actually added three more bodies to the number depicted in the watercolor, draping one more corpse over the center group in the rear, placing another figure at the bottom of the same heap toward the left, and inserting another body along the curb to the right rear. In so doing he diminished the air of desolation of the watercolor, in which the men and the barricade, alike flattened, seemed to ebb away into the space of the street. As in the elaborate initial letter of books (Fig. 3) from *Paul et Virginie*, in which every sort of book is represented from every vantage point and in every position, Meissonier's concern seems to have become the display of many bodies in every imaginable pose of ungraceful collapse. Indeed, he had already once before labored over such a subject in a wood engraving: for the ruined city of Troy (Fig. 7) in Curmer's edition of Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire universelle* (1841), he had similarly created several expressive heaps by interweaving a variety of bodies, some strikingly foreshortened.

There is, then, ample precedent in Meissonier's work for the style that creates such a disturbing effect of aloofness in the *Souvenir de guerre civile*. If his image of a civil conflict differs from other comparable atrocity scenes, such as Goya's etchings in the *Disasters of War* series or Daumier's lithograph of 1834 of the rue Transnonain massacre, one cannot therefore assume that Meissonier was any less genuinely moved by his subject. Meissonier was a Salon painter, appropriately termed an academic because of his election to the Académie des Beaux-Arts, but not because he was a product of the academic instruction of the École des Beaux-Arts. He had little knowledge of how to go about painting a subject with such important human dimensions. Instead, his on-the-job training had shaped for him the modest aesthetic of a decorative illustrator, whose purpose was to provide a maximum of engaging detail, serving almost as footnotes to subjects and ideas developed principally in the text. He was little equipped to reverse the function of his image and now invest it with all the larger historical and human meaning one might expect of such a subject. The style that had become the focus of admiration for its own perfection could not now become a vehicle of expression, integral with the subject.

It is in some respects paradoxical that Meissonier's "photographic" style should be considered in relationship to "realism," broadly defined in terms such as contemporaneity and the artist's commitment to accurate documentation of physical fact in place of false idealization or dramatization. For his work also marks an early

[36] Meissonier claimed not to do preliminary compositional sketches (Gréard, Paris, 207; New York, 225), but said he simply began on the final panel. In 1884 he commented, "Je ne fais presque jamais d'esquisse, je ne modifie que des détails et je fais des études de morceaux" (*Exposition Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier*, École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1893, 7). In fact while partial studies of separate motifs exist for other paintings, I have found no sketches for full compositions. Some panels and drawings reflect the drawbacks of this approach: figures are begun at one end, only to run off the opposite edge without sufficient space; or surfaces have had additional pieces added to extend them. Meissonier blithely suggested this shortcoming as a means of identifying authentic works: ". . . j'entame n'importe où, et presque tous mes dessins (même sans parler des *béquets* des panneaux peints) ont des rallonges de papier collé dans un sens ou dans l'autre. En vente, que de fois n'a-t-on pas dit: 'C'est un Meissonier: il a des *béquets*' "; Gréard, Paris, 143; New York, 150.

stage in the evolution of an art more exclusively dedicated to formal concerns, an art in which the nominal content of the work, even literal reality, would increasingly come to be regarded as extraneous, an art whose didactic function would be denied. Such an outcome was almost definitely not Meissonier's personal intent. But critics at the time of his earliest successes, most important Gautier, repeatedly cited Meissonier's genre paintings as they began to enunciate the aesthetic that came to be known as *l'art pour l'art*, art for art's sake alone. Praising the beauties of their execution, Gautier signaled paintings such as the *Painter Showing Some Drawings* as: "A beautiful and fine response to those people who trouble themselves first and foremost with the subject and the meaning of a painting, who ask themselves if it will further mankind's progress along the paths of civilization and the future. . . ."[37] He hailed the *Smoker* as "a very strong example countering those people . . . who are fixated on the *subject* in painting and who only admire a painting according to the degree of interest afforded by the scene represented."[38]

The *Souvenir de guerre civile* is far from being a work of art for art's sake, especially in the terms in which that doctrine emerged through the work and writings of Manet, Whistler, and their heirs. In comparison to Manet's *Execution of Maximilian* (1867, Kunsthalle, Mannheim), painted nineteen years later, Meissonier's horror is still communicated relatively unequivocally, despite the tendency of the style to attract attention in its own right. Nevertheless, in the style that creates a psychological disengagement between the subject *per se* and the impact of its presentation, the style that grew from the habits formed in designing decorative vignette motifs of little meaning, the painting does manifest the gradual and as yet almost unperceived incursion of new aesthetic attitudes into the traditions of art.

Swarthmore College

Appendix

Meissonier's letter on *La Barricade* (private collection). The letter, addressed to the Belgian painter Alfred Stevens, refers to the watercolor, originally in the collection of Stevens's brother Arthur, a Brussels art dealer. Portions are quoted in Gréard, Paris, 218; New York, 238.

Poissy, 22 octobre 1890

Monsieur Alfred Stevens
15 avenue Frochot

Mon cher Alfred,
Vous me demandez ce que je pense du dessin de la Barricade que possédait votre cher frère Arthur? Parler de son oeuvre et d'en dire tout le bien qu'il en pense, n'est pas chose facile pour un artiste; mais je n'ai pas à avoir de modestie pour ce dessin et je n'hésite pas à dire que si j'étais assez riche pour le racheter je le ferais de suite, même de préférence au tableau; quand je l'ai fait j'étais encore sous la terrible impression du spectacle que je venais de voir, et croyez le, mon cher Alfred, ces choses là vous entrent dans l'âme, quand on les reproduit, ce n'est pas seulement pour faire une oeuvre c'est qu'on a été ému jusqu'au fond des entrailles et qu'il faut que ce souvenir reste. J'étais alors capitaine d'artillerie dans la garde nationale; depuis trois jours nous nous battions, j'avais eu des hommes tués et blessés dans ma batterie, l'insurrection entourait l'hôtel de ville ou nous étions, et quand cette barricade de la rue de la Mortellerie venait d'être prise je l'ai vue dans toute son horreur, les défenseurs tués, fusillés, jetés par les fenêtres, couvrant le sol de leurs cadavres, la terre n'ayant pas encore bu tout le sang. C'est là que j'ai entendu ce mot terrible qui mieux que tout, dit à quel point, dans ces épouvantables guerres des rues, les esprits sont hors d'eux-mêmes. "Tous ces hommes étaient-ils coupables?" demandait Marast à un officier de la garde républicaine. "Monsieur Le Maire, soyez en bien sûr, il n'y eu pas le quart d'innocents."

Mais voilà, cher ami, que je me laisse entrainer par les souvenirs. Pourrait-il en être autrement? La pensée de ce dessin les évoque toujours et la vue m'émeut profondément. Delacroix, ce grand artiste qui m'a aimé en fut si frappé dans mon atelier qu'une de mes plus grandes joies, devant son émotion, a été de le lui donner le soir même. Ce témoignage suprême vous suffit comme à moi, n'est-ce pas?

Je vous serre bien affectueusement la main.

EMeissonier

[37] "Une belle et bonne réponse aux gens qui s'inquietent avant tout du sujet et du sens d'un tableau, qui se demandent s'il fera progresser les peuples dans les voies de la civilisation et de l'avenir . . ."; T. Gautier, "Salon de 1845," *La Presse*, Apr. 16, 1845. Gautier refers to the unlocated *Jeune Homme regardant des dessins*.

[38] "*Le Fumeur* est un exemple bien fort contre les gens (il n'y a que trop de ces gens-là) qui s'attachent *au sujet* en peinture et qui n'admirent un tableau que d'après le plus ou moins d'intérêt de la scène qu'il représente.—La peinture n'est pas un drame, et les toiles anecdotiques qui plaisent tant aux bourgeois par les idées qu'elles réveillent dans leur tête sont les plus souvent d'abominables croûtes. . . . C'est la vérité du dessin, le choix de la pose, l'assortiment délicat des nuances, l'arrangement des détails, le sentiment intime de la vie, qui font la composition en peinture, et non la représentation théâtrale d'un fait quelconque"; T. Gautier, "Salon de 1842," *Le Cabinet de l'amateur et de l'antiquaire*, I, 1842, 123.

Rubens and Aguilonius: New Points of Contact

Julius S. Held

The six books on optics by Father Franciscus Aguilonius (1567-1617), published in 1613 but approved by the censor on December 9, 1611, constitute the only volume for which Rubens not only designed a title page but also provided illustrations in the conventional sense of the word.[1] (Neither the plates added to the slim book of philological notes written by his brother Philip and published in 1608, nor the large engravings he designed for the Roman Breviary and Missal of 1614 are, strictly speaking, illustrations of the accompanying text; and a volume planned to contain illustrations of ancient gems never materialized during Rubens's lifetime.)[2]

We may assume that Rubens consented to design six large vignettes for the opening page of each book of Aguilonius's *Optics* not only as a favor to his friend Balthasar Moretus, soon to be sole publisher of the Plantinian Press, but because the subject itself was of interest to him. The artist is known to have occupied himself with theoretical problems, but not much of these studies has been preserved.[3] The Aguilonius vignettes, in fact, are delightful as designs (and ably engraved by Theodoor Galle) and also render complex scientific actions and experiments with utmost clarity.[4] It stands to reason that for some time Rubens and Aguilonius must have been in close contact; and just as the first great manual on optics must have been of considerable interest to Rubens, so the learned Jesuit surely was aware of the intellectual capacity and outstanding artistic talent of the painter, ten years his junior.

No wonder that scholars have not been content with studying merely the prints Rubens contributed to Aguilonius's *Optics* but have also tried to see whether the oeuvre of the artist shows traces or reflections of some of the theoretical positions assumed by the author. It was Charles Parkhurst[5] who first suggested that in his choice of the principal colors in the painting the *Death of Argus* (Cologne), Rubens had followed the color scheme that Aguilonius described and rendered in a diagram accompanying Proposition 39 in his book (p. 40). In the center of that diagram are placed the three primary colors (yellow, red, and blue), each one connected by arched lines with the value extremes of black and white, while below them are the three composite hues (orange, purple, and green), each connected equally by lines with the respective primary colors from which they are derived. Although Aguilonius distinguishes between the colors as optical phenomena and the physical pigments used by painters in their effort to reproduce them, Parkhurst, who was well aware of this distinction, nevertheless made his thesis persuasive since Rubens's picture belongs chronologically to the period of his closest contacts with Aguilonius, and also because the main action of the painting, the transfer of Argus's eyes to the tail of Juno's peacock, involves the organ of sight, *pars corporis pretiosissima*, in Aguilonius's words, the faculty to which the entire first book is dedicated. Parkhurst wisely left open the question whether the color system here outlined was developed by Aguilonius himself or in conjunction with Rubens; the scholar also considered the

[1] *Francisci Agvilonii e Societate Iesv Opticorvm Libri Sex*, Antwerp, 1613.

[2] Some of the engravings destined for that publication were included in a book by Rubens's son Albert (*De Re Vestiaria Veterum . . . Libri Duo*), published posthumously in Antwerp in 1665.

[3] A lost notebook containing such studies has in part been reconstructed by Michael Jaffé, *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook*, London, 1966, *passim*. This aspect of Rubens's personality is given emphasis by Caspar Gevaerts (Gevartius) in the text of the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Antwerp, 1642 (p. 171), when he compares him to the Athenian painter Metrodorus whom the consul L. Paullus Aemilius employed for his triumph; the Roman consul had asked the Athenians to recommend a philosopher and a painter but was satisfied with Metrodorus who in the judgment of his fellow-citizens qualified on both counts. Gevartius continued: "Magnificum quidem istud Plinij de Metrodoro Elogium est; at eximiae ac singulares Rubenij virtutes maius sibi merito deposcant. Cuius in universa litteratura, encyclioque Mathematum omnium studio sit absolutissimus rerumque gerendarum solertia ubique spectatissimus." (This is a magnificent praise for Metrodorus, as reported by Pliny; yet the outstanding and singular virtues of Rubens justly demand an even greater one, as he has perfect knowledge of literature, and all the sciences, and is everywhere respected for his expert knowledge of public affairs.)

[4] See Wolfgang Jaeger, *Die Illustrationen von Peter Paul Rubens zum Lehrbuch der Optik des Franciscus Aguilonius, 1613*, Heidelberg, 1976. For Rubens's activity as illustrator of books, particularly his designs of title pages, see the exhibitions of this material held in 1977 in Williamstown, Mass. and Antwerp. The catalogue of the first (*Rubens and the Book*), ed. J. S. Held, contains contributions by students in the graduate program in the history of art at Williams College. The catalogue of the second (*P. P. Rubens als Boekillustrator*) is the work of J. Richard Judson and Carl van de Velde. I regret to say that an article on Rubens's illustrations for Aguilonius's book by E.G. Lisenkov (*State Hermitage Museum Yearbook*, III, Leningrad, 1949, 49-60) has not been accessible to me.

[5] Charles Parkhurst, "Aguilonius' Optics and Rubens' Color," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XII, 1961, 35–49.

third and I believe most likely possibility, that it was essentially derived from older sources. Aguilonius, in fact, includes Aristotle and Pliny among his references.

Ten years after Parkhurst's study, Michael Jaffé[6] turned to the same question, claiming that Rubens had—in fact "didactically"—applied every color of Aguilonius's diagram in his *Annunciation to the Virgin* (Vienna) in addition to his painting of Juno and Argus. Since the subject matter in this case, unlike the myth of Argus's death, has no recognizable connection with the sense of sight to which the first book of Aguilonius's *Optics* is dedicated, Jaffé seems to be implying that Rubens adopted the color scheme described by Aguilonius because the picture was intended for the oratory of the professed house of the Antwerp Jesuits where Aguilonius was a teacher of mathematics (and, later, rector until his death). It seems to me that such a claim could be substantiated only if it can be shown that a fair distribution of the principal hues of Aguilonius's scheme cannot also be found in other paintings by the master not connected in any way with the Antwerp Jesuits and their learned mathematician. At any rate, Jaffé is hard put to make his point. Yellow, for instance, he finds only in the glory of the Holy Spirit and the angel's hair; and although he correctly states that no liturgy prescribed that the angel's wings should be done in black and white, he might also have added that these are the colors Rubens habitually used for the wings of eagles, surely the best models for the wings of one of the archangels. In view of Aguilonius's own distinction between the colors we see and the pigments that painters use, even Jaffé's naming of the colors in the Vienna picture in terms of Aguilonius's schematized diagram (*albus, flavus, rubeus, caeruleus, niger, aureus, purpureus,* and *viridis*) seems to be rather problematical. Only a thorough study of Rubens's approach to color in the light of existing color theories can provide an answer to such questions; as far as I know, no one has as yet undertaken such a study.[7]

The section of Jaffé's article concerning the reflection of Aguilonius's color theory in Rubens's work is actually appended and clearly subordinate to a more thoroughly argued publication of two paintings that, in the author's opinion, are Rubens's "tribute" to Aguilonius's book and its author. The two paintings accepted as Rubens's work by Jaffé evidently deal with aspects of optics and are indeed related to activities depicted in two of the vignettes that Rubens had contributed to Aguilonius's book. The first one (Fig. 1)[8] recalls the vignette at the opening of Book Two of Aguilonius's *Optics (De Radio Optico et Horoptere,* Fig. 2). But whereas in the vignette the surveyors' tools are expertly handled and their function is made perfectly clear, the action in the painting is largely meaningless. Jaffé himself admits that it is difficult to say at what object the central figure sights through the aperture of his cursor; neither can we tell the aim of the crouching man with the diopter (not a circumferentor, as Jaffé calls it), although it has surely nothing to do with the obelisk near the center and the "difference in azimuth" between it and "the mark" (no further explanation is given). More surprising still is the author's explanation of the action of the man with the telescope which, as he says, "only makes sense" if its focus is the gold orb on top of the circular temple. Yet the prolongation of the telescope leads to a spot far above that object. Leaving aside the question of the style and the quality of this obviously damaged painting, it seems to me inconceivable that Rubens's "tribute" to Aguilonius should be so devoid of scientific precision and logic—and this about twelve years (Jaffé thinks) after the period in which Rubens had personally associated with the great mathematician. Given the virtually unique subject, I still believe (although Jaffé has since rejected it) that the painting could well be identical with one described in an inventory of 1653: "een stucxsken met Mathemathici die eenen tempel affmeten van van Hoeck" (a small piece with mathematicians who survey a temple, by Van Hoeck).[9]

The case made by Jaffé is not any better for the companion piece (Fig. 3).[10] Here the action is obviously related to the vignette preceding Book Six of Aguilonius's *Optics* (Fig. 4). Aguilonius was convinced that Book Six was the most important part of the entire opus; it is certainly the longest.[11] In the introduction *(argumentum),* he goes to great lengths to make clear that the science of planimetric projection is indispensible in the study of astronomy, cosmography, architecture,

[6] Michael Jaffé, "Rubens and Optics: Some Fresh Evidence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XXXIV, 1971, 362–66.

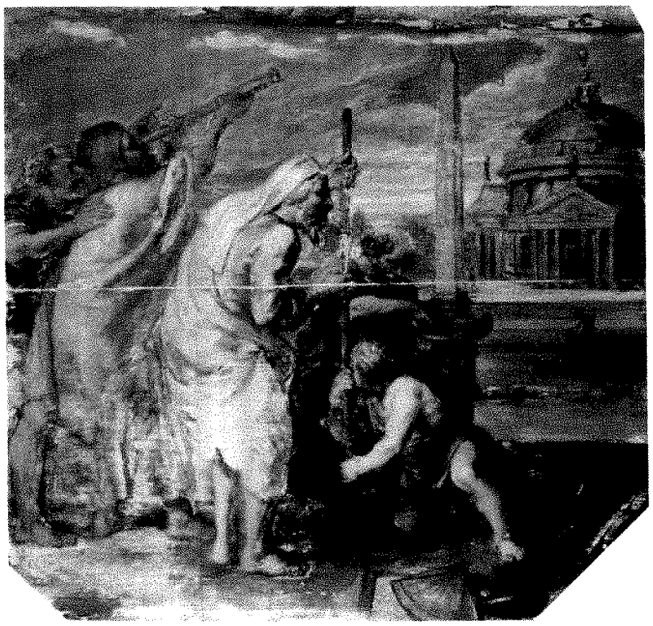
[7] For other 17th-century color theories, see Allan Ellenius, *De Arte Pingendi,* Uppsala and Stockholm, 1960. 180–83.

[8] Cradled panel, 54.5 x 61.5cm. In note 5 of his article, Jaffé mentions two recent restorations, the second, in his opinion, more successful than the first. Our reproduction shows the painting without any of these modern improvements.

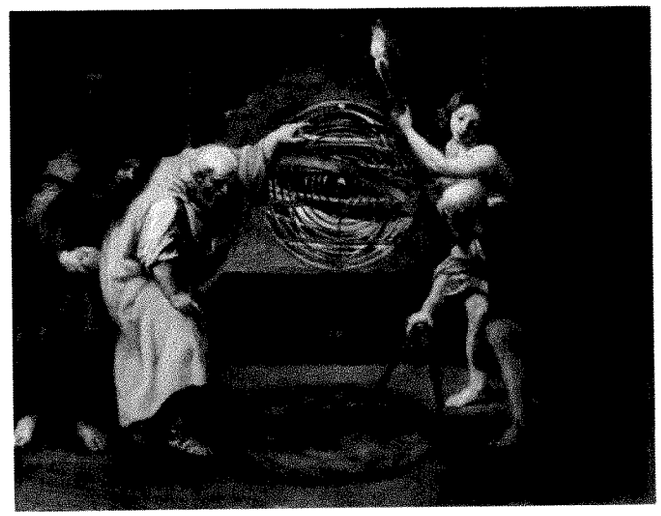
[9] See the catalogue of the Williamstown exhibition, pp. 24–25; for Jaffé's rejection see the *Burlington Magazine,* CXX, 1978, 144. For the inventory, see J. Denucé, *De Antwerpsche 'Konstkamers', Inventarissen van Kunstverzamelingen te Antwerpen in de 16e en 17e Eeuwen,* Antwerp, 1932, 155.

[10] Panel, 58 x 76.3cm. The burnt mark of Antwerp can be seen on the upper one of the two boards making up the picture. I am indebted to E. Speelman, London, for permitting me to examine the painting (1967).

[11] Aguilonius expressed his own assessment of the importance of Book Six in the opening phrase of that section: "Tametsi fateri oportet, ea quae superioribus quinque libris sunt pertractata, magnam habere et voluptatem et utilitatem; haec tamen pars, quae de Proiecturis est, longe habet maximam" (although it must be granted that what has been investigated in the previous five books gives much [intellectual] pleasure and profit, yet this section, which deals with Projections, provides both to the highest degree by far).

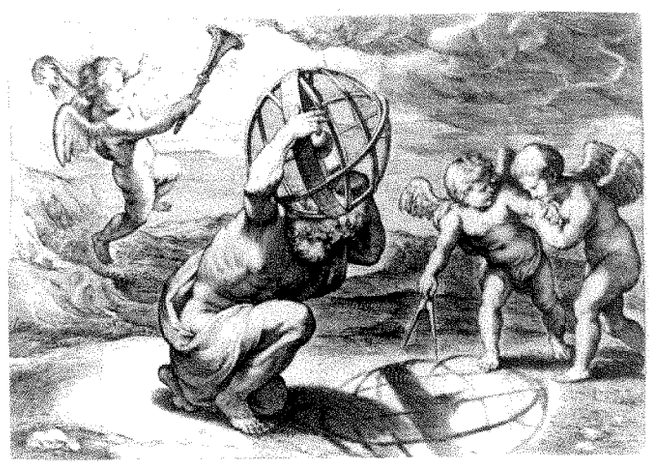


1 Unknown artist (J. van den Hoecke?), *Geographers with Measuring Instruments*. Present whereabouts unknown (reproduced in cleaned condition)



3 Unknown artist (J. van den Hoecke?), *Scientists Examining a Shadow Projection*. Present whereabouts unknown

2 Peter Paul Rubens, Vignette to Book Two of Aguilonius's *Optics De Radio Optico et Horoptere*, engraving by Theodoor Galle



4 Peter Paul Rubens, Vignette to Book Six of Aguilonius's *Optics, De Proiectionibus*, engraving by Theodoor Galle.

warfare, navigation, and, last but not least, the art of painting. Discussing astronomy, he makes the point that the usefulness of planimetric projections is unlimited in contrast to the various three-dimensional instruments (such as astrolabs) which are not always handy or accurate. Nevertheless, even they were great achievements, beginning with the first accurately made celestial spheres, supposedly invented by Atlas, "qui cum illud postea Graecos docuisset, magnam inde consecutus est gloriam quod coelum velut humeris sublatum in Graeciam deportasset" (who having instructed the Greeks in its use, attained great fame for having brought Heaven down into Greece, carrying it, as it were, on his shoulders). The subsequent perfection of the armillary sphere is credited to Archimedes, in accordance with a passage in Claudianus's epigrams (No. 21). The massive figure crouching on the ground in Rubens's print is certainly Atlas *coelum humeris tollens* (not "a scholar in the guise of Atlas," as the catalogue of the Antwerp exhibition has it).[12] With intense intellectual concentration, Atlas looks at the shadow that the armillary sphere on his shoulders casts on the ground, owing to the light of a burning torch held by a flying genius above and behind him. By this simple

[12] See Judson-Van de Velde, 26, No. 3.

5 C. Schut, *Allegory of Astrology,* etching

device of an instantaneous planimetric projection, Rubens ties the origins of scientific astronomy to the subject of the book announced in the title directly above the print, *De Proiectonibus,* but also, in an ingenious way, to a particular section of the book entitled *De Umbrarum Scenographicis Proiecturis,* possibly because Rubens himself was interested in the problem of shadow projection.[13] The composition is completed by two additional genii, one of whom, carrying a divider, appears to explain the virtue of planimetric projection to a duly impressed companion.

By introducing Atlas himself into the image and thus shifting the action into a timeless sphere, Rubens consciously removed it from the concrete scientific procedures depicted in the preceding five vignettes, where they were carried on in a rationally defined environment by typical scholars, albeit with the aid of eager and scientifically interested putti. Both Aguilonius and Rubens knew, or course, that tracing the shadows of an armillary sphere—or of any other object—is only a crude way of obtaining a planimetric projection; Aguilonius mentions the method only once, in passing, and as a mere experiment, in his *Praenotationes* to his discussion of the different types of projections (Section 5, pp. 494f.). Yet although the procedure depicted in Rubens's print lacks scientific reliability, it is at least rendered convincingly on its own terms: the artist (and his engraver) took care to relate the shadows correctly to the light accounting for them; the flame of the torch, the armillary sphere, and its shadows are lined up along one oblique axis, and the shadows are shown as far in front of the sphere as the torch is behind it.

All this is very different in the painting (Fig. 3). The action has been shifted to a human level and now three earnest people—ancient philosophers, no doubt—look at and are measuring the shadow of a complex astronomical sphere, projected on the ground with the aid of a crude firebrand held above it by a younger man. If, as I suspect, one of them is intended to be Archimedes, the painter of the picture hardly did justice to the scientific acumen of the great Syracusan. Whereas in Rubens's engraving the divider is only held but not used by the putto to indicate the central role played by this tool in constructing projections scientifically, in the painting one man actually uses the device apparently to take measurements from the shadows on the floor. Yet, unlike those in the engraving, the outlines of the shadows are painted so vaguely that they are practically useless for such a purpose. The shadow area, furthermore, is seen directly below the sphere, despite the fact that the source of light is off to the side; if Rubens did paint the picture, he must have forgotten what he had known when he drew the vignette about twelve years earlier. I do not consider myself competent to discuss the sphere itself, suspended in the center of the picture, but with its many concentric circles it is evidently a very different object from the standard armillary sphere as depicted in Rubens's print or, for instance, in Cornelis Schut's etching, *Astrology* (Fig. 5). Neither does it resemble any of the terrestrial and celestial spheres diagrammatically illustrated in the many admirable woodcuts interspersed in Aguilonius's book. If one notes, further, that its place in depth is ambiguous (it seems almost to sit on the central post of the balustrade in the rear); that the boringly symmetrical architecture is very un-Rubensian; and that the clumsy figures with their plump hands and feet have no analogies in the artist's oeuvre, one is led to conclude that this painting, too, has no place in the canon of Rubens's work. (In the inventory listing of the "Mathematici" by Van Hoeck, mentioned before, that entry [No. 24] was followed by No. 25: "Eenen Archimethes die gedoot wort van van Hoeck." Van Hoeck must evidently be reckoned with as a painter of pseudo-scientific historical subjects.)

Therefore, whereas the two paintings published by Jaffé fail to increase our knowledge concerning the contacts between Rubens and Aguilonius, two rather different observations may add new support to the assumption that the painter was well acquainted with the contents of the manual on optics by the Antwerp Jesuit.

In his fifth book (*De Luminoso et Opaco*), Aguilonius concerned himself at considerable length with the perception of shadow (*De Umbris,* 423-443). Having defined the nature of shadow as "diminished light," he describes the different appearance and degree of luminosity in cast shadows (especially when the lights are mul-

[13] See Thomas Da Costa Kaufmann, "The Perspective of Shadows: The History of the Theory of Shadow Projection," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XXXVIII, 1975, 258–287. I am grateful to Dr. Kaufmann for having reminded me of his article and for having made valuable suggestions after reading my manuscript.

tiplied), distinguishing between the uniformly dark "core"-section of shadows and the increasingly lighter marginal areas (*umbra perfecta* versus *umbra diminuta* or *imperfecta*).

It is in this connection that Aguilonius speaks of an optical phenomenon in words that bring to mind the inscription Rubens placed on a lovely, if slight, study of trees at sunset, reflected on the smooth surface of water (British Museum, Gg. 2-229) (Fig. 6). Recorded without any comment by Hind and Glück-Haberditzl, and misunderstood by Evers,[14] the work was given a brief study in my book on Rubens's drawings.[15] Sensing the interest of the touches of red chalk, I insisted that the drawing be reproduced in color (opposite p. 80). John Rowlands included it in his exhibition of Rubens's sketches and drawings and discussed it in the catalogue.[16]

Rubens's inscription (poorly translated on the same sheet either by J. Richardson, Senior or his son) reads: "de boomen wederschyn[en] In het Wadter bruynder ende veel perfecter in het Wadter als de boomen selvde." Rowlands translated it: "The reflection of the trees in the water is darker and clearer in the water than the trees themselves." In my translation I kept the puzzling word "perfecter" (as "more perfect") with the addition of a parenthetical "clear?" My chief comment was that Rubens "here reveals his keen observation and an inclination toward theoretical problems"; Rowlands put the stress on Rubens's "interest in the precise recording of nature." Neither I nor anyone else gave further thought to the curious text, being satisfied with considering it the artist's spontaneous reaction to an observed optical effect.

It is therefore of great interest that a comparable statement is found in the fifth book of Aguilonius's *Optics*, under the heading "PROPOSITIO LXV. THEOREMA./Umbra corpori opaco propinquior, obscurior est; et longè etiam quam reipsa sit, obscurior apparet" (p. 427 E-F). (The closer the shadow is to an opaque body, the darker it is; and it appears to be even darker than the thing itself.) It is his explanation of the second part of this *Theorema* that is pertinent here. (In his discussion of the first half Aguilonius takes issue with Proposition 31 of the second book on optics by the medieval Polish scholar Witelo which had been published in 1535 and again in 1572.) The short paragraph given to this phenomenon reads:

> Now the other part of the proposition remains to be explained, namely that the shadow near an opaque body appears darker than the thing itself. Since shadow is a diminished light compared to the stronger light which surrounds it (according to the twelfth definition of this book), the brighter the surrounding light, the more it dulls the observer's sight and the more fully will it darken that which is [already] reduced. Thus the shadow will appear darker than the thing itself.[17]

The observation that under certain conditions the shadow of a thing appears darker than the thing itself is associated by Aguilonius with the psychological effect of contrast. It is well known that a field surrounded by a very bright area appears darker than it would without that foil, just as, for that matter, it would appear lighter if surrounded by a darker field. Aguilonius formulated his *Theorema* without reference to any specific objects in nature, and it may be no more than coincidence that in the twelfth definition (p. 361), to which he refers, he had in fact mentioned the shadow of trees; there the context, however, had been the harmful effect that the shadows of some trees may have on human health.

I am naturally aware that Aguilonius's "shadow" is a different thing from the reflection in water of Rubens's remark. Yet there is one circumstance when that cast shadow and the reflected image of the object coincide: when the place of the beholder, the object he sees on the far side of the water, and the light behind that object are all located on a straight line. And this is precisely the condition depicted in Rubens's drawing (Fig. 6). His observation was probably helped because the light source, as can clearly be seen in the drawing, was not a well-defined small area but rather a broad band (drawn by him in red chalk) along the horizon. In fact, I believe the phenomenon he considered worthy also to be recorded in writing is true *only* under these specific conditions, when the bright light of the evening sky is reflected along with the trees in front of it. I doubt that Rubens's remark should be read to mean—as I believe it has generally been taken—that the reflection of trees (or of solid objects in general) on the surface of water is *always* darker than the objects themselves.

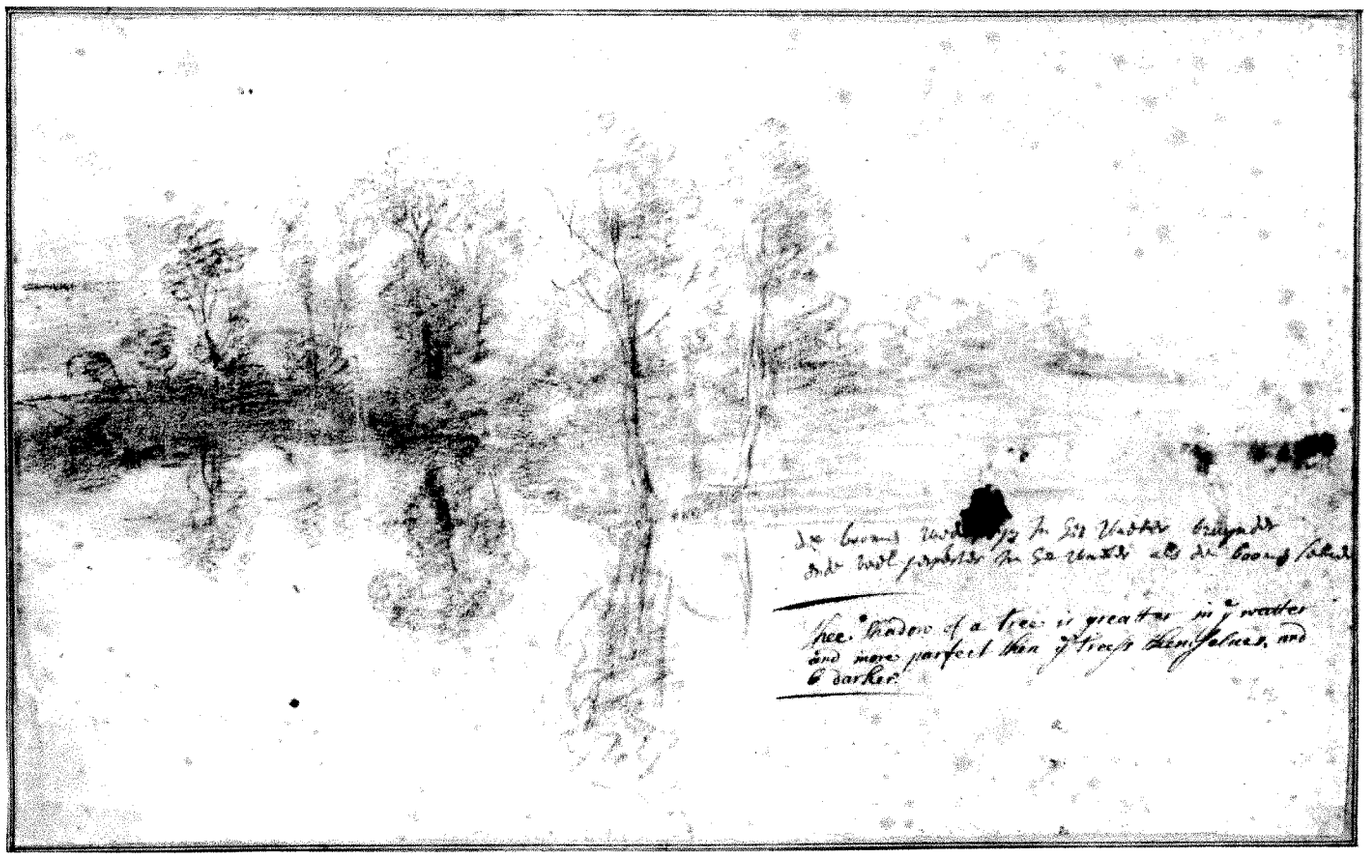
When Rubens drew the trees and their reflection many years after his association with Aguilonius and his book on optics, the painter surely did not intend to verify points made by the learned Jesuit. Yet with that marvelously retentive memory of his, he may well have recalled the passage about the effect of contrast described by Aguilonius. The connection can, I believe, be supported by one additional argument. Rubens's

[14] A. M. Hind, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists . . . in the British Museum*, II, London, 1923, No. 108; G. Glück and F. M. Haberditzl, *Die Handzeichnungen von Peter Paul Rubens*, Berlin, 1928, No. 171; H. G. Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Munich, 1942, 434.

[15] Julius S. Held, *Rubens. Selected Drawings*, London, 1959, 45–46 and No. 135.

[16] John Rowlands, *Rubens, Drawings and Sketches*, London, 1977, No. 195.

[17] "Nunc explicanda superest altera propositionis pars, quod videlicet circa opacum corpus umbra obscurior etiam quam re ipsa sit, appareat. Cum umbra lumen sit imminutum, maioris quod circumstat luminis comparatione, per. 12. huius libri definitionem: quo excellentius erit circumstans lumen, eo efficacius perstringet intuentium acies, uberiusque id quod minus est obfuscabit. obscurius ergo hoc, quam reipsa sit, apparebit."



6 Peter Paul Rubens, *Landscape at Sunset*, drawing. London, British Museum

choice of the word "perfecter" had always puzzled me and has never been explained. It was ignored by Rowlands who accepted my tentative interpretation ("clear?") but without its qualification. Yet as we have seen before, the word *perfect* plays a central role in Aguilonius's discussion of the different degrees of darkness in cast shadows. The darkest part is called *umbra perfecta*, and this expression must have been in Rubens's mind when he wrote that the reflection of the trees is "bruynder ende veel perfecter" in the water than the trees themselves. (*Bruynder* is the usual word for darker.) Thus, what he recorded on the London sheet is that, under the conditions prevailing as he looked at the scenery, the reflections of the trees were as *uniformly* dark (and even darker than the trees) as the core of the shadows in Aguilonius's demonstration.[18]

Just as the brief note about the reflection of trees in water, seen against a glowing sky, had hitherto been taken as nothing but a spontaneous reaction by a keen observer, another and even more celebrated word of Rubens's has been accepted as a highly personal and boldly confident self-appraisal of an artist who knew his own capabilities. It is found in a letter (unfortunately known only from a French translation) that Rubens wrote on September 13, 1621, to William Trumbull, the English agent resident in Brussels. Having been informed of the plan to provide the new Banqueting House at Whitehall with paintings, he made a forthright effort to obtain the commission. "As regards the hall in the new palace," he wrote, "I confess that by a natural instinct I am better fitted to make large works than small curiosities. Everyone according to his gifts; my talent is such, that no undertaking, no matter how huge in size and variety of subject has ever exceeded my courage."[19]

Proud words, and fully justified in a man who had just placed thirty-nine paintings on the ceiling of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp. But the statement involves

[18] Van Mander had already called special attention to the differences in the appearance of reflections in water. See Karel van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const*, ed. Hessel Miedema, with commentary, Utrecht, 1973, I, 201 (57); II, 512.

[19] C. Ruelens and M. Rooses, *Correspondance de Rubens et documents epistolaires*, II, Antwerp, 1898, 286–87. See also Ruth S. Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, Cambridge, 1955, 77 and 446–47.

more than Rubens intended to say about himself in this particular situation, when he hoped to obtain one of the most desirable commissions for a large-scale piece of decoration. Implied is a belief that an artist's work will be successful to the degree that it reflects and is in harmony with a "natural instinct." In his own case, that innate preference (the "ingenium" of art theory) urged him to work on the largest scale; and, happily, his heart was stout enough to tackle any such commission—one might even say, to relish it.

There is a passage in Aguilonius's book on optics that immediately brings this statement to mind. It is found in the last theorem of the third book (p. 194D), as part of a none-too-original disquisition on the nature of beauty and ugliness. The author tries to make the point that there is a direct correlation between the nature of an artist and the character of his work. In this endeavor he distinguishes different types of artists, each one producing works fitting his personal character and inclination. This is how the index of Aguilonius's book identifies them: "Painters who by nature are phlegmatic depict even fierce subjects with a certain restraint and sweetness./Painters by nature melancholic aim in their work at gravity./Painters feeble of heart express little themes in a small picture./Painters whose mind is noble delight chiefly in large shapes."[20]

The text is slightly more detailed:

> Finally, according to general opinion, that is certainly esteemed as the more distinguished and more honorable which corresponds more to each individual's character and inclination. The examples [proofs?] of this fact are nowhere more manifest than in painting. Thus by nature the melancholics aim at gravity in everything; the gentle and phlegmatic ones at a certain restraint, even in fierce subjects; those whose temperament is spirited and bold paint large shapes [*figuras*], noble gestures, profuse vestments, and render everything with greater power and energy. Those whose spirit is feeble and whose heart is low will be more pleased with small forms in which they render subjects maimed and abridged. For certainly the kind of thing which each individual conceives in his mind according to the inclination of his own nature will also please and captivate him and he [will] depict, select, and praise it before everything else.[21]

It is obviously not only the underlying concept of a close correspondence between an artist's nature and the nature of his art that connects Rubens's self-appraisal with Aguilonius's text. There should be no doubt that in his letter to Trumbull, Rubens described himself in terms of one of the four basic types Aguilonius had distinguished—the third in the text, the fourth of the index; neither should we be astonished that Aguilonius contrasted this large-minded painter to the feeble-hearted producers of small pictures, just as Rubens draws a clear line between his own art and the "small curiosities" done by painters with other (meaning lesser) gifts.[22]

Since there are exactly four types of artist in Aguilonius's statement, and since he identified two of them as representatives of the melancholic and phlegmatic humors, we may wonder if the entire scheme should not be read in light of the theory of the four temperaments. A straightforward application, however, is not possible: the choleric temperament is obviously absent. Yet it seems to me that the artist "whose temperament is spirited and bold" can be associated—and probably was so by Aguilonius—with the happiest of humors, the sanguine. Following up this thought, we may ask if Rubens might have been thinking of himself as a representative of the sanguine temperament when he characterized himself in his letter of 1621. There are other personal statements in his letters that could be quoted in support of this theory.

Yet the words of both Aguilonius and Rubens are obviously also related to another concept familiar in theoretical pronouncements on the arts: the doctrine of the "genres." When Rubens said that he was better fitted to execute large paintings than small curiosities, he surely had not only physical size in mind but also the subjects that alone are worthy to be so treated: dignified and heroic actions. Aguilonius's words, too, leave no doubt that the painter whose "ingenium" is "acre et audax" would by preference deal with themes commensurate with his nature. And with their disdain

[20] "Pictores natura phlegmatici quandam etiam in rebus ferocibus modestiam et suavitatem exprimunt./Pictores natura melancholici gravitatem in operibus affectant./Pictores qui angusto sunt pectore, res parvas exili tabella comprehendunt./Pictores quibus generosus est animus, magnis figuris praecipue delectantur."

[21] "Denique ex hominum opinione illud omnino excellentius augustiusque existimatur, quod uniuscuiusque ingenio ac propensioni magis est accommodatum. Cuius rei exempla in nulla re clarius, quam in pictoria elucent. Natura enim melancholici gravitatem in omnibus affectant, mansueti ac phlegmatici quamdam etiam in rebus ferocibus modestiam ac suavitatem: quorum ingenium acre et audax, hi figuras magnas, gestus liberales, vestes profusas, et omni maiore efficacia atque energia depingunt: quibus angustus est animus, pectusque suppressum, his parvae figurae magis arrident, in quibus res ipsas mutilas contractasque efformant. Qualia nempe unusquisque animo concipit iuxta naturae inclinationem, talibus delectatur et capitur, eademque prae ceteris sibi effingit, deligit atque collaudat."

[22] It is regrettable that owing to the loss of Rubens's original formulation of the letter, we do not know what expression he had used where the translator put "small curiosities." We do not even know what language Rubens used writing to Trumbull since the two letters to Trumbull preserved are known only in translation; it is likely, however, that Rubens wrote in Italian, just as he did in his correspondence with Sir Dudley Carleton. Many years later Samuel van Hooghstraten used the words "kleyne beuzelingen" (trifles) in a similar context (Samuel van Hooghstraten, *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst*, Rotterdam, 1678, 77.)

for works on a small scale, both surely espoused the idea that base, unworthy subjects go with limited formats.[23] Consciously or not, the argument probably also worked the other way: a painter opting for works on a large scale and for the subjects going with it proclaimed himself to be a man of noble spirit and high aspirations (rather as, at a later time, an artist assuming a melancholy pose would thereby make sure that he was recognized as a genius). With ideas and information derived from Horace and Pliny, various Renaissance authors had touched on the subject of different categories of art,[24] but I wonder if the "academic prejudice" was ever as closely tied to the actual size of the works as in Rubens's and Aguilonius's statements.[25] It was only in the course of the seventeenth century and with the ascendency of the academies that a fixed value-scale of "genres" was established; but even then, it was the subject depicted, not the size of the picture, that decided the ranking.

Although recognizing the conventional elements in Rubens's self-appraisal, we ought not to overlook what it reveals of his most personal ambitions. In fact, the modern art historian would probably give less credit to a "natural instinct" to explain Rubens's preference for large-scale paintings and concomitant subjects, than to his admiration for and study of the monumental art of the great Italian masters of the Renaissance and of his own time. To compete with them, and to establish in the North an art as large in scope and grand in themes as theirs, was his goal—and, we may say, his achievement. Rubens's letter to Trumbull was prompted (at least in part) by the hope of demonstrating again (and in a most prominent place) that he could rival anything a painter trained in Italy could do. It took about nine more years for him to obtain that commission; and there surely was no other painter available who could have adorned the Banqueting House with an equally grandiose set of pictures.

Admitting the close similarity between the passages quoted from Rubens's letter and Aguilonius's *Optics*, we must still explain it; that they should have been written independently of each other seems to me most unlikely, particularly since we know that at least for some time both men had been in fairly close contact. Yet, Parkhurst's dilemma is unresolved. Looking at the problem with respect to chronology alone, we would evidently have to assume that, consciously or not, Rubens followed formulations he remembered from Aguilonius's book. There is, however, a rather strong argument for a different solution. The description of the four types of painters comes at the very end of Aguilonius's third book; it is not very organically related to the arguments before, or the mere nine lines that follow. We ought to consider seriously the possibility that the short paragraph was interpolated into a preexistent text, and that it was his contact with the brilliant young artist recently returned from Rome, and some conversations he may have had with him, that prompted Aguilonius to insert the paragraph into a rather conventional Aristotelian discourse on the nature of the Beautiful and the Ugly.

Old Bennington, Vermont

[23] It hardly needs stressing that Rubens's disdain for painters of "small curiosities" echoes an aesthetic prejudice already known to antiquity: the Athenian painter Nikias disparaged the painters of small pieces depicting birds and flowers, as reported by Demetrius Phalereus (see also Charles Sterling, *Still Life Painting from Antiquity to the Present Time*, Paris, 1959, 12, 14).

[24] For the growth of "genres," see for instance E. H. Gombrich, "The Renaissance Theory of Art and the Rise of Landscape," in *Norm and Form*, London, 1966, 107–121, and by the same author, "Tradition and Expression in Western Still Life," in *Meditations on a Hobby Horse*, London, 1963, 95–105.

[25] Admiration for works of unusually large size is of course older; Vasari more than once praises works particularly for their large dimensions.

1 John Singleton Copley, *Watson and the Shark*, 1778. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Politics, Prints, and John Singleton Copley's *Watson and the Shark**

Ann Uhry Abrams

John Singleton Copley's *Watson and the Shark* (Fig. 1) dramatizes an incident of 1749 when fourteen-year-old Brook Watson lost his leg to a shark swimming in Havana harbor.[1] The stark white body of Watson, back arched, arm upraised, and head tilted back, shares the foreground with an unusually large shark. Nine men in a crowded rowboat are engaged in a rescue operation. Two lean over the side in an attempt to save Watson: another shouts directions. A harpooner poises his weapon above the shark while a black man holds the

* Portions of this paper were presented at the Northeast American Society for 18th Century Studies in October, 1978. I am indebted to Theodore Stebbins of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for his helpful comments and suggestions; and to Linda Hyman and Elliott Mackle for their encouragement and assistance.

[1] The original painting is now in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C.; another large version from 1778 is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; and a smaller vertical version is in the Detroit Institute of Arts. A third, smaller oil sketch at the Metropolitan Museum has been attributed to Copley. John Caldwell, Assistant Curator at the Museum, has now positively identified the painting as a copy made by Copley between the Washington and Boston versions.

towline. The scene is marked by contrasts: the dark, powerful shark attacks the pale, helpless boy; the turbulent sea lashes the seemingly stationary boat; the black man stands majestically apart from the white crew. With its two triangular configurations, the composition is at once schematically rational and structurally illogical. Indeed, the peculiar combination of Baroque drama and unorthodox subject matter produces a puzzling yet compelling picture.

Traditionally, scholars have agreed that the painting is simply a recreation of the unfortunate accident that maimed the London merchant Brook Watson in his youth.[2] This viewpoint has been recently challenged, however, by Irma Jaffe and Roger Stein,[3] both of whom have presented evidence to prove that the painting contains a complex scheme of theoretical and aesthetic references extending far beyond the surface narrative of Watson's accident. Jaffe explores religious symbolism by relating Watson's nudity, the boat at sea, and the crosses in the harbor background to biblical parables. She makes some interesting associations with Raphael's and Rubens's versions of *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes;* and clearly the triangular configuration in Raphael's tapestry cartoon (then in Buckingham House, London) parallels that of the rescuers in Copley's painting. Jaffe concludes that the figure of Watson represents naked innocence reaching for salvation through the redemptive strength of the Church. Stein, on the other hand, explains that the painting marks a transition between earlier stylistic traditions and a new type of characteristic American seascape painting, noting how Copley synthesized the Neoclassical aesthetics and Puritan traditions that he had learned and inherited.

Both fine studies establish the groundwork for the explorations presented in this essay. At the end of her article, Jaffe suggests that the painting "can be seen to have political connotations."[4] This article follows her suggestion, and concerns the relationship between the painting, done in 1778, and the American Revolution then in progress. In line with Stein's observations on the variety of empirical and sensory data that Copley accumulated, I will investigate the influences of popular images on the composition and iconography of *Watson and the Shark*. The provocative socio-cultural observations of Jaffe and Stein can be anchored, I believe, to specific information, namely the influence of eighteenth-century prints on the development of Copley's painting.

The importance of reproductive and original prints to painting in the eighteenth century cannot be overemphasized, for they served as a common means of artistic education. Provincial artists depended upon engraved reproductions for their knowledge of the great masters, and upon original etchings for examples of accepted techniques of drawing and printmaking. In fact, Copley was indoctrinated into art by learning the intricacies of printmaking from his stepfather, Peter Pelham, one of Boston's leading engravers. In Pelham's studio, Copley learned the techniques of engraving, studied mezzotint reproductions of European works, and met Boston's leading artists who brought their paintings to Pelham for reproduction.[5] Not surprisingly, two of Copley's first works, the mythological allegories *Galatea* and *The Return of Neptune*, were based on engravings of European painting.[6] It is significant that these works were taken from prints that dealt with nautical themes. I suggest that when Copley planned *Watson and the Shark* twenty-four years later, he returned to two of his earliest methods of history painting: he took cues from engravings and used the sea as a background.

I. Copley and the American Revolution

During the twenty-four years that elapsed between Copley's youthful attempts at history painting and the mature achievement of *Watson and the Shark*, a variety of influences shaped his concepts of allegory and iconography. He was affected by his expanded knowledge of European culture, and by social and political events of his early career. His correspondence reveals that he was deeply concerned with two pre-Revolutionary episodes: the Stamp Act controversy and the Boston tea crisis. The first, resulting from passage of a Parliamentary revenue bill in 1767,[7] sparked extensive rioting in Boston. Protesters sacked and burned the stamp office along with the homes of several British officials.[8] A

[2] For the usual interpretation, see: Jules D. Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, Cambridge, Mass., 1966, 267–274.

[3] Irma Jaffe, "John Singleton Copley's *Watson and the Shark*," *American Art Journal*, IX, 1977, 15–25; Roger Stein, "Copley's *Watson and the Shark* and Aesthetics in the 1770s," in *Discoveries & Considerations . . .*, Albany, 1976, 85–130.

[4] Jaffe, 25.

[5] For information on Peter Pelham, see: Andrew Oliver, "Peter Pelham . . ." in *Boston Prints and Printmakers, 1670–1775*, Boston, 1973, 133–169; and Sinclair H. Hitchings, "The Graphic Arts in Colonial New England," in *Prints in and of America to 1850*, Winterthur, 1970, 83; and D. M. Stauffer, *American Engravers Upon Copper and Steel*, New York, 1907, I, 206–08.

[6] Copley's early career is discussed by Prown, 18; and Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, "A Copley Primitive," *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, XX, 1962, 257–263.

[7] That year had been an important one for Copley because the portrait of his half-brother, Henry Pelham, entitled *Boy with a Squirrel*, was exhibited at the Society of Artists in London. The painting was well received and praised by such prominent artists as Sir Joshua Reynolds and Benjamin West. The latter began to correspond with Copley, advising him to continue competing in international exhibitions and to plan a trip abroad. See *Letters & Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham, 1739–1776*, Boston, 1914, 41–45 (hereafter cited as *C-P Letters*); see also: Prown, 47–51.

[8] For further information on the Stamp Act, see: E. S. and H. M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis*, Chapel Hill, N.C., 1953, 180–204.

letter of September 10, 1765, substantiates Copley's interest in these events. On that day, he wrote to Captain R. G. Bruce:

> Capt. Jacobson is just arrived with the stamps which has made so much noise and confusion among us Americans . . . in Boston we demolished the Lieut. Govounours House, the stamp Office, Mr Storys and Greatly damaged Capt Hollowells and the Secretarys Houses, sence which there is a strong Military watch kept every night which keeps the Town in quietness.[9]

During these tense autumn days in 1765, a cartoon entitled *The Deplorable State of America* was issued (Fig. 2). The only known copy bears the inscription: "The original print done in Boston by J°S. Copley." After studying the engraving now in the Library Company of Philadelphia, E. P. Richardson concluded that it was indeed from Copley's hand. If Richardson's attribution is correct, as I believe it to be, the print represents Copley's only known attempt at political cartooning. Furthermore, it signifies the artist's only clear declaration of partisan politics, for in later years he professed neutrality.[10]

On November 1, 1765, the day scheduled for implementation of the Stamp Act, an advertisement appeared in the Boston *Evening Post* stating: "A Caricatura being a representation of the Tree of Liberty and the Distress of the Present Day, sold by *N. Hurd* near the Exchange."[11] *The Deplorable State of America* attributed to Copley fits this description, as we shall see shortly. Mention of the print in the Boston press further strengthens Richardson's conclusions concerning the caricature's American origins.

In 1769, Copley married Susanna Clarke, daughter of Boston's leading importer. Because the welfare of his wife's family depended upon harmonious relations with Britain, Copley chose to avoid partisanship in the dispute between England and America. In 1770, he wrote West that he would like to be considered merely as "an Artist implov'd in the way of my profession . . . [for] Political contests . . . [are] neither pleasing to an artist nor advantageous to Art itself."[12]

In 1773, Boston again became the focal point of Colonial unrest after Parliament attempted to levy a tax on tea. Three Massachusetts firms were designated as consignees for the British East India Company: Richard Clarke & Sons, Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson, and Faneuil & Winslow. The first firm belonged to Copley's in-laws; the second to the sons of the Massachusetts governor who were also cousins of Susanna Clarke Copley; the third to another Clarke cousin, Joshua Winslow. The Winslow company served as Boston representatives for the London exporting firm of Watson & Rashleigh, led by Brook Watson, subject of Copley's famous painting. During the summer of 1773, Watson met often with Copley's brother-in-law, Jonathan Clarke, and other consignees to coordinate plans for shipping tea to America.[13]

While the first tea shipment was en route between London and Boston, American patriots were uniting in opposition to the East India Company and its consignees. Protests were directed against the Clarke family, with angry demonstrations taking place in front of Richard Clarke's residence.[14] By the time the tea ship Dartmouth arrived on November 28, the patriots had coordinated a unified resistance movement. A large assembly held on the day of the ship's arrival issued an ultimatum to the consignees demanding that the tea be returned to England. But the merchants, who were equally adamant in their resolve, answered the townsmen with a letter delivered to the assembled Bostonians by John Singleton Copley. Copley explained to the assembly that although the consignees could not return the tea, they would be willing to store the shipment until the controversy was resolved. The assembly, however, emphatically refused to consider this suggestion. After several conferences with the consignees, Copley reported to the assembly that the merchants would not concede.[15] Copley's mediating attempts, which might have changed the course of history, were not entirely in vain, however, for participation in a pivotal historical moment made him extremely sensitive to the passions roused by the American conflict.

For over a decade, Copley had planned to complete

[9] *C-P Letters*, 35; this and subsequent quotations preserve Copley's spelling and punctuation. His brother-in-law, Jonathan Clarke, connected Copley with the Sons of Liberty. In a letter jokingly commenting about the expensive life of London, Clarke warned: ". . . here money will go and . . . [as] you Sons of Liberty will find sometimes without your consent." *Ibid.*, 193.

[10] The print was found in the papers of the collector Pierre Eugène du Simitière in the Library Company of Philadelphia. Richardson explains that du Simitière was a scrupulous collector of American memorabilia. He obviously obtained the Copley engraving shortly after he immigrated to America from the West Indies in 1765. As far as can be ascertained at present, there is only one impression of the print. See E. P. Richardson, "Stamp Act Cartoons in the Colonies," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XCVI, 1972, 275–297.

[11] *Boston Evening Post*, November 4, 1765. The date of November 1 is also given in Stefania A. Munsing, *Made in America, Printmaking 1760–1860*, Philadelphia, 1973, 3. It is interesting to note that in 1765 Copley also painted a portrait of Nathaniel Hurd, the noted silversmith and engraver, placing books in the composition to illustrate Hurd's relationship to the printing profession.

[12] *C-P Letters*, 98.

[13] For an insight into the complex negotiations preceding the tea crisis, see: the letters in F. S. Drake, *Tea Leaves*, Boston, 1884, 202–03, 205, 222–23, 235, 237–38, 262.

[14] Details concerning the activities of the Clarke family during the tea crisis may be found in: B. W. Labaree, *The Boston Tea Party*, New York, 1964, 33, 50–51; I. R. Christie and B. W. Labaree, *Empire or Independence, 1760–1776*, New York, 1976, 116–17.

[15] *C-P Letters*, 200–02, 211–13; Drake, 282–291, 322–330; Labaree, 104–125.

his education by touring Europe, but he repeatedly postponed the journey because of family responsibilities. The tension engendered by the Boston tea crisis may well have hastened his departure, because after involvement in the events of late 1773, it became increasingly difficult for him to remain neutral. In April, 1774, a group of demonstrators caused a disturbance at his residence, acting on suspicion that he was housing a British official.[16] Two months later he sailed for Europe. While in Italy, Copley received word that war had erupted in Boston. Although the news came as no surprise, it troubled him greatly. His letters were filled with his concerns about the fighting, especially the letter to his wife written on June 22, 1775:

> Whoever thinks the Americans can be easily subdued is greatly mistaken; they will keep their enthusiasm alive till they are victorious, if I am not extremely mistaken. You know, years ago, I was right in my opinion that this would be the result of the attempt to tax the colony; it is now my settled conviction that all the power of Great Britain will not reduce them to obedience. Unhappy and miserable people, once the happiest, now the most wretched! How warmly I expostulated with some of the violent "Sons of Liberty" against their proceedings they must remember; and with how little judgement, in their opinion, did I then seem to speak! But all this is past; the day of tribulation is come, and years of sorrow will not dry the orphans' tears not stop the widows' lamentations; the ground will be deluged with the blood of its inhabitants before peace will again assume its domain in the country.[17]

The nostalgic insight expressed in this and other letters reveals Copley's frame of mind. He was emotionally involved with the plight of America yet determined to remain neutral. Although he left Boston in June, 1774 with intentions of returning, his associations with the Clarke family labeled him as a Tory despite his persistent efforts to prove that he had sympathies for both sides. When American forces captured Boston, Copley's family prepared for departure. In October, 1775 they joined him in England, never again to return to their native land.

Letters from Copley to his family indicate that when the artist removed himself physically from America, he purposely abandoned the direct style of portraiture that had brought him patronage in the Colonies. After touring Europe, he expressed admiration for Correggio, Titian, and Rubens as well as a desire to create a monumental history painting to achieve academic acceptance.[18] Following the example of his American predecessor, Benjamin West, Copley decided to base his work on a contemporary event rather than a classical or religious theme.[19] Thus when he received the commission from Brook Watson in 1778, he was prepared to attempt a new style of history painting.[20]

In many ways, Watson was the perfect subject for a modern allegory because his adventurous career had often put him in danger. As a young orphan in 1749, he had been sent from Britain to live with a distant relative in Boston named Levens. It was Levens who sent the youth to Havana. There he took a swim in the harbor only to encounter the shark that severed his left leg. When Watson returned to Boston, he found that Levens had vanished. This was the year 1750, when Copley was twelve and Watson fifteen. There is no record of their meeting, but Watson did remain in Boston for several months while seeking employment. Finally, after becoming an apprentice on a schooner, he arrived in Nova Scotia, where he stayed for a decade as commissary agent for Lt. Colonel Henry Monckton of the British Army. The chief commissary to Monckton's army at the time was the Boston merchant Joshua Winslow, the uncle of Susanne Clarke Copley and the father of Watson's future partner in the East India Company transactions.[21]

While in Nova Scotia during the French and Indian War, Watson distinguished himself by acts of bravery.[22] These deeds gave the young amputee a heroic reputation before he returned to England in 1759 in the employ of a mercantile company. Fourteen years later he was well established as the leading partner in his own firm of Watson & Rashleigh, which not only

[16] Copley's letter states that the protesters wanted to see a "Mr. Watson," which leads one to speculate about the presence of Brook Watson, who was rumored to have been in America in 1774. Editors of Copley's letters, however, note that it was Colonel George Watson, a Mandamus Counsellor from Plymouth. *C-P Letters*, 218.

[17] This letter, published by one of Copley's descendants, was obviously edited to correct the grammar and spelling. Martha Babcock Amory, *The Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley*, Boston, 1882, 62.

[18] From Italy, Copley wrote Henry Pelham: ". . . I don't think a Man a perfect Artist who on occation cannot Paint History . . . but portrait painting I shall pursue, unless tempted by some things in history by any that may wish to imploy me in that way." *C-P Letters*, 339–340.

[19] See: Edgar Wind, "The Revolution of History Painting," *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, II, 1938–39, 116–127.

[20] Copley's biographers state that Brook Watson commissioned the artist, although no record of the transaction exists. On the other hand, as there is no evidence to prove that the work was not commissioned, we must assume that Watson did negotiate with Copley to paint the work. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that Watson owned the original painting until his death in 1807. See Prown, 268, 272.

[21] C. J. Webster, *Sir Brook Watson . . .*, Sackville, New Brunswick, 1924, 3–5. Also see: "Letters from Watson to the Reverend Mr. Brown of Halifax, 1 July, 1791," in "Reverend Hugh Graham's Account and Trade of the Arcadians, 1791," in "Papers Relating to Nova Scotia, 1720–1791"; and "Minutes of the Commission of Trade, Whitehall, 20 March, 1784," MSS Division, British Museum.

[22] Watson was credited with single-handedly rescuing a herd of British cattle from the French, a deed that required swimming through an icy river. Webster, 5–10, and "Letters from Watson."

worked with the East India Company, but also monopolized the trade between London and Halifax.[23] Watson's biographer, Clarence Webster, found proof in the Congressional records that Watson was spying for the British Army while traveling in New England and Canada presumably on business. Watson established close relationships with American soldiers in order to advise British troops of their whereabouts. When his letters to the British Army were intercepted by American officers, he quickly prepared to sail for England. During the American war, Watson resumed his post as a commissary officer, supplying provisions for British troops through his connections in Halifax.[24] Known throughout England as an outspoken Tory, he served in Parliament from 1784 until 1793. Then, after another three years as a chief commissary officer and London alderman, he became Lord Mayor of London in 1796.

In many ways, Watson and Copley were opposites: Watson was an avowed Tory, Copley proclaimed his neutrality; Watson's realm was the world of commerce, Copley's the world of art. Yet both had risen from humble backgrounds to attain material wealth, and both owed their prosperity to members of Boston's mercantile elite. Indeed, the fates of both Copley and Watson were intertwined with the political and economic fortunes of the trans-Atlantic trade. Consequently, it was more than just a casual artistic contract that bound Copley to the principal subject of his monumental painting.

II. Iconography and Eighteenth-Century Popular Prints

Copley's political experiences were conveyed in *Watson and the Shark*, I believe, through the symbolism he found in English and American satirical prints. By the middle of the eighteenth century, these engravings served as one of the most popular means of introducing an increasingly astute and politically active public to controversial issues. Appearing on broadsides, in newspapers, and as individual documents, satirical engravings contained a complex system of familiar symbols and emblems, many of which harked back to medieval manuscripts and early Protestant anti-papal literature. Emblem books, filled with a variety of allegorical symbols, constituted an essential part of an artist's library. The intricate language of enlightened learning that literate British subjects had mastered brought numerous classical references into the visual dictionary of eighteenth-century satire. Hogarth utilized a number of these symbols to expand satirical allegory into a vehicle for publicizing social and political views. Thus by mid-century, printmakers in England and the Colonies had transformed graphic satires into an accessible and emphatic means for expressing editorial opinion. By employing the entire lexicon of mythological, political, and religious emblems, publishers and the public engaged in a sophisticated dialogue, which grew more complex with each new Parliamentary controversy.[25]

In America, Benjamin Franklin, Paul Revere, Nathaniel Hurd, and other publishers reprinted English political satires, utilizing local artists to reinterpret the British cartoons. These American prints, like their English counterparts, employed the full range of allegorical symbols, which spoke a graphic language as comprehensible to the eighteenth-century public as that of the modern comic strip is today.

As part of this visual dialogue, Copley's satirical print of 1765 was designed as a response to an earlier British cartoon that was also entitled *The Deplorable State of America* (Fig. 3). This drawing shows the female figure of Britannia handing Pandora's Box (the Stamp Act) to an Indian brave who represents America.[26] At the Indian's feet, a female figure of "Liberty" lies prostrate, saying: "It is all over with me." The staff and cap (symbols of the libertarian John Wilkes) fall from her grasp. A serpent, which crawls across the body of Liberty, carries a large thistle which symbolizes Lord Bute's Scottish lineage. Bute, personification of royal tyranny, is also represented by a jack-boot encased in a comet. Fleeing from the comet's light, Mercury tells America: "It is with Reluctance I leave ye." On the right the figure of Loyalty stands under a tree labeled "to Liberty," while the Indian remarks: "Secure Me O Goddess by the Wisdom for Labour it as Death" [*sic*]. On the right, the king of France attempts to bribe the boot (Bute) with a bag of gold, and on the left Minerva advises America not to accept the Stamp Act. In the background, stampmen gather around a gallows which bears the message: "Fit Entertainment for Stampmen."

Copley's cartoon (Fig. 2) is a stronger and more personalized representation of the English satire, using the same symbols and bearing the same title. In comparing the Boston engraving to a reversal of the print made by

[23] "Minutes of the Commission of Trade."

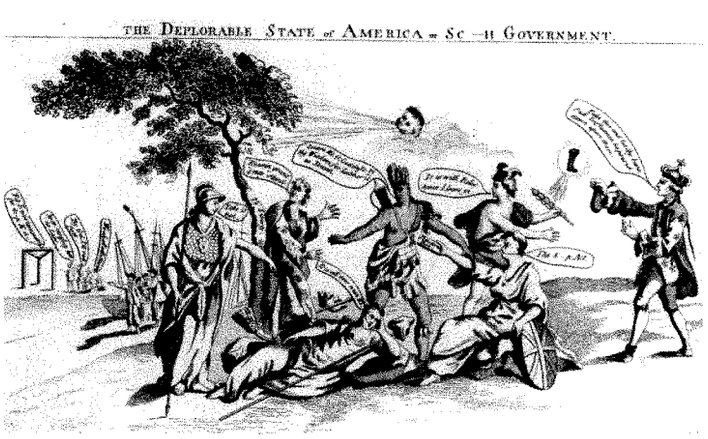
[24] While he was in Italy, Copley wrote his wife that she could "be supplied by the ships from Nova Scotia with necessaries," undoubtedly through the family's connections with Watson; Amory, 60. For Watson's connections with the Nova Scotia trade, see: "Ledger of Exports from Great Britain to North America," Liverpool Papers, MSS Division, British Museum.

For rumors about Watson's spying, see Samuel Isham, *The History of American Painting*, New York, 1936, 26; and James T. Flexner, *John Singleton Copley*, Boston, 1948, 84–85; and Webster, 11–13.

[25] For information on 18th-century printmaking, see: Jean Adhémar, *Graphic Art of the 18th Century*, New York, 1964; M. Dorothy George, *English Political Caricature to 1792. . .*, Oxford, 1959, 1–13; and E. P. Richardson, "The Birth of Political Caricature," in *Philadelphia Printmaking. . .*, West Chester, Pa., 1977, 71–89; and Joan D. Dolmetsch, *Rebellion and Reconciliation. . .*, Williamsburg, Va., 1976, 1–11.

[26] For a discussion of the American image, see: Joshua C. Taylor, *America as Art*, Washington, D.C., 1976, 3–36.

2 John Singleton Copley, *The Deplorable State of America*, 1765. Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia



3 Anon., *The Deplorable State of America*, 1765. New York, New-York Historical Society (courtesy: New-York Historical Society)

4 Robert Wilkinson, *The Deplorable State of America*, 1765. Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia

the Philadelphia printer Robert Wilkinson (Fig. 4), Richardson notes that the print attributed to Copley was done by a more accomplished hand than the one by Wilkinson. Richardson also observes that Copley changed the British satire by adding a number of references to events that took place in Boston.[27]

In his rendition of *The Deplorable State of America*, Copley pictured both France and Britain as flying female figures, the former handing her bribe to Bute, symbolized by the jack-boot in a comet. Britannia gives the Pandora's Box to America (now a woman dressed in robes with feathers in her hair), saying "Take it Daughter it's only ye S---p A-t," as fragments of the Magna Carta float away in the breeze. Copley has depicted Liberty as a partially clothed Indian brave, who lies under a tree marked "The Tree of Liberty, Aug. 14, 1765" (the date of the first Boston riot). With arched back and flailing arms, the Indian cries, "and canst thou Mother! O have pity this horrid Box." Three figures minister to the dying Liberty: Loyalty, who leans against the tree clutching a heart and crown as she remarks, "O this a horrid blast I fear I shall lose my support"; Minerva, who warns America, "Take it not See poor Liberty"; and America, who responds,"Minerva shield me I abhor it as Death." On the lower left, a dog symbolizing William Pitt lifts its leg over the Scottish thistle, which represents Bute. A snake emerges from the thistle to bite Liberty. In the left portion of the background, a more elaborate group of stampmen prepare a gallows; and on the right a group of sailors hunt for stampmen along the coast. On the upper left, Mercury is departing with the lament: "Must I be exiled from my America." Below the entire picture, an emblem of a hanged man bears the slogan "Arms and the Man I Sing," the opening lines of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Rich with classical references and political nuances, Copley's cartoon uses the sophisticated language of eighteenth-century caricature. In both the English and American versions of the cartoon, the essential message is of Liberty's demise at the hands of unscrupulous European powers. Copley has made a significant change, however, by representing Liberty as a partially clothed Indian brave, thereby placing the accepted symbol of America in the position previously occupied by the emblematic denotation of freedom. Thus the impending death of the Indian signifies the death of American Liberty. Death is much more explicit in Copley's drawing than in the English version. Perhaps this is because Copley is referring to events that took place during the Boston riots. A newspaper account described the activities of August 14, 1765 in the following manner: "Last Wednesday morning to the surprise and joy of the Public, was exhibited on the Great Trees in the High Street of this Town, the Effigies of a *Distributor* of Stamps, pendant behind whom hung a Boot newly soled with a Greenville Sole, out of which proceeded the Devil."[28] The Devil mentioned here is symbolized in Copley's cartoon by the viper biting Liberty. The verse that accompanies the drawing verbalizes the theme of poison, especially in relation to the contents of Pandora's Box. Its message reads:

> Contagious Box what PLAGUES dost thou contain
> HORROR without and RUIN all within
> Some latent MISCHIEF in each Corner lurks
> In every Cell a secret Venom works,
> FATE lies in ambush in the Center hid
> And DEATH itself hangs hovering in the lid.

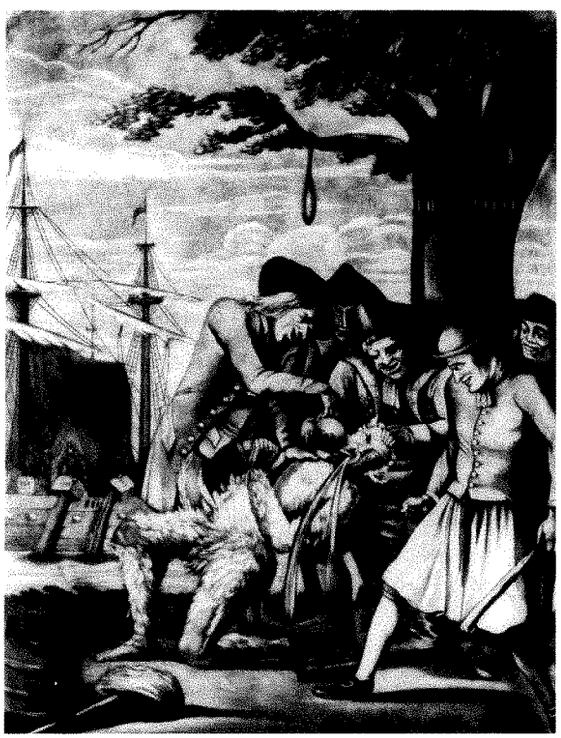
Potential death and danger are also principal themes of Copley's *Watson and the Shark*, for the body of young Watson founders between the creature threatening to kill him and the men who promise to save him. The body of the afflicted Indian brave (Liberty) dominates the lower section of the cartoon, his state of partial undress strongly akin to Watson's nudity. If we reverse the picture, as Wilkinson has done, we can see that the tilt of the brave's head, the position of his knees, and the arch of his back are repeated in Watson's awkward pose. The waves cover Watson's body in almost the same places that the drapery covers the figure of Liberty. Similarly, the figures of the black man, harpooner, and kneeling man in the painting form a triangle matched by the figures of Minerva, Loyalty, and America in the cartoon. In both the print and the painting, this central configuration is placed above a single horizontal figure. Minerva, goddess of Wisdom, at the upper left point of the triangle in the reversed print, corresponds to the black man in the painting. Both extend their right arms without bending the elbow. At the righthand apex of the configuration, the harpooner in the painting corresponds to "Loyalty" in the reversed print. Not only do both fill the corner of the triangle, but both have their left arms raised above their right arms. The kneeling man in the boat occupies the lower point of the triangular grouping as does the figure of America in the print, and both are observing the prone figure beneath them with expressions of dismay.

The shark in the painting corresponds to several areas of the cartoon. The shoreline in the prints matches the shark in the painting in its shape and compositional position. Both fill the lower right corner of the composition, with the bottom point of the shore line paralleling the head of the shark, and the second indentation forming an angle that corresponds to that of the shark's tail. In addition, the flying figure of Britannia approaches the group from the right, threatening the prone figure with her "poisoned" Pan-

[27] See: Richardson, "Stamp Act Cartoons," 279–281; and George, 134.

[28] Boston *Evening Post*, August 19, 1765. For further details see: Morgan, 190–94.

5 Anon., *The Able Doctor or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught*, 1774. New York, New-York Historical Society (courtesy: New-York Historical Society)



6 Philip Dawe, *The Bostonians Paying the Excise-Man, or Tarring and Feathering*, 1774. New York, New-York Historical Society (courtesy: New-York Historical Society)

dora's Box, which relates symbolically to the shark's destructive bite.

Although these few compositional parallels between *Watson and the Shark* and *The Deplorable State of America* can be seen to link sections of the painting to the earlier print, there are other portions of the painting that do not match. Thus we must look further at contemporaneous political prints. Among the many engravings directed against the British tea tax is a caricature reproduced by Paul Revere in 1774 entitled *The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught*[29] (Fig. 5). In it Lord Mansfield holds down America, a partially clad Indian maiden, as Lord North pours tea down her throat. The standing figure of Britannia covers her eyes, although Lord Bute along with the kings of France and England watch the scene with interest. The Earl of Sandwich is kneeling at the feet of America, leering as he peeks inside her skirt. Again a figure representing Liberty has been forced into submission by conspiring European rulers.

Although America is a woman in *The Able Doctor*, her prone body occupies the same space as the Indian does in Copley's cartoon. The principal figures in the print form a triangle which corresponds to a similar triangle formed by the men in the boat in *Watson and the Shark*. At the upper apex of the triangle, the figure of Britannia in the cartoon parallels that of the harpooner in the painting. Both figures bend forward and both hold a pole which crosses the composition at the same diagonal. In both *The Able Doctor* and *Watson and the Shark*, the figures in the foreground are grouped before a harbor.

In the prints concerning the Stamp Act and the tea crisis, all attention is concentrated on a prone, partially clad figure whose helplessness is the central theme of the cartoon. Similarly, Watson is in a recumbent position, and nude in contrast to the clothed men around him. As with the cartoon figures, Watson's misfortune is the principal object of all concern. In other pictures relating to the Boston Tea Party, similar relationships appear between a helpless subject and a group of men. In one entitled *The Bostonians Paying the Excise-Man, or Tarring & Feathering* (Fig. 6), the tax agent John Malcomb, covered with tar and feathers, is held down by a group of patriots who force him to drink tea. Here, too, a man surrounded by a crowd has become an unwilling victim.[30]

Copley may have also been influenced by a figure in *The South Sea Scheme* (Fig. 7), published by Hogarth in 1721, his first political satire. This important print ridiculed a land speculation scandal that involved all levels of English society.[31] In Hogarth's engraving, a figure labeled "Honesty" (Fig. 8) lies nude on a wheel in the foreground. His left leg is raised at an angle similar to Watson's in the painting. His left arm is by his side and his hair flows behind his head in a manner resembling Copley's treatment of Watson. "Honesty" lies prone before a crowd like the victims in the Stamp Act and tea crisis prints and like Watson in the painting. In fact, Hogarth's print may have been a common

[29] For a further description of the cartoon, see: George, 150.

[30] Dolmetsch, 66–67.

[31] Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's Garphic Works*, I, rev. ed., New Haven, Conn., 1970, 94–96.

tian sculpture as a succession of brief, aborted spurts of energy. Pietro Paoletti's *L'Architettura e la scultura del rinascimento in Venezia* (Venice, 1893; still the fundamental work for the 15th and early 16th centuries) opens with only a brief backward glance at the trecento. Wolters's deliberately chosen time-span allows him to deal with the whole of the exterior sculptural decoration of the Palazzo Ducale and with the major part of the exterior of S. Marco, presenting long lines of artistic development, which in Venice are bound up with one another in a way that is difficult to understand from the example provided by other Italian centers.

The study is something of a companion to Edoardo Arslan's *Venezia gotica* (Milan, 1970), which concerns Venetian palaces of roughly the same period and touches on some of the same sculptural decoration that Wolters considers. But Arslan's posthumously published book is essentially an unfinished work: the photographic documentation is not referred to in the text and sometimes lacks accord with the text; the bibliography is suggestive but not complete; and there is just a bare skeleton of an index. Every user of Wolters's book, on the other hand, will appreciate the care that has gone into his presentation. The publication is not only extraordinarily easy to use (and this is a real rarity in Venetian studies) but a model of how to provide detailed information for a large corpus of material and make it all readily accessible to the reader.

The two volumes, one of text and one of plates, are organized on the principle of separate stylistic hands. The text volume opens with an overview of the period in 20 short chapters, where the emphasis is on individual masters. The second half of the text volume consists of a catalogue in which the scattered works of early Venetian sculpture are systematically covered. Wolters denies any claim that this is an exhaustive catalogue (see p. 143), but he has certainly given us a core corpus that includes all the important works in Venice, the Veneto, and Dalmatia, as well as in European and American museums. This catalogue is the glory of the book. Size, material, state of conservation, existing documentation, and a full bibliography are given for each piece. A complete overview is offered of previous datings and attributions, ending with the author's own placement of the work. Inscriptions are for the most part newly recorded, and divergencies from earlier transcriptions are noted. There is, of course, the danger in this kind of assembly that the editorial compilation tends to take precedence over the original argument, but the advantage for Venetian studies of having this wide range of material by both major and minor writers finally brought together is inestimable. The generous volume of illustrations follows the organization of the catalogue but with a flexibility that allows for numerous pointed comparisons. Many full-page details are included, particularly of those works on which the author's stylistic ordering hinges; the relevant catalogue number is appended to each illustration. The apparatus includes a topographic index, an index of artists, an index of tomb monuments, and a section of "documentary illustrations" at the end of the text volume, facilitating comparison with the plate volume. In short, the field has finally been made accessible, laid out with full photographic documentation and with a complete survey of previous research. Every scholar in the field who has had to make this kind of collection independently cannot fail to be struck by the organizational skills and deep commitment to Venetian studies that have made this book possible.

Wolters comes to this study having worked with systems of decoration and the ordering of subject matter in Venetian programs, principally secular, in Venice itself and in the Veneto. His aim here is to establish early Venetian sculpture as something distinct, with its own set of characteristics which allow it to be distinguished, above all, from developments in Tuscany. He argues that there was indeed a native Venetian sculptural tradition, the strength of which was naturalistic depiction, a conclusion surprisingly close to the early judgment of Ruskin. This specifically Venetian tendency is seen as first expressed in the portraits of tomb effigies (the effigy of Bishop Castellano Salomone [d. 1322, cat. 15] in the Duomo at Treviso is singled out as the earliest Venetian masterpiece of this genre) and as rapidly expanding into the area of narrative relief. The embellishment of that great civic project, the Palazzo Ducale, "the central building of the world," as Ruskin termed it, offered particular opportunities for the latter category of work in its historiated capitals and large corner reliefs. It is above all in conjunction with this project that the two major artistic personalities of the book emerge: Filippo Calendario in the 1340's, at that moment of the trecento when Venetian sculpture came into its own, and Bartolomeo Bon, the leading talent as the period came to a close. (Wolters adheres to the older spelling "Buon," but current usage veers toward "Bon" as more in accord with documentary notices.) Redefining the oeuvres of both artists, Wolters has cast them as the principal exemplars of early Venetian sculptural style.

The role given to Calendario represents an attempt to cut through a number of complex problems and is probably the boldest stroke of the book. Giuseppe Cadorin, an early and important writer on the Palazzo Ducale (*Pareri di XV architetti. . . .*, Venice, 1838), gathered together numerous notices in Venetian chronicles and by earlier writers that placed this "statuarius et architectus insignis" in a position of major responsibility for the construction of what is still one of the most impressive meeting spaces of the world, the Sala del Maggior Consiglio. The building of this large meeting hall, begun in 1341 and probably completed by 1365, marked the beginning of the transformation of the earlier palace into the structure we know today. Cadorin's work was followed up and developed by other local historians, but no one has put Calendario as squarely in the center of trecento artistic production as Wolters has. The focus on Calendario requires address of two basic problems related to the palace's reconstruction: first, to what extent was Calendario responsible for the exterior sculptural decoration of this portion of the building; and second, do the columns and capitals that now support this meeting room, and the relief sculptures that decorate its corners, belong in fact to the original project or are they part of a massive renovation dating from the late 14th and early 15th centuries. The date inscribed on a plaque held by the figure of Pythagoras (an allusion to the architect/designer?) on a capital of the lagoon façade (fig. 222; original in the Museo dell'Opera of the Palazzo Ducale) does not answer the second question. It has been read both as 1344 and 1399, and sometimes considered the *ricordo* of a previous program. Using Calendario's early reputation as a base, and arguing for the tight interconnection between architecture and ornamentation in the Palazzo Ducale, Wolters makes a very convincing case for dating the construction of the Maggior Consiglio chamber to the years 1341–1355, presenting Calendario not only as the architect but also as the major sculptor, in fact one of the most important sculptors of the mid-14th century. Following his good discussion of the different influences flowing in from a vari-

ety of sources, including French and Lombard manuscripts, that are visible in the well-known reliefs *Adam and Eve* and the *Drunkenness of Noah* (cat. 48), the important roundel of *Venezia* (cat. 49), and the more captivating of the trecento capitals (see cat. 48), Wolters characterizes them all unhesitatingly as the original products of a Venetian sculptor. Filippo Calendario becomes the Venetian equivalent of Andrea Pisano in his ability to reflect the narrative power of Giotto, but he is seen as responding to Giotto out of the local sculptural tradition of naturalism that had its origins in the early years of the 14th century.

The emphasis on Calendario drastically alters the perspective from which the development of early Venetian sculpture is examined. Jacobello and Pierpaolo dalle Masegne, active from the early 1380's into the first decade of the 15th century, have generally been seen as the first Venetian sculptors of major stature, able to hold their own alongside the best artists of their day, with a career that took in a number of northern Italian centers. There is considerable documentation on the two brothers, although none of it as specific as one would like, and their career includes such undisputed but stylistically varied masterpieces as the marble high altar for S. Francesco in Bologna (1383–1392; cat. 138) and the iconostasis in front of the choir of S. Marco in Venice (inscription date: 1394; cat. 146). One sees them amalgamating the styles of a number of Tuscans. Andrea and Nino Pisano are the most readily identifiable, but Giovanni Pisano and Orcagna also contribute to the mix. Given such rich material to work with, Wolters's Dalle Masegne chapter is something of a disappointment. Admittedly, the Venetian element in the Dalle Masegne is difficult to isolate, and the problem is compounded by the presence of two masters at work who seem to have practiced different styles, although this is not entirely clear. Having set up a particularly Venetian line of development that emerges in full force with Calendario, Wolters is forced to treat the very different style of the Dalle Masegne as a secondary manifestation. The gulf between Calendario's pictorial naturalism and the Dalle Masegne's suave blending of Tuscan manners is too broad to bridge, and the discussion does not rise above the exercise of separating hands, including an unconvincing attribution to Pierpaolo of the side units of the iconostasis at S. Marco, at the entrance to the Cappella di S. Clemente and the Cappella di S. Pietro (see cat. 146).

It is Bartolomeo Bon who for Wolters becomes the inheritor of the Calendario line. The gap that Wolters's book fills is nowhere better illustrated than by the fact that Bartolomeo Bon, one of the foremost artists of the early 15th century, is hardly known outside Venetian studies. In line with recent suggestions, Wolters abandons the long-maintained birthdate for Bon of 1392, bringing his birth forward into the first decade of the quattrocento, to roughly 1409–1410.[1] Wolters correctly insists that Bon be accepted as a major quattrocento sculptor and, he parenthetically notes, architect. As Wolters reconstructs it, the specific nature of that sculptural career is, however, another matter.

A number of indistinct and shadowy personalities have been swept away to let Bon stand clear. His father Giovanni signed with Bartolomeo the contract for the Porta della Carta, the important frontispiece of the 15th-century entranceway into the Palazzo Ducale (it was Bartolomeo's name, however, that went upon the lintel, "OPUS BARTOLOMEI"), but Giovanni Bon is an artist for whom no documented piece of sculpture exists. Wolters allows him to drop out of the picture. Those Tuscans who have tended to monopolize the literature on the early 15th century in Venice have been reduced to minor positions, in the first instance the two Lamberti sculptors, father and son. Niccolò Lamberti, often given full credit for the crowning sculptures of the façade of S. Marco on the basis of a single documentary notice, is virtually removed from the Venetian scene and allowed no visible participation in S. Marco. Even the façade's crowning figure of Saint Mark, the face of which presents a moving psychological study in the tradition of Giovanni Pisano, and which is almost always given to Niccolò Lamberti, is quite properly removed from his oeuvre. Niccolò's son Pietro is correctly characterized as an artist of minimal ability, a minor presence, participating to some degree in the production of two important tombs, the tomb of Doge Tommaso Mocenigo (d. 1423, cat. 171; an inscription with the date 1423 names Pietro as artist together with a certain Giovanni di Martino da Fiesole), and the tomb of the jurist Raffaello Fulgosio (d. 1429, cat. 172), at the Santo in Padua. Nanni di Bartolo, the "most talented" of the Florentine sculptors who settled in Venice, is seen as leaving few traces of that talent in Venice and the Veneto: he is given three of the four *doccioni* on the north façade of S. Marco (see cat. 175), parts of the Niccolò Brenzoni Tomb in S. Fermo Maggiore, Verona (cat. 220), and parts of the tomb of the Beato Pacifico in the Frari (cat. 221). The roles of other "stranieri," often assigned strategic positions in the development of Venetian sculpture, have been similarly diminished. Aegidius of Wiener Neustadt, whose physically prepossessing *Saint Michael* in the parish church at Montemerlo outside Padua (signed and dated 1425; cat. 212) has seemed too good to exist in isolation, is allowed only three extant works. Wolters rejects any significant Venetian activity for Jacopo della Quercia, whose name is periodically brought forward (most recently by Cesare Gnudi) as a figure of some importance in Venetian sculpture of the 1420's. The case of the Milanese sculptor, Matteo Raverti, documented in Venice from the early 1420's through 1434–36, is somewhat more problematical. Raverti was the major figure in the building of the Ca' d'Oro, and appears to have brought to Venice new ideas of architectural decoration that made a significant impact on his Venetian associates. By dismissing Raverti as a yet-to-be-defined artistic personality in Venice, Wolters rejects a non-Tuscan component that is of considerable importance, I believe, for what happened in Venetian sculpture during the 1430's and 1440's.

Instead, two Tuscan lines, both of them represented in Venice by anonymous or otherwise unknown workers, are allowed to coexist with the style of Bartolomeo Bon. The less convincing of these lines is that presented by Wolters under the name of the "Mascoli Master," a name originally coined by Planiscig as a way of dealing with a group of works having little in common except a related classicizing hair treatment. The name comes from the altar of the Mascoli Chapel in S. Marco (cat. 235), an undated work that may or may not relate to the date of 1430 appearing on the chapel's dedica-

[1] A birth date for Bartolomeo Bon of no later than 1407 has recently been argued by Anne Markham Schulz, "The Sculpture of Giovanni and Bartolomeo Bon and Their Workshop," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, LXVIII, 3, 1978, 8f.

tion plaque. For Wolters the "Mascoli Master" is a close follower of Ghiberti. His pieces, including the graceful but stylistically alien tympanum above the doorway of the Cappella Cornaro at the Frari (cat. 234), as well as the Mascoli Altar, are assumed to have been shipped to Venice from Florence. It is his work, according to Wolters, that makes Ghiberti the most vital Tuscan presence in Venice during the 1430's and 1440's. With the Mascoli Master Wolters also classes a figure of an Annunciate Angel in Venice's favored Istrian stone, recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (cat. 236). It is quite advanced in its movement and bears no relationship to the style of these works aside from echoes of the hair style.

Bon himself is related to another Tuscan presence, the anonymous Tuscan workshop that, according to Wolters, prepared the group of the *Annunciation* and the four *Evangelists* set into tabernacles along the top of the main façade of S. Marco (see cat. 175). On very slim stylistic grounds, Wolters assigns a key role in this decoration to the Giovanni di Martino da Fiesole whose signature appears on the tomb of Tommaso Mocenigo, an attribution that is used to support what Wolters sees as the Tuscan origin of the entire work crew at S. Marco. Responding to the vitality of this workshop, and probably receiving his formative training there, the Bon of Wolters's text used his intimate knowledge of the Tuscan style as the means by which he recreated, in 15th-century idiom, the forcefulness of the earlier Calendario. Wolters places at the center of Bon's oeuvre the *Judgment of Solomon* (cat. 245), the large, impressive relief on the northwest corner of the Palazzo Ducale which, because of its non-Venetian physicality, has been attributed to almost every major artist of the early 15th century who passed through Venice. Here, according to Wolters, inspired by the pieces that Calendario had prepared for the other two corners of the Palazzo, Bon succeeded, in ca. 1435, in uniting up-to-date Tuscan substantiality with traditional Venetian naturalism, producing a work from which no less a sculptor than Donatello, in his *Judith and Holofernes*, could learn. In theory, the argument for the relief is a fine one; in regard to style, there is no basis for it. There are large inconsistencies in Bon's career, and Wolters's attempt to bring clarity to the situation is admirable, but nothing in the artist's oeuvre, even as substantially revised by Wolters, supports the attribution to him of the *Judgment of Solomon*. Wolters takes as his point of departure for Bon's style the well head of 1427 at the Ca' d'Oro, a youthful and in many ways derivative work that is a weak bridge to other attributions. This piece is used to substantiate, unconvincingly in my opinion, not only the attribution to Bon of the *Judgment* relief, but also that of an additional work of unknown provenance, an *Annunciate Virgin* in the Liebighaus, Frankfort (cat. 239), also placed in the 1430's. The *Madonna della Misericordia*, from the tympanum of the Scuola della Misericordia, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (cat. 250), which circumstantial evidence and a notice in a 16th-century guidebook link to Bon, is removed from his oeuvre, viewed as perhaps designed by Bon, but certainly not executed by him. Of the sculptures for the Porta della Carta (cat. 240), only the *Giustizia* (a powerful work but one in no way related to the *Judgment of Solomon*) and, with some reservations, the head of Doge Francesco Foscari are considered autograph works of the artist. The *Caritas* on the main portal of the Scuola S. Marco (cat. 248) is attributed to Bon on the basis of its affinities with the *Giustizia* and the *Judgment of Solomon*. Wolters places the *Caritas* in a group of figures in Bon's work differing decisively from the austere but individualized figures of the narratives and the *Madonnas*. The *Virtues* of the Porta della Carta, which present a number of interesting problems, are treated here as undistinguished variations on the Bon manner. To be singled out in particular, however, is the *Caritas*, incorrectly classed here as the work of a minor sculptor. Once the head, carved from a separate piece of marble and seemingly the product of a later restoration,[2] is detached from the excellently conceived body, this figure presents itself as a first-rate piece. The *Caritas* manifests a style in Venetian sculpture that grows out of Bon, and is probably to be assigned to one of his close associates; related to the *Caritas* are works such as the *Arithmetic* on one of the pinnacles of the Arco Foscari. Wolters maintains the usual dating of the *Virtues* of the Porta della Carta in the early 1440's, although a rider of 1442 to the contract strongly suggests that the figures had not yet been started at that date. I would place the *Caritas* in the 1460's, alongside the *Saint Christopher* of Madonna dell'Orto, a figure excluded by Wolters from the sculpture of this period, but for which payments to Bon are recorded in 1460–61.[3] By removing the *Saint Christopher* from Bon's production and downgrading the *Caritas* of the Porta della Carta, Wolters cuts short the development of Bon and of early quattrocento sculpture in Venice.

Alongside the young Bon, Wolters places the important figure of Pantaleone di Paolo, an artist prominent in documents. (It is Pantaleone who together with Bon assessed the *Gattamelata* in 1453, but who up to now has remained another of the shadowy personalities that plague the study of Venetian sculpture.) Wolters has tracked down the lecturing effigy from the tomb of the jurist Jacopo dalla Torre (d. 1414; cat. 217) from the church of the Eremitani at Padua, now in the *deposito* there of the Venetian Soprintendenza ai Monumenti. On the basis of a documentary notice, the effigy can be assigned to Pantaleone and dated ca. 1424. There is a solidity to this fine piece that makes it an excellent complement to a number of early Bon works, the *Giustizia* and, *pace* Wolters, the *Madonna della Misericordia*. Rather than give Pantaleone, as does Wolters, such pieces of questionable Venetian lineage as the figure of Santa Giustina (S. Giustina, Padua; cat. 218), I would see him as an important and inventive sculptor more strictly confined to architectural decoration. Pieces that fit in well alongside the Dalla Torre effigy are the triple-headed finial on the courtyard staircase of the Palazzo Contarini della Porta di Ferro at S. Giustina (Arslan, fig. 148), and, at the furthest reach of

[2] The Porta della Carta has been the object of a careful restoration campaign, begun in December, 1966 under Architetto Umberto Franzoi, director of the Palazzo Ducale. In conjunction with this restoration, the *Caritas* and the companion *Virtues* have been removed, facilitating close inspection.

[3] R. Gallo, "L'Architettura di transizione dal gotico al rinascimento e Bartolomeo Bon," *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arte*, cxx, 1961-62, 187-204, esp. 203f.

his style, the keystone with Saint Mark (see cat. 240) of the portico-passageway between the Porta della Carta and the Arco Foscari. Pantaleone, known to have worked closely with Bon, may also be responsible for the figures of members of the Scuola della Misericordia, sheltered under the Virgin's cloak in the relief in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The last works in the study are grouped around the artist who executed the tomb of Francesco Foscari (d. 1457; cat. 252) in the Frari. Wolters wisely rejects the name of Antonio Bregno which is often applied to this and other works and instead he creates an anonymous "Master of the Foscari Tomb" to whom he gives a very limited body of works, among them the *Fortitudo* of the Porta della Carta, and a huge, half-length *Madonna and Child* over five feet high, in the Liebighaus, Frankfort (cat. 253), which is almost certainly a 16th-century work, probably Paduan. This material is, however, dealt with somewhat briefly, and it is the presence of Bon that still dominates as Wolters's study comes to a close.

Although the book is focused on style, a number of important problems of classification are touched on in the course of Wolters's discussion. Two specific categories of sculptural work are defined: the term, *immagine di devozione* (borrowed from the term, *Devotionsrelief*, used extensively by Planiscig and other German scholars) is given to a type of hierarchical image popular in Venice during the 14th century in which the religious figure is venerated by one or more auxiliary figures, the homage rendered forming an essential part of the image; and the label, *epitaffio figurato*, is introduced for cenotaphs on the order of the Brenzoni Tomb in Verona. It is extremely useful for Venetian studies to have these classes of sculptural production defined and highlighted.

Wolters's intention was to provide the information and establish the order that will serve as a basis for further work in the field. This his book will certainly do. The vision that attempts to unify the period stylistically, a vision which in the case of artists such as Bartolomeo Bon has served as the basis for the redefinition of careers, is not, however, fully satisfactory. There are serious questions that concern not only stylistic interconnections, but also, more important, the conception of what makes Venetian sculpture Venetian. What is disturbing about Wolters's vision is that in spite of his repeated warnings about the dangers of looking at Venice through a Tuscan lens, his analytic vocabulary is, in fact, Florentine and Sienese: dramatic impact, sensitivity to interaction between figures, exploration of the psychology of the individual figure. Wolters is correct, I believe, in his conviction that the development of the period is unified by a continuous thread, and he is the first to attempt to establish such a linear continuity. But only a few artists and a handful of pieces measure up to the standards of naturalism and dramatic narrative that he puts forward. If Venice was so receptive to naturalism at mid-century, for example, why is there no vigorous naturalistic tradition between the age of Calendario and the appearance of the Dalle Masegne in the 1380's, and why do the Dalle Masegne reveal no interest in the Calendario tradition? There is something curiously self-contained about the corner reliefs and capitals of the Palazzo Ducale, pieces that in fact fit no more comfortably at mid-century than they do at the end of the trecento. An element to consider in the assessment of these sculptures is the formative role played by older styles, in this instance the Early Christian style which, as Wolters notes, was still alive in the 13th-century Old Testament mosaics of S. Marco. In the sculptures of the Ducal Palace, in a special response to the demands of the project, the narrative mode of late antique book illustration was used on a monumental scale and adapted architectonically to the structure of the building.

Altogether Wolters has tried to avoid dealing with the archaizing strain in Venetian art. The overwhelming tendency has been to see the retrospective aspect of Venetian sculpture negatively, and it is perhaps understandable that Wolters has chosen to downplay this aspect of the Venetian aesthetic in favor of more vigorous and robust qualities. But the predilection for revival runs deep in the Venetian consciousness, and has not only stylistic manifestations but political ones as well. Demus pointed this out a number of years ago,[4] and later developed the theme as the major thesis in *The Church of San Marco in Venice* (Washington, D.C., 1960). Dealing with the convincing recreations of Early Christian and Byzantine styles in 13th-century Venetian reliefs, Demus saw these pieces as appropriating a style with an established lineage as a way of bringing legitimacy and the sanction of antiquity to the Venetian state. The idea of a state nourished and sustained by ancient, well-established traditions was fundamental to the Venetians' own view of their history. Events and artifacts were manipulated to express an ideal of stability and immutability. In artistic practice, this meant that the local development was continuously and consciously thrown backwards in time, in order to allow the new work to immediately become part of the Venetian past. The conflation of historical time periods is difficult to grasp for the modern viewer, who expects innovation and change, but it is against this background that the development of Venetian sculptural style must be seen.

The extent of such archaizing is probably greatly underestimated. In an article by Charles Seymour, Jr.,[5] published after Wolters's book had gone to press, the importance of archaizing interests during the period under discussion was confronted in a small but important way. The impressive recumbent figure of the prophet, *Saint Simeon* (cat. 12), usually assigned to the year 1318 (1317 m. v.) because of the inscription on the wall above it, is discussed by Seymour as a "deliberate revival," an inspired, early 15th-century recreation meant to have an antique authority. The *Saint Simeon* is of particular interest because many writers, including Wolters, have associated it with the relief, the *Drunkenness of Noah*, of the Palazzo Ducale and have used the *Saint Simeon* to support an early dating for the Palazzo's corner sculptures. Seymour argues that the influence goes the other way. It would appear that the sculptor of the *Saint Simeon* understood the antique overtones of the Palazzo Ducale depiction better than we do today.

A number of skillful, late Renaissance recapitulations of earlier work have, I believe, made their way into Wolters's compilation. A good example is on the main portal of the Frari, which physical evidence indicates was transformed

[4] "A Renascence of Early Christian Art in Thirteenth Century Venice," in K. Weitzmann, ed., *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.*, Princeton, N.J., 1955, 348-361.

[5] "The Tomb of Saint Simeon the Prophet in San Simeone Grande, Venice," *Gesta*, xv, 1976, 193-200.

from an arched opening into a doorway flanked by piers, probably in the 16th century when the *Risen Christ* that crowns the portal, signed by Alessandro Vittoria, was put in place. I would argue strongly that the *Saint Francis* on the right-hand pier, accepted by Wolters as a bona fide early 15th-century work (cat. 241), is a "recreation" of the quattrocento style, done at the same time. The Scuola S. Marco *Caritas*, a work that is presumed to have survived the fire of 1485 and to have been set up as the crowning piece of the portal of the newly erected façade, stands as another of the more obvious retrospective pieces in Venice, as Venturi had already noted, but it is accepted by Wolters as a work by Bon of the early 1440's. Its stiffness of mood and retention of the outline of the block do not disguise the easy gesture and supple handling of cloth which belong to the 16th century. Underscoring the retrospective stylistic references is the pose of the figure, which, with attributes altered to refer exclusively to earthly charity, closely recapitulates the pose of the *Caritas* of the Porta della Carta.

The Venetian adherence to established styles is evident in the iconostasis of S. Marco, a brilliant demonstration of how the local Byzantinizing style could be harmonized with modern artistic currents, and one that is likely to have involved both Dalle Masegne brothers. That the Dalle Masegne had a flair for adapting local modes is demonstrated by the extant fragment from the tomb of the Bolognese law professor Giovanni da Legnano (d. 1383; cat. 136). There the local Bolognese motive of listening students looks so improbably anecdotal in comparison with other work by the Dalle Masegne that their authorship has been doubted despite a still partially extant signature and a notice by Vasari. Writers such as Cesare Gnudi have seen the "sapore arcaico" of the statues at S. Marco as an aspect of a personal style, namely that of Jacobello. But the popularity of the figure type seen in the Dalle Masegne's work at S. Marco, a type still very much alive in works of approximately the 1430's, if not later, such as the standing figures of the Mascoli Chapel altar, argues for an archaizing taste that is generally Venetian and goes deeper than an individual hand.

Part of the confusion that has led to the invention of a "Mascoli Master" is due, I believe, to a different kind of quotation incorporated into the antependium of the Mascoli Chapel's altar, where a significant piece of early Venetian sculpture, related to the types discussed by Demus, was imitated, in a borrowing that has both stylistic and historical resonance. The work is a plaque, probably of the early 14th century, now set into the outer wall of the Tesoro of S. Marco, that shows angels displaying the reliquary of the Holy Blood.[6] It was evidently made to celebrate the Byzantine lineage of five of the sanctuary's major relics. On the Mascoli frontal, the kneeling, censing angels who honor the ceremonial cross on the hill of Golgotha echo in pose, style, and celebratory significance the angels on the Tesoro plaque. Although the Mascoli frontal is not a recreation of an antique work, it associates itself with the antique "lineage" of the plaque and of the relics celebrated on it through the pose of the angels and through the use of a pointedly classical vocabulary seen in the classicizing hair style of the angels. Works such as the Cornaro tympanum allude to the Mascoli angels in order to gain a further iconographical dimension (particularly appropriate in the case of the Cornaro tympanum with its reference to the Passion), and at the same time such allusions bring new production into line with the venerable Venetian past.

A related misreading has affected the evaluation of the relief, the *Madonna della Misericordia*, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (cat. 250). For Wolters, as for many other scholars, this work represents an unfortunate prolongation of the use of outmoded Venetian imagery. Yet there is nothing earlier in Venice that could have served as a direct model. In a purposeful way, the piece brings together a number of quite different motifs: the blessing Christ enclosed in a mandorla, found in Byzantine Virgins (a version of which was preserved in the Abbazia della Misericordia and used in an earlier Scuola relief); the growing tree form, seen in the corner reliefs of the Palazzo Ducale (here, the Old Testament Prophets and Kings emerging from the foliage suggest a conflation of Venice's history with Christ's); the vivacious figures of Scuola members, the anecdotal quality of which had earlier enlivened the Dalle Masegne's version of the professor tomb. All these elements combine with a new approach to form and volume that represents a conscious modernizing of Venetian style, one equivalent to the previous breakthrough of the Dalle Masegne. The facial type of the Madonna is clearly that of the Porta della Carta *Giustizia*, although it is slightly less developed as a "speaking" presence. Bartolomeo Bon created here, probably in ca. 1442, what should be seen as one of the most ambitious pieces of the early quattrocento.

Wolters himself indicates that his study must be perforce in the nature of a preliminary work, a basis for future research. One can already think of the specialized investigations that will be facilitated, indeed made possible, by Wolters's ordering. Casting his net widely, he has opened up the study of early Venetian sculpture to new material and to new issues. Questions such as those raised here can be asked only because the material has now been laid out so fully, clearly, and intelligently.

DEBRA PINCUS
University of British Columbia

[6] H. R. Hahnloser, ed., *Il tesoro di San Marco*, Florence, 1965-1971, II, pp. xiii, 140; pls. CXLIII, 7.

CARROLL WILLIAM WESTFALL, *In This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447–55*, University Park and London, Pennsylvania University Press, 1974. $24.50

Nicholas V's plans for the Vatican Palace, St. Peter's, the Borgo, and the Capitoline, known chiefly from the description of the project in the biography by Antonio Manetti, have engaged the interest and attention of many scholars. The importance of this project for the history of Renaissance architecture, for its influence on later generations of popes, and for the ultimate forms of the new St. Peter's, the Vatican Palace, and the Borgo has always been recognized. It has been difficult, however, to understand exactly what the project consisted of, owing in part to the imprecision and obscurity of Manetti's language but also to the difficulty of reconciling his description with construction known to have been executed during Nicholas V's pontificate. Most of the discussion heretofore has focused on a reconstruction of the project and an attempt to arrive at a satisfactory identification of the architect. Westfall's study, in contrast, concentrates on the intellectual, doctrinal, and political background from which the project evolved. Of the seven

chapters only three (a third of the text) are devoted to an analysis of the project and Manetti's description of it. Two chapters deal with the history of Nicholas's papacy and with the appearance and governance of the city of Rome in the 15th century. A third is about Nicholas V and his background, with an analysis of the lengthy deathbed oration to his cardinals recorded in the biography. A fourth discusses the intellectual and aesthetic background and political philosophy from which the program evolved.

Westfall's analysis of the project and his interpretation of the Manetti text are based on two premises. The first is that the actions of Nicholas V during his pontificate derived from his desire to establish the role of the pope and the Papacy as defined in the Bull *Laetantur Coeli*, promulgated July 6, 1439, at the close of the Council of Union in Florence. The second is that doctrinal, philosophical, and aesthetic theories as they had developed in the 14th and early 15th centuries made possible the use of buildings and urban design to give visible evidence of the concepts developed in the Bull.

The *Laetantur Coeli*, which was a response to three problems afflicting the Papacy in the early 15th century, schism, conciliarism, and disunity, vigorously asserted the primacy of the Roman popes over the universal church and the papal succession from Saint Peter (the passage is quoted in translation, p. 3). According to Westfall (p. 16, and *passim*, chap. 2), Nicholas V was the first to develop the implications of this primacy in his roles as temporal ruler, religious head of the Western Church, and patron of the arts. The removal of the permanent residence of the pope and Curia to the Vatican and the ambitious renovation of the palace and St. Peter's are seen as statements of Petrine dominance and the claim to universal rule (the papal residence at the Lateran was associated, by contrast, with the role of the pope as Bishop of Rome and with the Donation of Constantine, the authenticity of which was being challenged by Lorenzo Valla, a humanist at Nicholas's court). Essential to this new view of the Papacy was its expression in the building program. In his deathbed oration, Nicholas V referred to its role: ". . .we conceived such buildings in mind and spirit. . .for the greater authority of the Roman church and the greater dignity of the Apostolic Seat among all Christian peoples. . ." (Westfall's trans., p. 33).

Westfall attributes Nicholas's activist ideas to a new ideal for religious life that had been developing over the last hundred years. *Virtù* ("an innate gift. . .given by God," p. 28) was to be exercized to express love of God, and rulers and religious leaders were to persuade and exhort their followers to love of God by their own actions *(exempla virtutis)* and by other persuasive means. Thus Nicholas, again in his deathbed oration, says of his buildings, "When the vulgar belief founded on doctrines of learned men is continually confirmed and daily corroborated by great buildings, which are perpetual monuments and eternal testimonies seemingly made by God, it is forever conveyed to those present and future, who behold these admirable constructions" (Westfall trans., quoted p. 33).

This doctrine of activity, or the exercise of *virtù*, which Westfall says originated with Petrarch, brought a new emphasis on eloquence, that is, persuasion, as opposed to the appeal of scholastic doctrine to the intellect. In chapter 3, Westfall shows the background to this idea in patristic writings and discusses the development of the doctrine as enunciated in Alberti's *Della Pittura* and expanded to include buildings in the *De Re Aedificatoria*. Thus a city could be viewed as a place to awaken man to the pursuit of *virtù*; buildings became the means of persuasion; and the Pope's activity in commissioning the works was both an exercise of *virtù* and an *exemplum virtutis*.

This material, much of it unknown to this reviewer, is of great interest and certainly expands our understanding of the ideological background of Nicholas V's program and of the circumstances in which it was developed. Unfortunately, however, the presentation of the material is seriously flawed methodologically, to the point that it is often difficult to accept the author's conclusions. Among minor problems is the author's assumption of omniscience, which takes the form of frequent repetitions of phrases such as: "The pope knew that Rome and the Papacy were hardly the proper place to experiment. . . ." (p. 35), "Manetti wished to present these comments as the result of his own reflection" (p. 120), and the like.

More serious, indeed to my mind inexcusable in the sections analyzing Manetti's description, is the omission of the original Latin text. One is referred either to the Muratori edition in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, or in the case of the building program, to Magnusson's publication of that portion of Manetti's text.[1] Added to this, the author does not always make clear if he is paraphrasing or quoting directly in translation. An example of this is to be found in a paragraph dealing with the plans for the wall of the Borgo (pp. 108–109) where one sentence is a direct translation, although not in quotation marks, and the other statements from Manetti's text are paraphrases.

Another important difficulty lies in Westfall's habit of leaving unsupported the remarks or assertions that are central to his argument. An example is the statement, "Painting and architecture were the *buone arti* of citizenship; those who were naturally endowed with the requisite talents for their practice should operate in the city" (p. 58). Here the concept of the virtues of citizens' actions in government, which he has demonstrated had been developing in Florence over the last century, is transferred to actions in art without supporting evidence or quotation. Yet this is one of the central points in Westfall's interpretation of Nicholas V's motives. In other places statements that start out as assertions are turned into accepted fact farther on in the text. For example, in discussing Palmieri's report that work at St. Peter's had been stopped on the advice of Alberti, the author presents the argument that this portion of Palmieri's chronicle was written in the 1470's, and, because Palmieri was writing so long after the event, "he would naturally collect the important events into bundles and hang them on convenient pegs [i.e., dates]" (pp. 169–170). In the very next paragraph Westfall then says Palmieri's dates ". . . must be suspect, because Palmieri bundled events together to fit convenient dates . . ." (p. 170).

The same problems arise in the chapters dealing with the building program. Much of the material is useful and interesting, particularly the chapter on the constructions on the Capitoline Hill. The analysis of the renovation of the Palazzo del Senatore and the construction of the Palazzo dei Conservatori, the relationship of these projects to Nicholas's changes in the governance of Rome, and the series of codes for the Magistri delle Strade (chap. 5) give a coherent picture

[1] T. Magnusson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture*, Rome, 1958, 351f.

of the integration of policy and action by Nicholas V, and a clearer picture of the civic government in Rome than has been available heretofore. Of equal value is the discussion of the Vatican Palace at the beginning of Nicholas's reign, the additions made to it by Nicholas, and the decorations in both old and new parts (pp. 129–143). This material, which has all appeared previously in various publications of the Vatican, is drawn together into a coherent whole.

When one turns to the examination of Manetti's text, matters are not so clear. Much of the analysis of the text turns on what Westfall calls signs and figures—more familiar as symbols and metaphors. These are first discussed in the chapter called "Nicholas's Urban Program: Theoretical Background." Westfall traces the concept of symbolic representation back to Pauline and Augustinian doctrine, with particular emphasis on Augustine's definition of things and signs (the author quotes, however, only Augustine's definition of things). He then stresses the figurative in preference to the literal in interpreting Manetti's text. Inaccuracies in Manetti's description of the fortification of the Borgo are blamed on the latter's desire to convey the symbolic enclosure of the area, a *topos* of the secure, enclosed city. Manetti's description of the streets and arrangements of shops in the Borgo is unclear because the symbolic order to be created, as well as the hieratic dependence of the Borgo on St. Peter's and the Papacy, were more important to the biographer than topographical or physical accuracy (p. 110).

At times however, the symbolic interpretation is emphasized at the expense of the text. In analyzing the problem of the piazza in front of the basilica, Westfall finds Manetti's description figurative and concludes that, "To wrest from Manetti's description a piazza with buildings, colonnades, . . . an obelisk and other elements consciously designed and placed relative to one another with the intention of making a noble space with value in its openness is to draw more from Manetti than is there and to miss his point as well" (p. 115). Westfall also argues that a designed open space or formal piazza was not possible at that stage in Renaissance architecture because earlier examples cannot be documented *(ibid.)*. This argument is specious, to say the least, in view of Westfall's claim that the overall program is the result of the first conscious urban planning, and in addition it ignores some specific references in Manetti's text. Elements of regularity and design are certainly implied by statements that a street starting at the Castel S. Angelo was to lead in a straight line to the center of the five doors of the basilica ("Per intermediam [street] ab area prima [space at Castel S. Angelo] usque ad mediam praedictae basilicae quinque januis distinctae portam iter per rectam lineam dirigabatur") The obelisk then standing by S. Maria della Febbre on the south side of the basilica was to be moved and "in ipso areae meditullio e regione ad intermediam praedicti vestibuli portam . . . collocabat." The east-west length of the piazza, a dimension that cannot be determined because of variants in the manuscript texts, was defined by the vestibule steps at one end and the entrance of the colonnaded street at the other, while "super quibus tres commemorati vici porticus speciosorum omnium spectaculorum visu pulcherrimum specimen. . . ." In other words, the piazza is described with respect to a central axis and an area defined at least in part by architectural elements. In addition, Alberti, who all agree was involved with Nicholas V's program to a greater or lesser degree, had certainly already formulated the concept of a designed, axial porticoed piazza *(De Re Aedificatoria*, VII, chap. 6).

On the whole, this emphasis on symbolic rather than literal interpretation of the text serves to make explicit certain implicit aspects of the program, such as the hieratic sequence of pope, St. Peter's, Borgo, and city (pp. 125–27). Although I do not always agree with the interpretation of some parts of the text, I must also point out that these are areas where inaccuracy or vagueness in Manetti's text or lack of knowledge of conditions at that time make a definitive solution impossible. Until new facts or new source materials are discovered, one person's view will remain as valid as the other's. Owing to the stress on the symbolic, some of the text is not discussed, such as the interesting paragraph on the division of the palace into three apartments for use in summer, winter, and spring and fall respectively (sentences 78–81 in the Magnusson edition, col. 934 in Muratori.)

There is one section of Westfall's exegesis, however, that I cannot accept, and since it is one of the keystones of his interpretation, it must be reviewed at some length. It concerns the portion of Manetti's text dealing with the structures to be erected in the palace gardens, "this most perfect space of paradise," from which the book derives its title. Manetti speaks of three structures to be erected there, a "theatrum," an "atrium ad conciones, ad conclavia, ad pontificales coronationes," and a "capella maxium." As Westfall points out (p. 151), neither the chapel nor the assembly hall is surprising, although one might add that it was not traditional to erect separate structures in a garden for these functions. The "theatrum," however, has always caused great difficulties, especially since no function is specified for it. Westfall interprets the word to mean an arched loggia in which ceremonial activities involving the pope were to take place. His line of reasoning is complicated. First, he says that "theatrum" is used in this period to mean loggia (p. 152), adducing Burckhardt as evidence. The latter, however, gives only one example, an undated document which Burckhardt refers to the Piccolomini loggia in Siena. The document, as published by Milanesi, speaks of work to be done to the "theatrum in platea Santi Martini."[2] Then Westfall says the word was also used "throughout the middle ages" (p. 153) for the room in which a type of ceremony called *ystoriones* took place. Here his source is an article by Dino Bigongiari, "Were There Theatres in the 12th and 13th Centuries?"[3] where the documents quoted make clear that *ystoriones* were theatrical performers ("In medio theatri erat unum puplitum. . . . In puplito *ystoriones* [emphasis Bigongiari's] cantabant aliquas pulcras ystorias bellorum.") Next Westfall conflates *ystoriones* with *istoria*, which he also interprets as a chivalric act, although the source quoted shows that the word is being used specifically to denote representations of such acts. He goes on to say that these acts and ceremonies were represented or "held in theaters," and refers as support for this contention to a 15th-century document in which a room decorated with a large number of depictions of famous men is called a "Sala theatri." The use of the word, *theatrum*, here seems to be an example of the

[2] J. Burckhardt, *Die Baukunst der Renaissance in Italien* in *Gesammelte Werke*, Basel, 1955, II, 174. The document is published in G. Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell' arte senese*, Siena, 1854–56, II, 322.

[3] In *Essays on Dante and Medieval Culture (Biblioteca dell' Archivum Romanicum)*, LXXI, 1964, 155–181.

frequently encountered figurative meaning of the term as a complete collection or representation of the topic. Such a reading seems reinforced by another example used by Westfall, a loggia in Pavia frescoed with famous men, which was called "loggia del giuramento, o del theatro."

Westfall goes on to list a number of occasions in which official and ceremonial acts took place in loggias (pp. 153–54) and to develop the concept of a Paradise *topos* associated with acts of government, using both documentary and visual material. Finally (p. 159), he states that "the major states and statesmen in Italy were directly linked to the papacy through a variety of chivalric ties, formal and informal," equating "chivalric" with "feudal" which more correctly describes the relationship between the Papacy and the other states of Italy. An additional concept is introduced by a discussion of the quattrocento doctrine of charity; acts of charity take place in a garden or Paradise setting (p. 160).

Thus, in an extremely tenuous chain of reasoning, the "theatrum" has become a loggia in which chivalric actions take place. Since the Papacy's ties with other states are "chivalric," and chivalric actions take place in "theaters" and in loggias in Paradise settings, Nicholas V's loggia will be the location of his ceremonial governmental actions. They will have the force of "acts of charity"; that is, they will be raised above the temporal to the spiritual sphere. The recently rediscovered frescoes in the Sala Vecchia degli Svizzeri in the Vatican Palace are discussed as an extension of this iconography.

The idea of a ceremonial locus for ceremonies that symbolized the role of the pope and the Papacy is not at all improbable, but the means by which Manetti's "theatrum" is identified as that place is. The evidence is slim if not misread; the conflation of words and ideas does not hold water. In addition, some important questions are ignored. In what way were the ceremonies in the "theatrum" to differ from those in the "atrium ad conciones"? The latter, after all, was to be for conclaves and coronations, two of the most symbolic ceremonies of the Papacy. Why should the symbolic locus be placed in a loggia where, even in Rome, the climate would limit actions there to a short time in the year? Why was one of the rooms in the new wing or one of the redecorated old rooms not a more appropriate location for this summation of Nicholas V's iconography? Why could this humanist court not have a place for the recitation of plays or *istorie?* Alberti, whose connection with the formulation of the project is agreed to by all, was perfectly clear on the use of the word *theatrum.* It was a place of poets, musicians, and *histriones* ("Spectaculorum alia ad ocium alia ad negocium spectant. Coniuncta ocio quae oblectant sunt poetae, musici, histriones. . . . Nam, cum sint quidem alia, in quibus poetae comici, tragici et eius modi versentur, haec nos theatra dignitatis gratia appellabimus . . .").[4] Within the theater was a stage, *pulpitum* ("Theatri partes hae sunt . . . pro faucibus exaggeratum opus pulpiti, ubi quae ad fabulam pertineant coaptentur"). All structures for spectacles had an area for performers and seats for spectators. The shapes of the area differed but those with semicircular areas were called theaters ("Nam ex his id quidem, cuius forma senscenti lunae simile est, theatrum nuncupatur"). I would suggest that the meaning of the word and the function of the building were clear to Manetti and to his readers, just as the meaning of the word and the use of the *capella maxima* were. The third building, however, was not familiar, and thus the use of the *atrium* alone of the three structures in the garden was described at some length.

A final chapter, or epilogue, deals with "The Designer and the Date." With a clarity and logic that one wishes had prevailed throughout the book, Westfall finally puts to rest the objections that have been raised in the past to Alberti's involvement in the building program of Nicholas V.

He concludes that the patron was viewed in the quattrocento as the inventor or creator of a project and the artist who gave it physical form as only its executor. This seems the best possible explanation for the omission of Alberti's name from Manetti's text.

Finally, one must deal with the major premise of this book, that Nicholas V's program represents the first appearance of ". . . the modern conception of the city and of urban planning. . . ." (p. ix). "The new conception allowed people to see the city as a place within which individuals act and as a place that possesses a unique and visible relationship between political and physical structures" (p. 85). This concept appears to me to have been fully developed in antiquity, although it is true, as Westfall points out (p. 58), that there is nothing explicit in surviving ancient writings. Visible remains in Rome, and the knowledge of the role these buildings played in civic life, were, however, certainly an influence on Alberti and Nicholas V. Furthermore, the physical manipulation of urban forms and the legal techniques for establishing civic order had already been developed in Tuscany in the late Middle Ages. The creation of streets for processions, and the opening of squares in front of the Palazzo Vecchio, S. Croce, and the Duomo in Florence had a symbolic content as well as a conscious element of design. Neither was symbolic content limited to sacred buildings in Florence. Already in the late medieval Florence, streets and piazzas and secular buildings, which Westfall says Alberti first added to architectural forms that could express a view of citizens and the city (p. 59), were "consciously designed and related to one another." This enabled "citizens to bring order to their society through their participation in its affairs" (p. 58), as Westfall puts it in defining Alberti's innovation. In fact, Westfall recognizes the leadership of Florence: "There [in Florence] for the first time the city came to be much the same thing it is today, an arena wherein men could follow their vocations to achieve their fame" (p. x).

Thus, Alberti's role appears to me to be one of codifying and making explicit concepts that had already developed, and Nicholas V's program seems an advance in degree, not an innovation. His plan was more complex than the Florentine predecessor, just as the Papacy in its combined temporal and spiritual role was a more complex institution than the republican government of late medieval Florence.

Readers of this book will be aware of how much I have been unable to cover in this review. The book is indeed rich, if not overrich in development of its theme, and it abounds in examples and discussions that expand on ideas. Its principal thesis, that Nicholas V's program proceeded from a new concept of the Papacy, the role of the pope and *virtù*, and the approach to God through action, is a contribution to our understanding of the period and the specific works of art involved.

ELISABETH B. MACDOUGALL
Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University

[4] This quotation and those following are from *De Re Aedificatoria*, VIII, chap. 7, in the edition of G. Orlandi, Milan, 1966.

NERI DI BICCI. *Le Ricordanze (10 Marzo 1453–24 Aprile 1475)*, ed. and annotated Bruno Santi, Pisa, Edizioni Marlin, 1976. Pp. xxxv + 483. L. 25,000.

Although suites of documents have been published in recent decades tracing the execution of individual works of art from start to finish, our knowledge of how a Renaissance artist conducted his business remains hazy. Such information is usually of a scattered nature. Attempts to gather the pieces together and evaluate them were made 40 years ago by Hanna Lerner-Lehmkuhl and Martin Wackernagel.[1] A survey of shop practices was also made more recently by Ettore Camesasca. Bruno Santi's publication of the *Ricordanze* of a minor Florentine painter who lived from 1419 to ca. 1491 is an important contribution to an area otherwise sparsely documented.

The holograph now in the Uffizi library (*Manoscritti*, No. 2) has long been known, but only parts of it have been published, by Gaetano Milanesi and Giovanni Poggi. As Santi pointed out in an introductory essay of 1973 describing the contents of the entire manuscript (not, alas, included in the present volume), the sections that had hitherto been printed were restricted to such matters as attribution and the identification of surviving pictures.[3] The great merit of Santi's publication of the whole manuscript is his recognition of its value in the wider context of social history. For the material concerns not only business practice and descriptions of work in hand but technique, workshop organization, production, and collaboration with other artists. To an extent this is also a domestic chronicle and offers a view of Neri's household and something of his personal character.

Artistically Neri was a prolific mediocrity: the last of a dynasty of versatile Florentine painters who for one and a half centuries were a popular source for a wide variety of work undistinguished in quality but nevertheless cherished by people from all ranks of society, from city fathers to hermits, from patricians to draymen.

Technically a 14th- or 15th-century volume of *Ricordanze* such as this is a type of account book, and not to be confused with personal diaries or memoirs of the sort kept later by Pontormo. Like other such books, Neri's *Ricordanze* was originally part of a whole series of volumes recording his commercial affairs in various aspects. If one of the series was to survive, it is fortunate that it was the *Ricordanze*, covering 22 years of consecutive activity, instead of the much drier lists contained in a typical cash book (*Libro di cassa*), or in a record of debits and credits (*Libro grande debitori e creditori*), typical of business records of the time. *Ricordanze*, as described by a distinguished economic historian, the late Federigo Melis, consist of "annotations in narrative of affairs disparate in nature including terms of contracts, the hiring and dispatch of personnel, and the progress of specific jobs and so on. . . ."[4] Among quattrocento records of artistic activity, Neri's *Ricordanze* constitute a unique survival: only a few pages remain of Baldovinetti's comparable volume, and the notebook of Marco del Bono, a contemporary painter of chests (or *cassoni*), is merely a list of clients.[5]

The structure of Santi's volume consists of an introduction, including the history of the MS and a survey of its contents (the various kinds of activity carried on by Neri and his shop, the types of clients served, and a listing of associates, collaborators, and apprentices). This is followed by a brief physical description of the MS and an explanation of the criteria adopted in its transcription. Then comes a bibliography, which seems to be limited to just those sources and publications concerned exclusively with Neri. As a result, several relevant items that would help the reader to a deeper appreciation of Neri's *Ricordanze* have been omitted. Some that might have been included are listed below.[6] Since Santi's publication, two extremely useful studies have appeared that should be read together with Neri's *Ricordanze;* these are Hannelore Glasser's *Artists' Contracts of the Early Renaissance*, New York/London, 1976, and Creighton Gilbert, "Peintres et menuisiers au début de la Renaissance en Italie," *Revue de l'art*, XXXVII, 1977, 9f. The body of Santi's volume is of course filled by the *Ricordanze* themselves, which occupy 430 pages. Many of the entries are accompanied by explanatory notes, including the identification of many of the surviving altarpieces. Nevertheless, technical terms and phrases are frequently left obscure and the absence of a glossary makes the text heavy going even for a specialist. For instance, although descriptions are provided for some of the textiles such as *zetani* and *sciamito* (pp. 89–90), other terms are left unexplained, e.g., *mancepagione* on p. 295 (coming of age?), and *lodo* on p. 417 (a legal action?). Sometimes meaning can be deduced, as in *fece merchato* (a frequent phrase for payment or agreement to a price). More difficult is the sense of *sanza alchuno iscioperio pigliare* (for absence without leave). We are left utterly in the dark when it comes to such objects as *uno palcho da chamera* (p. 29), *lettiera di silio* (p. 57), *una festa d'oro fine* (p. 154), and *viti da*

[1] Hanna Lerner-Lehmkuhl, *Zur Struktur und Geschichte des florentinischen Kunstmarkts im 15. Jahrhundert*, Wattenscheid, 1936; Martin Wackernagel, *Der Lebensraum des Künstlers in der florentinischen Renaissance*, Leipzig, 1938.

[2] Ettore Camesasca, *Artisti in bottega*, Milan, 1966.

[3] Bruno Santi, "Dalle ricordanze di Neri di Bicci," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: Classe di lettere e filosofia*, ser. 3, III, 1, 1973, 159f.

[4] Federigo Melis, *Aspetti della vita economica medievale (Studi nell'Archivio Datini a Prato)*, Siena, 1962, 245, n. 3, and 376f.

[5] Giovanni Poggi, *I Ricordi di Alesso Baldovinetti nuovamente pubblicati e illustrati*, Florence, 1909; Paul Schubring, *Cassoni, Truhen und Truhenbilder der italienischen Frührenaissance*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1923, 443f.

[6] For Neri's family, see E. Micheletti, "Bicci di Lorenzo," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Rome, 1968, X, 327f. For documents and discussion of contemporary Florentine workshops, see Ugo Procacci, "Di Jacopo d'Antonio e delle compagnie di pittori del Corso degli Adimari nel XV. secolo," *Rivista d'arte*, XXXIV, 1961, 3f.; Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy*, Oxford, 1972; Ellen Callman, *Appollonio di Giovanni*, Oxford, 1974, 1f. For a review of late trecento practices, still applicable to Neri's time, see Miklós Boskovits, *Pittura fiorentina alla vigilia del Rinascimento 1370–1400*, Florence, 1975, 165f. Valuable information on currency and terminology is scattered throughout Iris Origo, *The Merchant of Prato*, London, 1957, and Raymond de Roover, *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank 1397–1494*, New York, 1966. For drawings and models prepared by painters for colleagues in other branches of the arts, see Bernhard Degenhart and Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen 1300–1450*, Berlin, 1968, Sec. 1, I, xix-xxiii. For the structure of altarpieces, see Monika Cämmerer-George, *Die Rahmung der toskanischen Altarbilder im Trecento*, Strassbourg, 1966.

Vangelo (passim).[7] The phrase, . . .*per ll'amore delle veghie* (p. 244), dangles as a tantalizing enigma. As insufficient as the notes seem, no complaint can be made about the splendid index which is exceptionally detailed.

The technical difficulties mentioned above are a small price to pay, however, when one considers the variety and richness of information to be mined from the material Santi has now made available. For those who do not have time to go through the text with a fine-tooth comb, perhaps a report of what this reader found may encourage them to explore further.

Neri was 33 when he inherited the business from his father Bicci in 1452. Although altarpieces and domestic tabernacles (also called *colmi*[8]) were their main line of business, trade signs and coats-of-arms, the polychromy of furniture, reliquaries, and sculpture were also part of the regular trade.[9] Sometimes old pictures were repaired or brought up to date.[10] We would call such work restoration or remodeling; but Neri's term for this was *achonciatura*[11] or "fixing up," a word used today mainly by hairdressers. My tabulation of the shop's production during the 22 years covered by the *Ricordanze* accounts for 73 altarpieces (averaging to a little more than three per year) and 81 domestic tabernacles. In addition there were about 69 jobs of a miscellaneous sort. Thirty-five out of the 73 altarpieces survive in varying degrees of completeness, but very few of the tabernacles are left.

How was such production organized? Before going into the matter of suppliers of basic materials and collaborating workshops, let us take a look at Neri's own *bottega*. He had two places of work: one near his home in the Oltrarno on via S. Salvadore which had been his father's old shop,[12] and another acquired by Neri in the heart of the city's commercial district, at Porta Rossa.[13] Between 1453 and 1472 Neri had 22 helpers[14] ranging from green apprentices to practiced hands. Among them were Cosimo Rosselli and Francesco Botticini, who eventually became well-known masters in their own right. Although there were sometimes as many as six or seven helpers in the shop at one time,[15] more often there were only two or three. Curiously, in 1463, which was a record year for altarpieces (nine were completed), Neri recorded the presence of only three helpers. In fact, few apprentices stayed in the shop for a long time. The cases of Benedetto di Domenico and Antonio di Benedetto (a goldsmith's son), who stayed for seven and eight years respectively, were exceptional.[16] Cosimo Rosselli stayed on and off with Neri for three years,[17] but Botticini, taken on in October, 1459, ran away the following July.[18] Another boy, Francesco di Leonardo del Bene, taken on for three years, left before a single month was up, in the summer of 1466.[19] Often boys proved dilatory or otherwise unsatisfactory.[20] All this accounts for what we would call the rapid turnover in Neri's shop. Another factor that may have discouraged many apprentices was a graduated annual tax imposed by the city on contracts of apprenticeship held by a single master.[21]

Neri's usual word for an apprentice was *discepolo*, or disciple. But sometimes this alternates with the more familiar *garzone*, or shop boy. Another term used for beginners, it seems, was *fattorino*. In 1459, Antonio di Benedetto had this title, roughly equivalent to "errand boy," but by 1462 he was also referred to as a *discepolo*. A boy's apprenticeship would begin perhaps with a one-year contract, made with parental consent.[22] If he was very young, no salary at all was promised at first and eventually the wage would be left to Neri's discretion.[23] Older apprentices signed contracts for two- and three-year terms even though these agreements would often be broken by the boys.[24] Both Cosimo Rosselli and Giusto d'Andrea (who was only 18 years old at the time) were to receive annual salaries of 18 florins.[25] In Neri's absence, Giusto was to get a higher fee plus expenses and a pair of hose.[26] Absences were debited to the apprentices' accounts and they were expected to make up for time lost.[27] Neri saw to their clothing, but this too was charged against the boys' future earnings.[28] From these accounts we learn how very expensive cloth then was. For instance, seven *braccia* of *monachino* (a little over four meters of brown woolen cloth) for a mantle purchased by Neri for Giovanni di Jacopo amounted to more than third of the boy's annual salary of 18 florins.[29] And even the hose Giuliano da Maiano had given him the previous month were not left out of the reckoning.[30]

Sometimes Neri lent his own services and those of his assistants to other workshops. In 1455 Neri was asked by Vittorio Ghiberti to prepare a colored drawing (also referred to as a model) for a wall hanging *(spalliera)* destined for the *ringhiera*, the ceremonial platform in front of the town hall.[31]

[7] On investigation, the latter turn out to be not clasps or screws for Gospel books but long processional candlesticks carried by the clergy; Niccolò Tommaseo and Bernardo Bellini, *Dizionario della lingua italiana*, Rome/Pisa/Naples, 1879, IV, 2, 1873.

[8] *Ricordanze*, 184.

[9] *Ibid.*, xviiif., 241f., 353f.

[10] *Ibid.*, xxix, 239, 319, 332, 353, 357, 382; Santi, "Dalle Ricordanze," 173, 175f.

[11] *Ricordanze*, 353, 382.

[12] *Ibid.*, xxx.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Ibid.*, xxix.

[15] E.g., between 1465 and 1466.

[16] *Ibid.*, 98f, 207f.

[17] *Ibid.*, 51f.

[18] *Ibid.*, 126f.

[19] *Ibid.*, 276f.

[20] *Ibid.*, 192, 210, 280f., 339.

[21] Louis Frank Mustari, "The Sculptor in the Fourteenth Century Florentine Opera del Duomo," Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1975 (available Xerox University Microfilms), 79.

[22] *Ricordanze*, 98, 207, 258, 262, 391.

[23] *Ibid.*, 93, 262, 391. Cf. Lerner-Lehmkuhl, 1936, 51f.; Wackernagel, 1938, 338, 341–343.

[24] *Ricordanze*, 101, 153, 210, 244f.

[25] *Ibid.*, 51, 101, 129.

[26] As in n. 25.

[27] *Ibid.*, 101, 208.

[28] *Ibid.*, 9, 130, 280f.

[29] *Ibid.*, 210, 214.

[30] *Ibid.*, 208.

[31] *Ibid.*, 23. Funds had been set aside for the purpose the previous year; Scipione Ammirato, *Istorie fiorentine*, ed. F. Ranalli, Florence, 1848, V, Bk. XXII, 135–36.

From Neri's account, it appears that this model was prepared to full scale for use as a cartoon.[32] Several other master painters participated in the project and Neri accepted L. 96 as his team's share.[33] Of this amount, Neri reserved L. 50 for his personal effort *(per mia faticha)*.[34] It turns out that this *spalliera* was neither a tapestry nor an embroidery but a painted cloth and that Neri and three of his assistants went to Ghiberti's shop to work on it.[35] Each of Neri's helpers was paid L. 2 per day, almost half a florin.[36] In this respect, it is interesting that Cosimo Rosselli's wage as Neri's apprentice the next year amounted to only L. 6 per month.[37] For the Saint John's Day decorations in 1461, Neri lent out another apprentice, Giovanni d'Antonio, to Giuliano da Maiano for work on two processional wagons (or floats). In this case, the wage was much lower: for 15 days' work, Giovanni got half a lira per day (10 soldi).[38] Involved were three large dolphins and the symbols of the Evangelists, with Neri himself helping to shape up the papier-mâché dolphins. Antonio the errand boy *(mio fattorino)* ground up the colors for them and in the end Neri charged Giuliano da Maiano L. 12 for his services and that of his group.[39] One wonders if the great difference in wage was due to the fact that, whereas the *spalliera* was a permanent fixture for an important site using what may have been costly materials and highly skilled craftsmen, the float, being only temporary, required less expensive ingredients.

Mention of what exactly members of the *bottega* carried out is rare in the *Ricordanze*. Aside from the examples cited above, there is the case of a troublesome character, Lorenzo di Giovanni, who is referred to not as an apprentice but as a full-fledged *dipintore*.[40] He had been left to carry out a domestic tabernacle on his own and had accepted payment for it from the client without turning anything of this back to Neri's shop, which had supplied him with all the materials.

For large commissions such as altarpieces, Neri refers to contracts that varied from the formal written agreement *(la iscritta)*,[41] signed by one or both parties, to a *patto* or *achordo* that frequently did not even include the price.[42] Good faith and good will, as well as versatility and reliability, must have contributed to Neri's popularity. Whether for a large *Christ in Glory* ordered by a mercer of Por S. Maria or a *Coronation of the Virgin* intended for the church of S. Felice in Piazza, Neri was willing to settle the price after the work was finished.[43] In one instance, Neri even took on a job with no agreement at all.[44] Evidently, the shop had enough work from other clients, which supplied a steady flow of cash. In some cases, a down-payment or *ara* was required at the start, followed by installments at specified intervals of time.[45] Not infrequently Neri accepted payment in kind instead of cash: wine, oil, grain, cloth, or even the services of a tailor or a notary.[46] Santi, in one instance, accuses Neri of accepting payment in human form consisting of two slave girls.[47] But possibly these *ischiavine* were merely a common type of rough woolen cloth used for blankets, which were known by the same name.[48] The various servants in Neri's household were, in fact, all paid help,[49] and it is comforting to read how in one instance he saw to it that a girl's marriage was celebrated in his own home in the country.[50]

Several commissions specified that the work imitate earlier examples made by Neri for other clients.[51] The abbot of S. Trinita wanted the altarpiece for the Spini Chapel to be like one Neri had painted for Carlo Benizi in S. Felicita,[52] and Mariotto Lupi instructed Neri to make his altarpiece for a church in the Val d'Elsa like that painted for Paolo Parigi in S. Giorgio in Florence.[53] As Ernst Gombrich reminds us, Neri painted at least nine versions of *Tobias and the Angel*.[54] Repetition of subject matter and Neri's lack of imagination certainly encouraged his conventional style, which often seems utterly stereotyped.

Often measurements were given, as well as the quality of gold and blue to be used and exactly where these were to be applied. For instance, ultramarine (the most costly blue pigment) was to be reserved for the Virgin's mantle or those of certain saints, whereas *oro fine* (as distinguished from the baser *oro di metà*) was for the most exposed areas.[55] Blue and gold of lesser quality might be used on the sides or on the frame.[56] Whether the figures should kneel or stand was not

[32] *Ricordanze*, 23: ". . . mi richiese gli dovessi aiutare cholorire e disegniare 1° modello d'una ispaliere che di nuova s'à fare di panno d'arazo. . . ."

[33] *Ibid.*, 23. In the early stages of this job, Cosimo Rosselli and his older brother Chimento also participated. In the following, the abbreviations L. will be used for lire.

[34] *Ibid.*, 43.

[35] *Ibid.*, 44.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] *Ibid.*, 51f.

[38] *Ibid.*, 163f.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] *Ibid.*, 268f.

[41] *Ibid.*, 69, 74., 83, 121. One of the rare contracts in which a notary is mentioned is that for an *Assumption* ordered by the abbess of S. Michele di Prato, which Santi identifies as the picture now in the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia; *ibid.*, 304f.

[42] *Ibid.*, 130f. ". . . ne patto ne preg [i] o"; 155f., 178, 203; cf. Glasser, *Artists' Contracts*, 111.

[43] *Ricordanze*, 130f., 178, 203, 218.

[44] *Ibid.*, 66.

[45] *Ibid.*, 25f. 69, 152, 193, 247, 324, 352; cf. Glasser, 44.

[46] *Ricordanze*, 123, 164, 168, 282, 394. Sometimes Neri also paid the carpenter or the goldbeater or the notary who served him in work, wine, or grain from his property near Signa; 195, 212, 394.

[47] *Ibid.*, xxviii, 319f.

[48] Origo, 96.

[49] *Ricordanze*, 253, 335, 347, 357. Although in one case, that of Giuliana described as a Circassian (p. 347), the only form of payment mentioned is in kind. After working for Neri for six months, she left to marry "Giovanni ischiavo che volge la ruota." On the other hand, Neri's widowed sister, Gema, did have a slave in her household; 103.

[50] *Ibid.*, 361, 368.

[51] *Ibid.*, 25f., 69, 106, 191, 192, 203, 373, 425; cf. Glasser, 64f.

[52] *Ricordanze*, 25f.

[53] *Ibid.*, 191.

[54] Ernst Gombrich, "Tobias and the Angel," *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, London, 1972, 26, 30.

[55] *Ricordanze*, 7, 13f., 25, 38f., 48, 55, 74f., 130f., 191, 204, 211, 216, 218, 252f., 274f., 301; cf. Glasser, 36f.

[56] *Ricordanze*, 38f., 121, 203, 216; cf. Baxandall, 11, 14f.

always a matter left to Neri's discretion.[57] A client from Pescia said he wanted the Virgin's face turned towards Saint Catherine.[58] And in the *Annunciation* for a Casentino church, Neri's client told him to wait for the detailed instructions from a Franciscan of S. Croce.[59] The Confraternity of Saint Sebastian knew exactly how Neri should paint their large banner: at the feet of the nude saint pierced by arrows was to be a city resembling Florence, with the Devil at one tower and Death at another; the martyr was to be rendered as if praying for the town.[60]

For a distant client, Neri on one occasion supplied a design or presentation drawing for the frame.[61] Either this or another drawing was then turned over a month later to Giuliano da Maiano who was to do all the carpentry for this altarpiece destined for the *pieve* of Poggibonsi.[62] This brings up the matter of the materials used in Neri's works and their source of supply. Sometimes the client would supply the wood or cloth upon which the imagery was to be painted.[63] Either the woodwork and the painting would be commissioned separately[64] or the object to be adorned had been made some time before, as, for instance, with a Desiderio *Madonna* and the cupboard in the town hall for the famed Pandects of Justinian.[65] Numerous statues, reliquaries, candelabra, and other miscellaneous objects would reach Neri's shop either from their makers (such as Giuliano and Benedetto da Maiano, Maso Finiguerra, or the Camaldolese monk Don Romualdo of Candeli, whose specialty was large crucifixes) or from the client.[66] Quite often the client would provide the blue and gold as well.[67] In the case of a frescoed wayside tabernacle, the client supplied Neri with the scaffolding and the plaster.[68] But for most works, all the costs of production were sustained by Neri who would purchase the materials and provide the craftsmen. For gold and silver leaf he would, of course, go to a gold beater.[69] For blue pigment, which required complicated refining processes, the Ingesuati monks were noted specialists, who also would supply Neri with red and yellow.[70] But for these and other pigments Neri would also use secular sources, *speziali*, or retail merchants, who had them too.[71] The gesso Neri seems to have liked best came from Volterra and he would order it in hundred-pound quantities from a drayman of Montespertoli and his son.[71]

Probably few, if any, of the frames and panels were made within Neri's shop. They were subcontracted to an atelier specializing in such work. The favorite sources were Giuliano da Maiano and the less well known Luca Manucci.[72] Frequently, Neri would commission the woodwork for an altarpiece on the very day that he himself received the commission or within a few days afterwards.[73] The usual style would be specified as *al' anticha:* i.e., in the ancient classical manner, rectangular in shape with friezes, architraves, and grooved columns.[74] Giuliano's rates for such work would range from 20 to 33% of the total cost.[75] For reliquaries; his charges could come to half the total price.[76] Luca Manucci, on the other hand, evidently had less of a reputation and his maximum charge for the woodwork of an altarpiece never surpassed 16½%.[77] It was to this carpenter that Neri turned for unpainted tabernacles, which on several occasions he ordered by the dozen.[78] Luca also cast the gesso Madonnas so often placed inside these tabernacles, which Neri would then paint.[79] But for these Neri supplied the gesso.[80]

Not only did Neri usually meet a specified deadline or come very close to it, but he sometimes finished ahead of time.[81] The *Annunciation* commissioned by Ormanozzo Deti on September 1, 1455 and promised for December 20 was finished by the 5th,[82] and a similar speed was maintained for the Cestello altarpiece of 1459.[83] In order to keep his promises, Neri and his collaborators had to be efficient, synchronizing their production. For instance, within ten days of accepting a commission for an altarpiece from the nuns of S. Apollonia, Giuliano da Maiano, who was to supply all the woodwork, already provided the *chorpo. . .cioè el quadro* (the large central panel) so that Neri could get on with the painting while the rest of the complicated framework was carved.[84] In another instance, Giuliano supplied Neri

[57] *Ricordanze*, 119, 130f., 165, 204, 290f.; but cf. 187, 413, where the choice was left to Neri.

[58] *Ibid.*, 250.

[59] *Ibid.*, 246.

[60] *Ibid.*, 43.

[61] For the Company of St. Nicholas in Poggibonsi, *ibid.*, 55; cf. Gilbert, "Peintres et menuisiers," 20; Glasser, 32, 120f.

[62] *Ricordanze*, 57f.

[63] *Ibid.*, 40, 43, 48, 109, 182f., 218, 354.

[64] *Ibid.*, 166, 167, 224f.

[65] *Ibid.*, 17, 156.

[66] For Benedetto da Maiano, 279, 364, 390; for Desiderio, 186, 465; for Maso Finiguerra, 134f.; for Don Romualdo, 47, 51, 54, 168, 336f., 388.

[67] *Ibid.*, 94, 215, 218; cf. Baxandall, 8f.

[68] *Ricordanze*, 7.

[69] *Ibid.*, 237.

[70] *Ibid.*, 328, 366.

[71] *Ibid.*, 184, 270, 315f.

[72] *Ibid.*, 276f.; cf. Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, *The Craftsman's Handbook. The Italian "Il Libro dell' Arte,"* trans. and annotated D. V. Thompson, Jr., New Haven 1933, repr. Dover/New York, n.d., 70, n. 1; 126, n. 2.

[73] For Giuliano's structures, see *Ricordanze*, 32f., 55f., 66f., 69f., 72f., 78, 106, 111f., 114, 122, 187, 189, 220f., 229, 326, 334, 403f.; for Manucci see 125f., 176f., 197f., 202, 214.

[74] *Ibid.*, 32f., 69f., 74f., 202, 323f., etc.

[75] See note 73.

[76] *Ibid.*, 229; cf. Gilbert, 21f.

[77] *Ricordanze*, 196f.

[78] *Ibid.*, 247, 326. For other examples of prices for painting and woodwork, see Cämmerer-George, 19f.

[79] *Ricordanze*, 137, 313f.

[80] *Ibid.*, 314. Obviously, Neri knew best what kind of gesso was suited for his painting and therefore preferred to supply the material himself.

[81] *Ibid.*, 32f., 121, 202, 246f., 323f., 334.

[82] *Ibid.*, 32f.

[83] *Ibid.*, 80.

[84] *Ibid.*, 252f., 373f., 393f.

with the *quadro* two days after the contract![85] Of the 36 tabernacles ordered from Luca Manucci at the end of June, 1468, Neri expected twelve within a week and the rest at the end of two weeks.[86] Neri himself worked with great speed, painting an altar frontal within a single day and a small panel about a yard square in two days.[87] When Neri made a double-sided ensign for the Company of Saint James in Uzzano (consisting of a *Flagellation* and a *Crucifixion*, on a panel about one yard square) within a month of its commission, the clients were so pleased that they awarded him a bonus of an extra lira amounting to a 14% tip.[88]

Neri's rapport with his clients, as a rule, seems to have been good. The rare exceptions noted in the *Ricordanze* both involved Giovanni di Tommaso di Marco Spinellini, the arch-deacon of Florence Cathedral, who ordered two altarpieces: one for the church of S. Sisto in Viterbo and the other for S. Fedele in Chianti, of which he was prior.[89] In both cases the trouble concerned haggling over costs. The cleric made Neri accept *malvolontieri* a price of 35 florins for the Viterbo altarpiece, instead of the 40 requested, and in the other case the painter had to go to law to extract the payment due him.

Depending on labor, size, and materials, an altarpiece could vary in price from a minimum of L. 60, for the three-*braccia*-wide (1.74m) *Madonna and Saints* painted for Bernardo del Benino in 1464, to a maximum of L. 560 for the S. Felicita altarpiece of 1453 (size is not given).[90] Domestic tabernacles ranged from L. 5 s. 8 to L. 43,[91] but the average price was L. 20.[92] Murals were, of course, comparatively much cheaper than altarpieces because no carving and less gold were required. Another determining factor appears to have been the number of figures to be painted. For eight large figures of the Madonna and saints painted for a wayside tabernacle at the Ponte a Signa, Neri got L. 147, whereas he was paid a little over L. 43 for a *Crucifixion with Donors* in the Cardini Chapel in Pescia, and even this price included related odd jobs for the same chapel.[93]

How exactly Neri rated his labor (variously termed as *faticha*, *magisterio*, and *metitura*), as distinct from the materials, is difficult to determine, in part because it is so rarely mentioned separately in the *Ricordanze*.[94] For the gilding in 1471 of two large candlesticks belonging to the Carmine, Neri got L. 10 s. 4 for the *metitura* of the gold leaf.[95] For the remodeling of a Gothic altarpiece for Tommaso Soderini, on the other hand, Neri charged L. 25 for his *faticha e magistero*, whereas he got double this fee for drawing and coloring the *modello* of the *spalliera* for Vittorio Ghiberti.[96] Surprisingly, Neri's price for painting and gilding a frame surrounding a Luca della Robbia *Madonna* amounted to only L. 4.[97]

Neri's polychromy of statuary and relief sculpture was part of a long family tradition. His grandfather Lorenzo commanded high fees for the painting of the stone *Hope* and *Charity* of the Loggia dei Lanzi.[98] In fact, according to Cennino Cennini, the task of painting stone or wooden carvings was exactly the same as that of painting a panel; the area to be colored was first covered by a layer of gesso.[99] Even in Neri di Bicci's day such a great master as Donatello did not always paint his own statuary, this work being left to quite unknown painters.[100] Therefore, it should come as less of a surprise that the marble and gesso reliefs of Desiderio da Settignano were sent to Neri several times for painting and embellishment.[101] On the other hand, there was one occasion when Neri had Desiderio make him what sounds like a paste brooch for a reliquary bust he was painting for S. Pancrazio.[102]

Most of Neri's work was made for specific customers. But he also did a quantity of non-commissioned domestic tabernacles for retail merchants, i.e., for the market. From the novels of Franco Sacchetti we know that this was already a commonplace during the trecento.[103] Neri prepared many domestic tabernacles for a merchant located near the Piazza del Duomo, Mariotto Mazi, who also saw to the shipment of the Viterbo altarpiece.[104] Others were sent to Andrea di Biagio who sold them in Rome, and still another group was dispatched to Bernabe' de' Cingholi, a merchant in the Marches.[105]

Aside from retail merchants, Neri had a few regular private clients.[106] Foremost among these was Tommaso di Lorenzo Soderini, the future guardian of Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici,[107] who happened to be Neri's neighbor in the country at Castello di Gangalandi.[108] Throughout the period covered by the *Ricordanze*, Soderini had Neri do a

[85] *Ibid.*, 32f.

[86] *Ibid.*, 313f.

[87] *Ibid.*, 15f.

[88] *Ibid.*, 93. Such gratuities were not uncommon and were also known as a *benandata*; E. Borsook, "Fra Filippo Lippi and the Murals for Prato Cathedral," *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, XIX, 1975, 108, Doc. 306.

[89] *Ricordanze*, 86; Salvino Salvini, *Catalogo cronologico de'canonici della chiesa metropolitana fiorentina compilato l'anno 1751*, Florence, 1782, 40.

[90] *Ricordanze*, 11f., 218f., 279f. I suspect that the reason prices are so often given in lire rather than in florins was because the latter existed in different forms of varying value.

[91] *Ibid.*, 96, 125f.

[92] *Ibid.*, 18 and *passim*.

[93] *Ibid.*, 7f., 94, 97.

[94] Cf. Baxandall, 16f.

[95] *Ricordanze*, 363.

[96] *Ibid.*, 43, 383.

[97] *Ibid.*, 224.

[98] D. E. Colnaghi, *A Dictionary of Florentine Painters*, London, 1928, 40f.; Mustari, 195.

[99] *Ricordanze*, 301; cf. Cennini/Thompson, chaps. lxxxx-iiii, ciii, pp. 60, 64.

[100] Mustari, 301f.

[101] *Ricordanze*, 156f., 186, 239.

[102] *Ibid.*, 59.

[103] Mustari, 82.

[104] *Ricordanze*, 169, 205. Gilbert, 21, cites Giuliano da Maiano acting as a middleman in the sale of a *Madonna* by Baldovinetti.

[105] *Ricordanze*, 114, 182, 409f.

[106] *Ibid.*, xxiii. Examples are the Cardini family (82f., 94, 97, 116) and Chimento the barber (128, 224f.).

[107] Santi, 1973, 173f., note; *Ricordanze*, 18, 35, 54, 332, 383f., 397f.; G. M. Mecatti, *Storia cronologica della città di Firenze*, Naples, 1755, II, 445.

[108] *Ricordanze*, 251f., 306 and *passim*.

wide variety of jobs for him. It was during his term as the top municipal official *(gonfaloniere di giustizia)* that Neri was commissioned to paint the cupboard for the Signoria that housed the Pandects of Justinian.[109] In addition, Soderini ordered a polychromed gesso *Madonna* for his own use, a common fixture. He also had Neri remodel an altarpiece for the Carmelite Monastery of Le Selve near Lastra a Signa, as well as another belonging to the Soderini family in the church of S. Frediano in Florence, for which new furnishings were also supplied.[110] Soderini used Neri again to paint various of the family crests in the Convent of the Carmine.[111]

The *Ricordanze* inform us that Neri, besides being a good businessman, owned a considerable amount of property in both town and country. Besides the two workshops in Florence, he owned several houses, some of which were rented out,[112] as well as farms and woodland.[113] Perhaps on a future occasion Santi will tell us how all these properties plus Neri's professional income were reflected in his declarations of property and work in hand for the communal *Catasto*, which are still preserved in the State Archives of Florence.

Apparently none of Neri's children took up the family profession.[114] One son, Lorenzo, was apprenticed to bankers and became a member of the silk guild.[115] Another, Bicci, at the age of seven was sent to learn how to read from a priest of S. Frediano who gave lessons in his *boteguza*.[116] Three years afterwards the boy began to learn reckoning from one Chalandro.[117] In 1473, Neri adopted the seven-year-old son of an impoverished miller from the neighborhood of Volterra.[118] Neri also looked after his widowed sisters and their children and saw to their investments and eventual remarriage.[119] In 1470, Neri was able to invest for his four-year-old daughter, Nannina, the sizeable sum 875 gold florins in the municipal dowry fund.[120]

The *Ricordanze* also give us some homely details that add to the picture of life in Neri's household. For instance, the yearly supply of bread cost the family L. 5, for which a contract was made with Ghuglielmo the baker.[121] There is a detailed description of Neri's new house at Castello di Gangalandi.[122] On the ground floor was a large room, a bedroom, pantry *(cella)*, kitchen, and storeroom *(volta)*. On the floor above, there was another large room and kitchen plus three bedrooms and an attic or dovecote *(colombaia)*. A loggia was situated beneath the roof. Then there was a kitchen garden *(chorte)*, a stable, oven, and a third kitchen. All the walls were plastered inside and out.

The *Ricordanze* also supply us with some useful technical terms. For instance, *biancho brunito* was the phrase for the fictive white marbling with which Neri often painted the framework of his altarpieces.[123] Then there is the detailed description of a triptych in the Gothic style with the names used to describe each part.[124] The triple-gabled shape was called *l^a tavola d'altare a tre cholmi aquntata (sic)* (the word *cholmo*, it will be recalled, was used to describe the domestic tabernacles which Neri produced in such large numbers; evidently they frequently had a Gothic gable). Above the dividing columns were canopies, foliation, and other ornament *(sopra e cholonegli e civori e foglie e altri chorei*[125] *appartenenti. . .)*, whereas the main panel is referred to as *el chorpo di mezo*. At the top there were small figures to be painted *(di sopra nelle punte de' chorpi fighurette picole)*.

For economic history there are many different kinds of information to be gathered from the *Ricordanze*. The most interesting is that of comparative prices. A feather quilt (made of chicken feathers) cost about the same as Neri's painting of a pair of angel candelabra carved by Benedetto da Maiano; L. 41 for the quilt and L. 43 for the polychromy.[126] The rent of Neri's shop in Porta Rossa cost L. 48 a year.[127] Cloth was usually bought on credit because of its great expense; a little over a meter of woolen cloth for the shirt of an apprentice could cost two *fiorini di sugello*, and 5.80 meters of fine reddish-purple stuff for two long overcoats cost over 19 gold florins, or about two years' rent.[128] According to the law only international bankers could conduct their accounts in florins; all others, small businessmen and craftsmen, were supposed to keep their records in *moneta di piccioli*, or silver currency.[129] Nevertheless, Neri used both kinds of currency in the *Ricordanze*. He also continued using the sealed florin *(fiorino di sugello)* even after this coin had been abolished in 1471.[130]

One of the pedantic duties of a reviewer is to list misprints encountered in the text. The few I noticed are listed below.[131] The price is high for a text without illustrations, but is now, alas, normal in Italy for books of an academic nature. The volume is an invaluable source book and one hopes it will be used as the basis for many future studies.

EVE BORSOOK
Florence, Italy

[109] Santi, 1973, 174, note; *Ricordanze*, 17f.

[110] *Ibid.*, 18, 35, 54, 332f., 397f.

[111] *Ibid.*, 241f.

[112] *Ibid.*, 105, 240, 251, 254f.

[113] *Ibid.*, 8, 10f., 42f., 47, 105, 240, 251, 254f.

[114] Santi, 1973, 172.

[115] *Ricordanze*, 146, 200.

[116] *Ibid.*, 71, 200.

[117] *Ibid.*, 285.

[118] *Ibid.*, 419.

[119] *Ibid.*, 103, 110, 135f., 138, 141f., 211f., 325f., 367.

[120] *Ibid.*, 271, 365.

[121] *Ibid.*, 261.

[122] *Ibid.*, 306.

[123] *Ibid.*, 119 and *passim*.

[124] *Ibid.*, 211. This altarpiece was for a provincial church which clearly had old-fashioned tastes.

[125] Dr. Santi kindly informs me that *chorei* is a form for *corredi*, meaning accompanying ornament.

[126] *Ricordanze*, 128f., 390.

[127] *Ibid.*, 104.

[128] *Ibid.*, 184, 200, 378.

[129] De Roover, 32–33.

[130] *Ibid.*, 88.

[131] The note referring to Baldovinetti on xvii should read n. 554; on p. xxvi Neri's polychromy of a Desiderio *Madonna* should read 369 and/or 465; the references to Colnaghi on p. xl should be pp. 41–43; the top entry on p. 14 should read 1454 not 1954; the price for Neri's gilding and polychromy of the bust of Saint Catherine on p. 59 was L. 26 not 26 florins (cf. number 127 on p. 64); in number 137, p. 69, *Chorso degli Animali* should probably read *Adimari* although Dr. Santi informs me that here Neri probably made a slip of the pen.

BERNARD DORIVAL, *Philippe de Champaigne, 1602–1674*, 2 vols., Paris, Léonce Laget, Libraire-Éditeur, 1976. Pp. 844; 1002 ills. About $200

Until the publication of the book under review, there was no complete monograph available on Philippe de Champaigne, whose magnificent portraits blending the warmth of Flemish realism with the reserve of French classicism have molded our image of 17th-century France. If his religious works, with one notable exception, have never had the same impact, he is nevertheless undeniably a major figure in French 17th-century culture on whom a serious study was long overdue.

Bernard Dorival's enormous two-volume monograph follows, in elaborate form, the standard formula of an essay on aspects of the artist's life and work followed by appendixes of documents and a complete catalogue. He begins with a biographical outline that considers everything from the correct pronunciation and spelling of Champaigne's name to the significance of the location of his various residences. The discussion of his work is divided into ten chapters devoted to themes such as the literary sources, formal sources, and working methods; an analysis of his landscape paintings, portraits, and religious works; the evolution of his style and his reputation after his death. There are 128 comparative illustrations in this first volume. The catalogue volume contains almost two thousand entries; every work of which some visual record exists is reproduced, as are all the artist's known drawings.

Dorival has been working on Champaigne for more than 25 years. He wrote the catalogue of the exhibition devoted to Champaigne in 1952 and has staked his claim in a series of articles published at intervals since then. All students of this field have been waiting for his book, knowing that without it one could not grasp properly the dimensions of Champaigne's work or resolve finally the question of his relations with the Jansenist movement and its possible influence on his work. Leafing through the book, one is at first overwhelmed by the extent and range of Champaigne's oeuvre. As one becomes better acquainted with the book, however, one's pleasure at being able at last to absorb the artist's achievement in a concentrated fashion evaporates as the frustrations of using the book emerge. Unfortunately Dorival's long years of hard labor and his devotion to the cause of Philippe de Champaigne have resulted in a work of scholarship that is seriously flawed.

Some of the problems sound minor, the sort of thing that an energetic editor should have prevented. Misprints, especially of the numbers of footnotes, plates, and figures, are so frequent as to become a real handicap to the reader. The table of contents of Volume Two sets some kind of record by not having a single correct page reference. One wonders if the manuscript was proofread at all. Then there is no proper bibliography, only a list of some of the older publications frequently cited. It does not even include Dorival's own numerous earlier publications. Since he does not always provide full references in the catalogue entries, the omission of a proper bibliography means that some entries cannot be checked and others can only be checked laboriously by finding another entry with fuller citations. Oddly enough, in the main text Dorival has a habit of including the kind of bibliographical information that most people relegate to footnotes. This practice not only makes for extremely tedious reading, but it also effectively buries much valuable reference material. Both the main text and the catalogue suffer from prolix writing and repetition; again, the firm hand of a sympathetic editor was badly needed.

The plates, on which scholars will have to depend for many years, given the economics of art-book publishing, are of poor quality. They are numerous but small (up to twelve per page) and in most cases can serve only as inadequate reminders of the originals, often no better than the black-and-white figures at the back of the Rizzoli series, *L'Opera completa di. . .*, which sells for a mere $5 a volume. In a few cases inexcusably bad photographs were used (Cat. Nos. 21, 46, 48, 57, 161, and 165). Not one of Champaigne's works is reproduced full-plate or even half-plate. Thus none of the reproductions conveys any sense of the magnificence of Champaigne's surfaces, let alone allows scholars to hazard some opinions about the quality of different versions of the same composition or about misattributions. The answer surely was to eliminate many of the illustrations of copies, versions, and misattributions, especially of works reproduced elsewhere in accessible publications or no longer taken seriously as works by Champaigne, to omit some of the illustrations of comparative material as familiar as Raphael's *School of Athens* and the *Madonna di Foligno*, and to give the space gained to the autograph works and to a sample of his drawings.

More serious frustrations are created by Dorival's failure to tackle two of the basic problems that one expects to find resolved in any serious new monograph: the chronology of the artist's work and the division between the artist himself and his studio assistants or followers. Dorival is not much concerned with the first. According to him, Champaigne's chronology is almost impossible to determine because his style changed very little once he reached maturity in the 1630's and because he constantly repeated heads, gestures poses, even entire compositions at widely differing dates. Dorival also claims that Champaigne changed his style to suit a particular patron or commission. Further, only a small proportion of the artist's works is signed and dated or otherwise datable from reliable documentary evidence. Nevertheless, Dorival suggests dates for most of the religious works, although often without stating his reasons. Thus, he must have some idea of what constitutes a typical Champaigne of, say, 1635, 1645, or 1655. He never articulates these stylistic characteristics for us, however, except to reiterate what was already known, namely that the influence of the artist's Flemish origins is strongest in his work of the late 1620's and early 1630's and that his work becomes progressively more refined, restrained, and dignified as he gets older.

An additional hurdle for the reader anxious to try and understand the evolution of Champaigne's work is the arrangement of the catalogue by subject matter. Not only does this produce a completely haphazard order, which is distracting enough, but the arrangement means that works of different subjects that are part of the same commission, and in some cases even belong to the same institution, are not catalogued, discussed, and reproduced together but instead are scattered through the text and plates (see for example Cat. Nos. 1 and 86; 30, 34, and 85; 84, 110, and 134; 109 and 127; and 2 ,97, 98, 119, and 126, the last group constituting the ceiling decoration of the chapel of the Sorbonne). If these dispersed catalogue items were consistently cross-referenced, the reader's life would be easier, but they are not. The index by location collects those works which still remain together, but it does not help with major commissions now scattered.

The catalogue arrangement also seems to have shifted Dorival's attention away from the question of what these dispersed commissions once looked like in their original setting, or even from providing one key entry with a clear discussion of the circumstances of the original commission. Thus, there is no proper discussion anywhere of the Galerie des Hommes Illustres for the Palais Cardinal (now Royal), to which numerous catalogue entries refer in passing (Cat. Nos. 168, 182, 196, 208, 312, 315, 320, 324, 345, 349, 353, 357, 363, 369, 378 383 and 389), or even a clear directive to the curious reader to check Dorival's note on the problem in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1970, 324–30. The reader also remains completely confused about the important group of paintings illustrating the life of the Virgin, commissioned by Marie de'Medici for the Carmelite Sisters in the rue St. Jacques (Cat. Nos. 28, 38, 45, 79, 80, 81, and 82; see also Cat. Nos. 54, 56, and 58). Not one entry refers to all the works, and nowhere is it explained why they should be dated variously between 1628 and 1635. Indeed, it is impossible to establish the basic facts concerning the chronology of Champaigne's work using Dorival alone, not only because the organization of the catalogue makes the task difficult but because in many cases the discussion of the evidence for a particular date is inadequate or erroneous. Scholars interested in the problem will have to buy their own photographs and do the research again.

Although Champaigne had a number of assistants, including a nephew whom he adopted after the death of his only son in infancy, Dorival provides no adequate discussion of their artistic personalities or of their role in the studio. Only after checking every reference in the indexes to Jean Baptiste de Champaigne, for example, could one begin to reconstruct his style and contribution. Dorival also seems reluctant on occasion to attribute works to the studio, even in cases where he admits that the quality is dubious (for example, Cat. Nos. 73, 92, 96, 117, and 205). He believes that Champaigne himself was responsible for most of the small, essentially exact replicas of major religious works (for example, Cat. Nos. 10, 25, 37, and 48), arguing that they were *modelli* made for the patrons concerned, as well as for many versions of portraits. Although this may be true in some cases, such straighforward tasks were surely delegated more often than Dorival allows (for example, Cat. Nos. 41, 142, and 198). The reader also needed some discussion of the possible role of the studio in the series illustrating the life of Saint Benedict painted for Anne of Austria (Cat. Nos. 100–08), since Montgolfier, who published the payments for this commission, believes that they were largely painted by the studio. Dorival catalogues them as autograph, denies the connection with the payments, and dates them a decade earlier than Montgolfier.

Questions that have concerned Dorival extensively are the visual and literary sources of Champaigne's work. Using the contents of the artist's library as a starting point, he has already published discussions of Champaigne's use of works such as Molanus and the Pradus and Villalpandus Commentary on Ezekial. Although many of these suggestions seem convincing, Dorival's arguments concerning Champaigne and Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* are less plausible. He has presented his theories in more detail in *La Revue de l'art*, No. 11, 1971, 31f., and summarizes them in the book, sometimes so telegraphically that they lose their meaning. Thus to read that the dog who sniffs suspiciously at the body of the dead Abel (Cat. No. 8) is a prophet is puzzling, and to be told that the tabby cat stealing food from a dish in the foreground of the *Supper at Emmaus* (Cat. No. 78) is a hieroglyph of the perpetuity of the Sacrament of the Eucharist simply arouses disbelief. These readings and others that concern particular gestures that supposedly mean particular numbers I cannot follow. Even though Champaigne owned a French translation of Valeriano, this does not mean that he accepted Valeriano's interpretations and wished to incorporate such an obscure system of symbolism into his work. Generally Dorival stresses the artist's orthodoxy and points out how closely he followed the biblical text. The clarity and simplicity of his compositions and the absence of unusual subject matter in his work also argue against the hypothesis that Champaigne adopted this hermetic system of symbolism into some of his paintings.

A great deal of space is taken up both in the catalogue and in the text discussing specific borrowings for facial types, poses, gestures, even for feet, hands, legs, and passages of drapery. Not only are the details concerned so commonplace that many other equally convincing sources could have been found; but in many cases the source suggested by Dorival is a homely engraving from a handbook, such as the *Scuola perfetta per imparare a disegnare tutto il corpo humano* of the Carracci circle, which Champaigne probably studied as a student but which cannot have inspired a draftsman of his caliber in his maturity. Every time that Champaigne depicts someone pointing upwards, Dorival believes that he used the figure of Plato in the *School of Athens*, or alternatively, Saint John the Baptist in the *Madonna di Foligno*. Every blessing gesture was inspired by the right arm of the *Marcus Aurelius* monument. Every upraised pair of arms comes from Raphael's *Vision of Ezekiel*. Some cited sources are impossible as well a superfluous. The composition of the *Dream of Joseph* (Cat. No. 29) cannot have been inspired by Arnold van Westerhout's etching of Sacchi's fresco of this subject because the latter was not painted until 1652, long after Champaigne's picture was completed. Neither does it seem likely that a drawing of upraised hands by Annibale Carracci, then in Rome but now at Windsor, was the specific source of some similar hands in Champaigne's *Ascension of Christ* (Cat. No. 79). Dorival has spent a commendable amount of time doing what 17th-century artists did, namely looking at prints of all levels of quality. He is therefore able to cite a number of plausible borrowings from Flemish prints that others might have overlooked, for example Schelte a Bolswert's print after Rubens's *Ascension of Christ* (Cat. No. 79) or Jerome Wierix's engraving after Martin de Vos's *Christ and the Woman of Canaan* (I, fig. XXXI), on which Champaigne based his composition of the same subject (Cat. No. 54). Nevertheless, the final impression created by Dorival's emphasis on Champaigne's pious orthodoxy and his supposedly constant turning to printed sources for major and minor elements in all his religious works is that the artist was little more than a timid Christian pedant with a fabulous technique. Although Dorival describes Champaigne as having an "âme simple et coeur droit" (I, p. 69), he has a much higher regard for Champaigne's artistic intellect than that.

The question of Champaigne's attitude towards Italian and ancient art as well as to that of Flanders and of his adopted homeland remains a fascinating one, but it requires a more sensitive analysis than that offered by Dorival. Furthermore, his discussion of Champaigne's lectures to the Royal Academy on works by Raphael, Titian, Guido Reni, and Poussin is too reverent to be helpful. The large body of material collected by Dorival will nevertheless be stimulat-

ing to scholars who consider these matters in the future.

The negative tone of this review may seem excessive. After all, Dorival has collected a prodigious amount of material on the artist and provided detailed catalogue entries even for minor and rejected works. He has also extended considerably our knowledge of Champaigne's contacts with the Jansenist movement and our understanding of their mutual sympathies. Indeed, the author's energies are praiseworthy. His book will be immensely useful as a work of reference and his contribution to our knowledge of the artist should not be underrated. But it is a book destined to frustrate scholars, and it is regretable that Dorival's abilties to organize his material efficiently and reliably do not match his energies as a researcher.

Before ending with a sampling of comments on particular paintings, some general comments on the catalogue are necessary. Although a statement about the condition of every work might have been excessive, the matter should not have been ignored totally. In a number of cases the photographs reveal that a work either is in a bad state or is extremely dirty (for example, Cat. Nos. 6, 22, 41, 43, 57, 63, 69, 71, 78, 80, 119, 126, 310). Information on condition in such cases is vital. It is also helpful to know occasionally when a work is in an exceptionally good state of preservation. Another related question not considered by Dorival is that of works which have been mutilated. Comparison between paintings and engravings or copies after them, or the nature of the composition itself, suggest that the following works have been cut down: Cat. Nos.8, 34, 36, 50, 71, 83, 85, 129, and 170. Finally, since there are no color plates, a brief description of the color scheme of the major religious commissions and official portraits would have been helpful, above all for iconographic analysis. Students of Champaigne should also consult the long, detailed review by Anthony Blunt in the *Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, 574f., where other criticisms and corrections to the catalogue will be found. The numbers in the comments that follow refer to catalogue entries.

11. *Sacrifice of Isaac*, Paris, private collection. This work was not attributed to Champaigne before the late 18th century. Dorival notes that the colors are atypical; the physiognomy of the figures and treatment of chiaroscuro are also hard to parallel in generally accepted works, even those of an early date.

12. *Moses Presenting the Tablets of the Law*, Leningrad, The Hermitage. In this entry and elsewhere in the text, Lalive du Jully should read La Live de Jully.

14. *Dream of Elijah*, Le Mans, Musée Tessé. The reasons for dating this work around 1655 should be given. None of the cited borrowings are convincing. For pl. XXXIII, read XXXIV; for LXII, read LIX.

20. and 21. *Annunciation*, Caen, Musée des Beaux Arts and Église de Montresor. Dorival dates these works 1633 and 1636 respectively, claiming that they are stylistically very similar. In fact, there are some striking differences in the color schemes (much brighter in the second work), figure proportions (bulkier in the Caen picture, much slimmer in the Montresor painting), and setting. There is good circumstantial evidence for dating the Caen picture 1633; how much later the Montresor painting should be dated depends on a more detailed analysis of Champaigne's development than Dorival provides. The photograph of the Montresor *Annunciation* shows it before a recent restoration and cleaning, to judge by the healthy appearance of the work in the color plate of Pierre Rosenberg's essay on the artist in the series, *Maestri del colore*. Neither of the cited borrowings for these works is convincing.

22. *Annunciation*, Clermont-Ferrand, Église Notre-Dame-du-Port. Dorival dates this work around 1639, citing the renovations completed then in the Hôtel de Chavigny, from which the picture comes, but the matter is not so simple. According to the article on the building by Allan Braham and Peter Smith, cited by Dorival, the Hôtel St. Paul, the first house on the site, was bought by Léon Bouthillier, Comte de Chavigny, in 1635. In August, 1641, Bouthillier bought an adjacent property to the east, on which an extension designed by Mansart was built. The contract with Mansart, dated 1642, mentions a chapel to be built in *ung residue de bastiment joignant la galerye*, for which a special design was to be provided. Braham and Smith assumed, logically enough, that Champaigne's *Annunciation* was painted for this new chapel, which would mean a date in the early 1640's, although it could conceivably have been painted earlier for a site in the old Hôtel and then have been transferred to the new chapel. To judge from the photograph, the condition of the picture is now far from ideal. In brief, further discussion of the style and date of this work is needed.

28. *Dream of Saint Joseph*, Paris, Louvre. Because the work itself is in such a poor state, Dorival illustrates it instead with a watercolor copy made in the early 19th century. The reader of the entry remains puzzled, however, because this substitution is only mentioned at the end of the entry under the discussion of provenance.

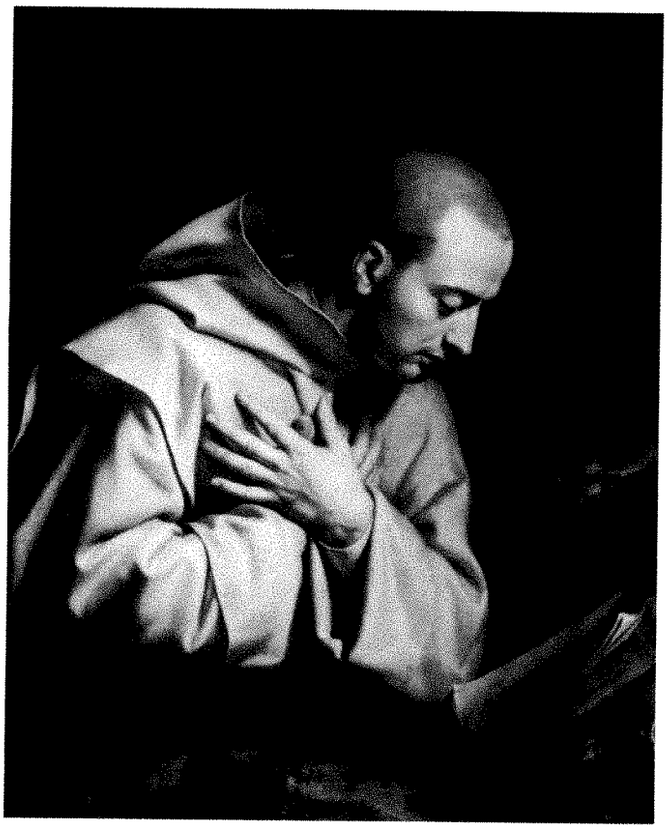
29. *Dream of Saint Joseph*, London, National Gallery. This work is generally dated around 1635–36; Dorival without explanation dates it around 1638.

35. *Adoration of the Shepherds*, London, Wallace Collection. Dorival's identification of this work with the picture sent to the Abbey of St. Bernard in Quincey in 1628 is an important discovery that provides scholars with a firmly dated early work around which to base discussions of the formation of Champaigne's style (see Cat. No. 42 below). Fig. 35-bis is missing.

30., 34., and 85. *Visitation*, New York, art market, *Nativity*, Lille, Musée des Beaux Arts, *Assumption of the Virgin*, Cherbourg, Musée Thomas-Henry. Dorival gives no reason for dating these three works as late as 1643. On stylistic grounds, I would have thought that a date around 1635–1640 is more likely. The *Visitation* is no longer at the Pasadena Art Museum. It was sold in 1968 and is currently on the art market in New York.

42. *Adoration of the Magi*, Le Mans, Musée Tessé. Although generally accepted as an early work of Champaigne, the style of this work is so different from that of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Wallace Collection (No. 29), both according to Dorival painted in the same year, that a more detailed discussion of its appearance or date is needed. The style of some other works by Champaigne datable before 1630 (Nos. 144., 159., and 227.) is also puzzling. The problem of his early style needs further investigation.

43. and 44. These two paintings with studies of heads, one in a private collection in Paris, the other in the Musée des Beaux Arts, Dijon, are thought by Dorival to be models made by Champaigne and kept in the studio as sources for his own works, in which he often repeats facial types. Such practices were common in the 17th century, but these two examples are so flat and dull that an attribution to the studio, which executed such studies as exercises, must also be considered. Neither work appears to be in good condi-



1 Philippe de Champaigne, *Saint Bruno in Prayer*. Stockholm National Museum

tion, however, which makes a final judgment difficult.

46. *Presentation at the Temple*, Brussels, Royal Museum. Since this work has long been associated with the altarpiece of this subject that Champaigne painted for the Carmelites of the rue St. Jacques, and it appears as such even in the most recent catalogues of the museum, the reader needs some explanation of Dorival's reasons for associating the Dijon *Presentation* with that commission and for linking the Brussels painting instead with the high altarpiece of St.-Honoré. Although Dorival is probably correct, he does not seem to have thought out fully all the consequences of this shift of identification and date (see Cat. No. 48 below).

48. *Presentation at the Temple*, Ponce (Puerto Rico), Museo Ferré. Dorival states that this work is signed and dated 1642 but the inscription is no longer visible and must be questioned, given that the work is catalogued by Dorival as a final study for an altarpiece of the same subject (Cat. No. 46, Brussels, Royal Museum), painted in 1648 for an altar refurbished the previous year. For Hild, read Held.

63. *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, Belgium, private collection. Despite the signature and date (1673), the attribution of this feeble copy after Guido Reni to Champaigne is not plausible. Not surprisingly, Dorival finds it his "oeuvre [le] plus italianisante" (I, p. 97). Its style contrasts markedly with that of the *Assumption of the Virgin* in Bordeaux (Cat. No. 89) also signed and dated 1673.

67. *Crucifixion*, Paris, Louvre. The inscription on this painting has led to its being dated 1674, but Dorival points out that it was engraved by Morin, who died in 1650, and must therefore have been painted much earlier.

80. *Pentecost*, Libourne, Église St.-Jean-Baptiste. It is unclear from the entry whether Dorival believes that this work was executed by the artist himself or by the studio, as all early sources claim.

84. *Assumption of the Virgin*, Grenoble, Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture. This altarpiece was once part of an ensemble including two vertical panels depicting Saints Germain and Vincent (Cat. Nos. 110 and 134). For no very good reason, Dorival suggests that the two saints were painted a decade earlier than the *Assumption* and then united with it around 1638–1640.

92. *Virgin and Child*, private collection. This work appears to be a studio version and not an original.

96. *Guardian Angel*, Nièvre, Église de Crux-la-Ville. It seems probable that the studio was responsible for this late, provincial commission.

118. *Translation of the Relics of Saints Gervais and Protais*, Paris, Louvre. In this catalogue entry and elsewhere, Dorival misspells Sisto Badalocchio's name as Badolocci.

121. *Blessed Isabelle of France*, Paris, Église-Notre-Dame-Bonne-Nouvelle. Dorival says that his pl. 121 is an engraving by Nicolas Bazin after the painting. He does not explain why the painting itself is not illustrated; even more puzzling is the fact that the photograph looks like a painting, not an engraving. Some studio intervention seems possible but Dorival does not discuss the question.

150. *Saint Charles Borromeo in Prayer*, Orléans, Musée des Beaux Arts. Dorival has catalogued this work as a portrait, but it would have been more logical to include it among the paintings of saints. The dating (1655–56) seems rather late.

152. *Mme. Bouthillier* (?), Paris, Musée du Louvre. I agree with Pierre Rosenberg, Anthony Blunt, and others that this beautiful portrait is not by Champaigne. The identification of the sitter as the same woman seen in Nos. 151 and 153 is, as Blunt points out, dubious; Nos. 151 and 153 do not seem to represent the same person either.

184. *Vow of Louis XIII*, Caen, Musée de Beaux Arts. Like No. 150, catalogued as a portrait but more logically to be catalogued among the religious works.

285. *Saint Bruno in Prayer*, private collection. The original of this composition, of which Dorival published two copies, has recently turned up in a Swedish private collection attributed to Sofonisba Anguissola. It has just been acquired by the National Museum, Stockholm (Fig. 1). It measures 90 x 78.5cm and can be dated around 1650. As Dorival points out, Saint Bruno's pose is identical with that of the young monk kneeling in the left foreground of *The Vision of Dom Jean, Vicar of the Grande Chartreuse* (Cat. No. 287).

1698. *Charity*, Nancy, Musée des Beaux Arts. The attribution of this work to Lucas Franchoys is not at all convincing. I do not even find it especially Flemish and wonder why the attribution to Philippe de Champaigne should ever have been questioned.

1699. *Allegory of Human Life*, Le Mans, Musée Tessé. Dorival questions the attribution to Champaigne of this still life, made by Pierre Rosenberg and others, but his arguments are not convincing.

1861. *Dying Mother of Aristides*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. This painting of a dying mother suckling her child has more often been given to Andrea Sacchi than to Champaigne. It may be by Artemesia Gentileschi.

ANN SUTHERLAND HARRIS
Metropolitan Museum of Art

RENSSELAER W. LEE, *Names on Trees: Ariosto into Art (Princeton Essays on the Arts 3)*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1977. Pp. xiv + 124; one color pl., 57 ills. $14.50 cloth, $5.95 paper

One of Traiano Boccalini's news briefs from Parnassus (*Ragguagli di Parnaso*, Venice, 1613, I, item 28) reports that when Tasso submitted the *Gerusalemme liberata* for its patent of immortality, the Delphic librarian, Ludovico Castelvetro, refused it on the grounds that the poem did not conform to the rules of Aristotle. Tasso, understandably downcast, appealed to Apollo, who reversed Castelvetro and announced that the *Gerusalemme* had been directly inspired by the Muses, and who then summoned Aristotle to explain his presumption in prescribing rules for something so indefinable as poetry. Aristotle, discomfited, denied the charge, observing that he had only made some general deductions from the poetic practice of the Greeks, although some fools and *ignoranti* had tried to construe these as universal law. Apollo accepted this answer, dismissed Aristotle with a warning, and appointed Tasso Grand Constable in the Army of Italian Poetry, superior in rank even to Ariosto, who had previously been his greatest Captain.

Boccalini, who died the year the *Ragguagli* appeared, had lived in the years of the great Ariosto-Tasso quarrel, which had pretty well spent its main force by the year 1600, even though frontier skirmishes continued to flare up for some time afterwards. His gentle satire is therefore all the more remarkable for its common sense and for its reminder that poetry springs from a well undefiled, whose waters cannot be forced into the channels of rule. The same virtues, common sense and a direct response to poetic beauty, are still timely, and they conspicuously inform Rensselaer Lee's book, which is the latest in the series of essays he has published over the years on the treatment of Tasso's, and now Ariosto's, poetry in the visual arts. It is well to reread these essays, with which all readers of the *Art Bulletin* will be familiar, together with this book, for all are on the same great theme and each illuminates the others. We may hope that Lee's book on the imagery of Tasso and Ariosto in the visual arts, a subject he has meditated upon long and deeply, will soon see the light of day, for it would be of incalculable value to critics and historians of both literature and art (and a useful companion to Roland Frye's *Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts*, also just published by Princeton University Press). Even so, it would be a good thing if all the essays that Lee has so far published were to be gathered together in a single volume, beginning with his splendid section on Rinaldo and Armida in *"Ut pictura poesis"* and including the contents of the present work. For all of them possess the same rare quality. Lee reads the old poets as if they were alive today, as if they spoke to us; and if his work is sophisticated, subtly and elegantly expressed, and enriched with deep learning and accumulated wisdom (all of which it is), what impresses in the end is its youthfulness and its simplicity, by which I mean the simplicity of perceived and communicated beauty. His perceptions flow from the poetry to the painting of it (not the other way round), and, notwithstanding the wide and profound knowledge of theory that has made his *"Ut pictura poesis"* a classic, what always makes Lee's pulse quicken is poetic grace that is beyond the reach of art. He never loses sight, neither does he let the reader lose sight, of that point at which poetry and experience intersect and merge; and our own most deeply felt sentiments and passions, as yet inchoate, our own yearnings (since pastoral is his present theme) for a Virgilian *secura quies et nescia fallere vita*, are given form to us as universal and eternal experience.

The theme of the book may be quickly summarized. Its subject is the famous episode of Angelica and Medoro from the *Orlando furioso*, a moment of pastoral calm in the narrative of the poem (although one that is a major turning point in it), when the two lovers spend their days in the peace of the country and in each other's arms, and when they carve their names and love in amatory verses on trees and rocks and on the walls of caves. Lee traces Ariosto's *topos* to its ancient origins (most important to Ovid's tale of Paris and Oenone), and briskly gives the reader a review of its use as an Arcadian motif in the pastoral poetry of the Renaissance. This done, he then gives an account of Angelica's character and role in the poem, together with a discussion of the illustration of her various adventures in painting. By far the most popular of these as a subject for artists is the story of Angelica's and Medoro's carving their names on trees, and, before embarking on a survey of the treatment of this theme by painters, Lee characterizes the nature and purpose of the episode as exemplary of the pastoral convention of the *locus amoenus*. The very few examples of 16th-century illustration of the story are surveyed here, and this is followed by chapters tracing its appearance in paintings and drawings of the 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries, after which it ceased to be a subject that attracted artists. A magnificent drawing by Guercino in the British Museum is the finest of all these (one is surprised to be reminded that Fragonard did not treat the subject in his famous series of drawings illustrating the *Orlando furioso*), and Jacques Blanchard's beautiful painting in the Metropolitan Museum is fittingly singled out for illustration in color. Finally, the book ends with an amusing glance at other uses of the name-carving motif, ranging from Fragonard's *Le Chiffre d'amour* through Arthur Hughes's *The Long Engagement*, to Asher B. Durand's memorial to Thomas Cole and William Cullen Bryant in *Kindred Spirits*.

This outline of the book's contents does little justice to its quality, which I must confess is as difficult for me to characterize as would be the fugitive beauty of Angelica herself. Such things, as Lessing remarked of Homer's failure to describe Helen, it is wiser not to attempt. One can only exclaim with the pedantic schoolmaster Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost*, "Ah, good old Mantuan! I may speak of thee as the traveller doth of Venice:—*Venetia, Venetia, Chi non te vede, non te pretia*." The book stirs one to reflection and to thought, and the questions it has stimulated in my mind force me to admit that I am enough of a pedant (more than enough) to harbor a lurking sympathy with Castelvetro's position as keeper of the *Biblioteca delfica*. One does wonder, for example, to what degree the Ariosto-Tasso debate (in which Tasso himself took a major part) may have influenced illustration of the *Orlando* no less than the *Gerusalemme*; to what degree it may have determined the mode in which those illustrations were realized; and even to what degree it may have determined which episodes in Ariosto's poem were most popular with painters and patrons. In a word, does criticism have its role to play in the story, together with the poetry itself?

It is remarkable (and Lee himself has remarked it) how very few 16th-century paintings there are illustrating Ariosto. It is also remarkable that, whereas painters of the 17th century were clearly drawn to the *Orlando's* pastoral episodes, no such particular moments seem to have been especially favored by 16th-century painters, who apparently were attracted by the poem's chivalric narrative, its vividly

portrayed passions (which Lomazzo says Ariosto "dipingea," quoting in the second and sixth books of his *Trattato* numerous passages for painters to imitate), and the earthy beauty of its heroines. Dolce, in a famous passage, especially recommended that painters imitate the "perfetto esempio della bella donna" given by Ariosto in his elegant apostrophe to the fatal beauty of Alcina when Roger first beheld her at the palace gate. As a Venetian, Dolce was surely imagining Ariosto's enchantress with the robustly sensuous forms of Titian's or Dosso's women, and not in the style of Parmigianino which Nicolo dell'Abate adopted when he painted the meeting of Roger and Alcina in his delightfully chivalric frescoes in the Palazzo Torfanini. Ariosto's description of Alcina, and Parmigianino's qualitative assembly of perfected feminine beauties into a vision of unearthly grace (combined with an earthly, but not earthy, eroticism) both belong, as Elizabeth Cropper has recently shown in this journal, to the same poetic tradition of panegyric to beautiful women. The forms that tradition could take, however, may be understood by imagining representations of Venus painted by Titian on the one hand and by Parmigianino on the other, the one as natural as the other is artificial, yet both endowed with the same qualitative perfections and with a palpable sensuality. How the Venetians, at least, perceived Ariosto we may surmise from Ridolfi's report that Domenico Tintoretto was asked to paint a series of Ariosto's heroines for the Casa Molina in S. Gregorio, and that he also based four paintings on the famous stanza, forthrightfully evocative of sexual passion, in the first canto of the *Orlando*, beginning "La verginella è simile alla rosa." That other 16th-century readers of the poem found in it (rightly) the same down-to-earth quality appears in the attacks made upon Ariosto for obscenity as Counter-Reformatory zeal increased, and also in the fact that even the story of Angelica and Medoro was not then endowed with the pastoral sentiment that Lee so aptly perceives as common to 17th-century treatments of the theme. Ghisi's engraving of the lovers shows a robust and heavy Angelica erotically entangled with Medoro, clinging to him as tightly (to recall one of Ariosto's favorite ancient similes) as the ivy to the elm or the vine to the oak—both of which are shown in the engraving—while Cupid with a torch steps forward to celebrate, too late, the marriage ceremony. An extraordinary painting by Spranger, which Lee describes as "grotesque and grossly unpoetical," depicts a hapless Medoro quite thoroughly distracted from his writing by Angelica, who casts her leg across his thigh, thrusts the tip of her breast into his ear, and invitingly traces the outline of his chin with her fingertips. The mood is scarcely pastoral, and no doubt it is unpoetical, but at the same time the comic and earthily erotic elements that are all but caricatured in Spranger's painting are not foreign to Ariosto. The question then arises whether the thoroughgoing pastoral reading of the Angelica and Medoro story and its expression in 17th-century painting, a reading which Lee has adopted, is not in fact a product of the Ariosto-Tasso debate. Do not mistake me, *candide lector:* the pastoral element is there. But I would like to ask Lee (for no one knows the poets better) to what degree he thinks the pastoral reading that is reflected in 17th-century painting may be a reading of the *Orlando* not wholly as written by Ariosto, but in part as read by Tasso and his supporters.

A second reflection that Lee's book stirred in my mind concerns simile, which leads one into fascinating questions that lie very near the heart of Renaissance poetry. Lee several times notices similarities between paintings of Angelica and the wounded Medoro and paintings of the Lamentation, and, although he does not press the point, it is worthwhile asking whether or not such similarities are fortuitous, and hence only stylistic and compositional analogies, or intentional, and hence true similes. This is a question that has been obliquely raised in Poussin scholarship, as, for example, when Anthony Blunt discussed the extraordinary similarity between Poussin's paintings of the dead Adonis and the dead Christ. It has also been dealt with subtly and most acutely by Lee in his consideration of Poussin's paintings of Rinaldo and Armida in "*Ut pictura poesis.*" Let me put the question by making a series of observations. When Tasso wanted to convey something of the character of the enchantress Armida, he not only described it for us but also made it appear through simile. Thus, we learn a great deal about Armida when we read of her discovery of the sleeping Rinaldo and of her falling in love with him after looking deeply into his face, with a gaze that Tasso likens to Narcissus looking at his own image mirrored in a fountain and falling in love with it. When Poussin represented the story in his painting *Rinaldo and Armida* in the Hermitage, he altered Tasso's simile (I would suggest) in a way that was not intended to shed light on the selfish love of Armida, but instead was meant to convey to the viewer something of the nature of Rinaldo's situation. He represented Rinaldo and Armida according to the classical formula for showing Diana and the sleeping Endymion, and in so doing he introduced a simile of his own, serving notice upon the spectator that he is to understand Rinaldo's slumber as unnaturally induced, enchanted. And when Poussin painted the succeeding moment in the story, in the *Rinaldo and Armida* in Berlin, he introduced a different simile again; the sleeping knight is shown lifted from the ground by a swarm of Loves who prepare to bear him away to Armida's castle, and he is shown in a pose that is explicitly borrowed from ancient representations of the death of Meleager. The motive seems to express the idea that Rinaldo's enchanted slumber is perhaps not best compared to Endymion's immortal sleep, but is instead a kind of spiritual death.

Before the reader becomes too skeptical of this mode of "reading" Poussin's paintings, which casts the painter into the role of a poet who makes his own similes, I recommend to his attention Bellori's description of Carlo Maratta's painting *Apollo and Daphne*, in which Bellori observes that Maratta did not simply illustrate Ovid but showed himself also a poet by introducing an invention, in fact a simile, of his own: he represented three river nymphs near Daphne in the pose of the Graces in order to suggest something of the nature of Daphne's overpowering beauty, of a quality to win the love of a god. This kind of invention, which goes straight to the heart of 17th-century manifestations of the doctrine of "ut pictura poesis," is also in Bellori's view characteristic of Annibale Carracci, whose work in the Camerino and Galleria Farnese Bellori characterized as new poems that were created by taking familiar mythological figures and events and treating them allegorically in order to express the artist's own idea in a poetry of his own. J. R. Martin's analysis of the imagery of the Camerino, starting from Bellori's account of it, certainly seems to bear this out, and Annibale's witty treatment of Bacchus and Ariadne in the Gallery, as well as his allusions to Virgil and Tasso himself also support Bellori's argument. One cannot fail, incidentally, when contemplating the opposed paintings of the lovesick Polyphemus and the berserk, naked Polyphemus ripping

boulders from the mountainside, to see that Annibale has gently satirized the great paired romances of Boiardo and Ariosto as *Polifemo inammorato* and *Polifemo furioso*. It seems fair to suggest that such similes are an important part of the way that 17th-century painters saw themselves as inventing poets; that Annibale and his followers, who created the first great illustrations of Tasso (which gave rise to serious illustration of Ariosto), were the first to invent in this way, which is so characteristic of the century; and that this is itself a product of the Ariosto-Tasso debate.

Having discussed simile as a component of subject matter, is it then possible to discuss it as a component of style as well? Ariosto's panegyric to Alcina's beauty, which is composed of an extended series of similes, affords a convenient point of departure, for here the reader can simply be referred again to Cropper's demonstration of the ways in which the tradition of such panegyrics did influence the options exercized by painters in order to represent "objective" beauty. One such simile employed by Ariosto is the likening of parts of Alcina's flesh, sometimes to lilies flushed with roses, sometimes to stately ivory. His source in so doing is one of Virgil's most famous similes, describing Lavinia's blush:

> Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro
> si quis ebur, aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa
> alba rosa: talis virgo dabat ore colores.

Virgil's simile in turn has an equally famous source in Homer (as has often been noticed; see Knauer's *Die Aeneis und Homer*), and this is especially interesting because Homer's simile is not employed in order to characterize a woman's beauty, but in order to describe Menelaos's wound:

> As when some Maionian woman or Karian with purple colors ivory, to make it a cheekpiece for horses; it lies away in an inner room, and many a rider longs to have it, but it is laid up to be a king's treasure, two things, to be the beauty of the horse, the pride of the horseman: so, Menelaos, your shapely thighs were stained with the color of blood, and your legs also and the ankles beneath them.

This is an example of a developed, or extended simile that is characteristic of Homer, one that Richard Lattimore (whose translation I have given above) has described as working in the following way: one thing is likened to another (bloodstained white skin is like a stained cheekpiece); the thing to which the first is compared has its own story, and this we are told (the history of the cheekpiece); and the comparison is then repeated. The effect is to provide the briefest of interludes from the clash of battle, transporting us far away in time and space, and then returning us abruptly to the matter at hand. The particular simile here exemplified is not wholy exact—blood on flesh compared to purple staining ivory—but it functions marvelously in providing a sense of Menelaos's beauty and value, his princely quality.

Ariosto employed Homer's simile in the *Orlando*, even though he altered the specific comparison in a manner that suggests a Hellenistic model. Nevertheless, the structure of the simile and the manner in which the objects compared function shows his dependence on the Homeric form. He is recounting the battle between the brave Scottish prince Zerbino and the terrible Mandricardo over Orlando's armor, which they have discovered abandoned in the very place where Angelica and Medoro had carved the record of their love. Zerbino is grievously wounded, and Ariosto makes *quella vaga comparazione* (as Simone Fornari called it in 1549) of the red streamlets of blood coursing over his shining armor to a purple ribbon dividing the silver ground of the embroidery of the poet's lady:

> Così talhora un bel purpureo nastro
> Ho veduto partir tela d'argento,
> Da quella bianca man più ch'alabastro
> Da cui partire il cor spesso mi sento.

Such metaphors and similes are deeply impressive, and spring immediately to mind before a painting such as Matteo Rosselli's *Angelica and the Wounded Medoro* at Petraia (Lee, fig. 9), or Guercino's passionate *Tancred and Erminia* in the Doria Gallery, in which the wounded heroes are indeed portrayed with skins of ivory whiteness stained with blood of the most royal purple (or Poussin's sublime *Tancred and Erminia* in the Hermitage which shows the hero's silvery armor incarnadined with spots of blood). This manner of artistic thinking, whereby the colors and even textures of the simile are reproduced as proper to the thing that inspired it, also occurs in paintings of non-poetic subject matter, as in Van Dyck's *Lamentation* in Munich, in which Christ's body, wounds, and limbs drained of blood appear not as objects of horror but as objects of inestimable beauty; the same may be said of Guido Reni's *Massacre of the Innocents*, wherein the tiny victims of brutal murder seem as lovely as all the lovely things to which a poet might liken them, so that the poignancy of the painting is the poignancy of pure art, and not of history. To return to Guercino's *Tancred and Erminia*, one is tempted to characterize the painting, not only as exemplary of his earlier style, but also as a consciously Ariostan reading of Tasso's tale, sensuous and full of movement and contrast, while his later treatment of the same subject in Castle Howard tells the story in accordance with the Aristotelian (*pace* Apollo!) rules of narrative more proper to Tasso. The same could be said of Guercino's early and late versions of *Erminia and the Shepherd*, and indeed Lee himself has written, in a beautiful essay in honor of Samuel Monk, of these paintings and their subtle yet very clear differences, not in the changing style of the painter, but in the way in which the story is told.

Lee's recounting of the story of Angelica and its illustration ends with the name-carving episode and her marriage to Medoro, after which her importance to Ariosto's poem is at an end. It is Orlando's discovery of the inscribed names of the lovers that drives him mad, and there is a delightful painting in the Villa Giovannina in Cento that depicts a later moment in the story, when the crazed Orlando, naked and unrecognizeable in his misery, accidentally meets Angelica and Medoro on their way to India. So far as I am aware, the subject of this painting has not been precisely identified (it is reproduced by Renato Roli, *I fregi centesi del Guercino*, fig. 81), but there is no doubt but that it represents what might be called Angelica's last disappearance in the poem (canto XXIX, 58ff.). Medoro's horse, which Orlando has just destroyed with a single blow of his fist, lies prostrate on the ground, while the two lovers speed away on foot and disappear behind a low hill. The landscape (like the landscape in Guercino's splendid drawing of Angelica and Medoro carving their names) is a lovely and romantic realization of the countryside around Cento, and the painting is beautifully true to the poetry and the humor of the *Orlando*.

My remarks here have been directed towards issues of criticism that arise in my mind when reflecting upon the issue of Ariosto's (and Tasso's) poetry and the visual arts. They are issues that Lee's book, his earlier writings, and his teaching have stimulated and encouraged me to ponder, but they are issues that, in the last analysis, have to do with the means of art. Lee's beautiful essay (which Princeton University Press has produced in a manner worthy of it) has its sights set higher, and the unerring skill with which he has realized his theme, evoking always the incalculable grace of the poetry and the paintings, raises it from the level of art-historical writing to the status of *belles lettres* (something also achieved by Panofsky in his noble "Et in Arcadia ego"). At this point Castelvetro must cede to Apollo, put aside his pen and hearken to the flute.

> Fauste, precor, gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra ruminat, antiquos paulum recitemus amores.

CHARLES DEMPSEY
Bryn Mawr College

DAVID BINDMAN, *Blake as an Artist,* Oxford, Phaidon, and New York, E. P. Dutton, 1977. Pp. 256; 4 color pls., 182 black-and-white ills. $18.95

MORTON D. PALEY, *William Blake,* Oxford, Phaidon, and New York, E. P. Dutton, 1978. Pp. 192; 16 color pls., 140 black-and-white ills. $19.95

GEOFFREY KEYNES, *The Complete Portraiture of William and Catherine Blake,* Trianon Press, Paris, for the William Blake Trust, London, 1977. Pp. 155; 62 ills. $129

In explaining his reasons for writing a book on William Blake's art, Sir Anthony Blunt described the activities of an enormous Blake industry: "His philosophy and theology have been analysed to the last hair; his sources have been studied *ad nauseum;* his simplest poems have been made the mountains of exegesis; but little has been written about Blake as a painter and engraver."[1]

Blunt's achievement was to bring us back to Blake the picture maker and to show that like other mortals he too had definable artistic sources, a reasonably coherent development, and a tangible relationship with other artists of his day. Blunt's achievement was also a lonely, or isolated one because the scholarly industry continued unabated in its construction of ever more detailed and complex analyses of Blake's mythic world and waged its arguments over whether he was a Swedenborgian, Neoplatonist, or something else. Now, some twenty years later, Blunt's book has finally acquired a companion, David Bindman's "full-scale art historical evaluation of Blake's work," as it is justly described on the book jacket. Bindman's goals are essentially the same as Blunt's had been, but this time the discussion is carried out in far greater depth, in part a reflection of the important growth in the study of English art over the past two decades.

In order to present a comprehensive picture of Blake's art, the author has had to involve himself with the relationship of the art to the poetry and with the symbolic meanings of such figures as Urizen, Beulah, Orc, and Los. I shall not remark upon this aspect of the book since on the whole Bindman agrees with generally accepted interpretations. What follows, instead, are necessarily limited comments on the author's presentation of Blake's ideas on art, his artistic development, and in particular the artist's formation of a singular mature style following 1800.

Blake's originality is nowhere so apparent as in his invention of a unique kind of illustrated book. Bindman presents some new and convincing views on this body of work. His proposal that we date the undistinguished series of watercolors illustrative of the prophetic tale of *Tiriel* around 1786 instead of 1789–1790 (the usual dating) clarifies an important evolutionary stage in the development of the Illuminated Book. A redating is supported by the stylistic similarity of, for example, *Tiriel Carried by Ijim* (Victoria and Albert Museum) with at least two of the three *Story of Joseph* watercolors (Fitzwilliam Museum) shown at the Royal Academy in 1785. Had the *Tiriel* watercolors been engraved in illustration of the *Tiriel* manuscript, which we have to think Blake once intended, they almost certainly would have appeared as plates between pages of text, which in turn seems reasonable around 1786 and wholly inexplicable in 1789, what with the appearance in that year of the integrated poetry and imagery found in the *Songs of Innocence.*

Bindman's is also one of the fullest accounts to date about the searches and experiments conducted by Blake's contemporaries in the art of printing. And, just as Blake responded to those impulses, so also was he aware of other precedents that could be incorporated into the Illuminated Books. Particularly valuable is the author's contention that Blake knew popular 18th-century prayer books and music books, where elaborate borders, pictures, and text could all be found on one page (see pls. 48 and 49).

The author's analysis of Blake's stylistic development is one of the most finely argued in all of the literature. Blake has so implanted in our minds his belief in the nearly divine nature of line that we are unprepared and reluctant to admit to what is patently evident, that there were times when the artist completely subordinated line to dazzling coloristic effects (see the color printings of the *Book of Urizen* around 1795). But even as he was indulging in such uncharacteristic behavior, Blake was encountering John Flaxman's outline engravings and was beginning his association with George Cumberland, author of *Thoughts on Outline,* 1796. Thus, even during an eccentric moment, his earlier experiences with Neoclassicism were being reinforced. Much of this and more is discussed in chapter 12, a chapter whose only fault rests in its tantalizing brevity. It is here, incidentally, that the artistic relationship of Blake and Fuseli is convincingly demonstrated to have been one in which the "predominant influence was from Fuseli to Blake" (p. 104).

The complexity of Blake's development and ideas about art is further illustrated by the well-known tempera paintings of 1798–1800. Again we find an apparent contradiction in Blake's favoring of coloristic effects and his denunciations of the Venetians, Rembrandt, Rubens, and Reynolds (note, however, that the bulk of those objections were written in the next decade). Indeed, so seemingly non-Blakean could Blake be at this time that he wrote of his tempera paintings: "I flatter myself [I] will not be unworthy of a Scholar of Rembrandt & Teniers, whom I have studied no less than Rafael & Michael angelo" (p. 126). Perhaps he was trying to win Dr. Trusler's patronage and in so doing stretched a point or two; nevertheless, the statement is supported by the evidence of such paintings as *Zacharias and the Angel* and the *Nativity* (color pls. II and III), works which are so clearly in

[1] *The Art of William Blake,* New York, 1959, viii.

debt to Rembrandt and Titian. This favoring of an atmospheric colorism hardly makes sense without an understanding of the special artistic conditions to be found in London at the end of the century. As Bindman rightly suggests, not even Blake could remain untouched by the flood of great art entering England in consequence of the turmoil in France.

The ebb and flow in Blake's style and art theory appear finally resolved in 1802. We find this clearly inferred in several letters to his patron Thomas Butts. In one Blake says: "I have recollected all my scatter'd thoughts on Art & resumed my primitive & original ways of Execution in both painting & engraving. . . ." In another he speaks of putting himself back "as if I were a learner. I have proved that I am Right, & shall now Go on with the Vigour I was in my Childhood for." The way was now clear for him to join the idealization and linearity he had learned from Cumberland and Flaxman with the simplicity and apparent sincerity of the Gothic that he had encountered at Westminster Abbey thirty years earlier. Bindman (pp. 137ff) correctly points to several watercolors sent to Butts in 1803 as marking pictorially this new unity. They are hieratic in their rigid symmetry, and, although radiant in their light, their every form is distinct.

Blake's increasingly fervent Christianity and love of the Gothic would ultimately lead him to a denunciation of the pagan and classical: "Rome & Greece swept Art into their maw & destroy'd it" (ca. 1820). And, in the *Shrine of Apollo*, ca. 1816 (pl. 157), this condemnation of both classical beauty and the idolatrous is pictured for, as Bindman notes (p. 195), Blake's Apollo follows an 18th-century reconstruction of what was considered to be the very essence of beauty, the Apollo Belvedere. Yet even as Blake denounced the classical, his own art continued to reveal its origins in 18th-century Neoclassicism. To the end he continued to use clinging draperies, and late in his life he criticized Dürer, an artist he otherwise adored, for employing draperies "not governed by the forms of the limbs."

Art historians will long be grateful for this lucid, intelligent study of Blake the artist. Unfortunately, however, that gratitude will contain a serious reservation. One must condemn the inexcusably sloppy mechanics of this book. Time and again the text is undermined by inaccurate or missing references to the plates. What follows is a wearisome recitation; nevertheless, it may aid future readers.

p. 39: Reference is made to the drawing for the *Approach of Doom* (pl. 35), but what is reproduced is Blake's engraving.

p. 53: *There is No Natural Religion*, Series *b* is not reproduced in plate 39. What is reproduced is the frontispiece of Series *a*.

p. 55: Here plate 39 is incorrectly said to reproduce the title page of *There is No Natural Religion*. Elsewhere in the same paragraph there is reference to the frontispiece of *Jerusalem* which should read plate 134, not 153.

p. 76: Plate 62 does not reproduce Plate 5 of *America*. As properly noted in the caption, it is Plate 7.

p. 77: Reference to Plate 7 of *America* should read plate 62, not 61.

p. 78: Plate 8 of *America* is discussed without note that it is reproduced in plate 61. Farther down the page, plate 60 is said to illustrate Plate 9 of *America*, whereas it reproduces Plate 10.

p. 82: Plate 9 of *Europe* is not reproduced in plate 69. What is shown is Plate 11 (not 10 as indicated in the caption).

p. 92: Plate 10 of the *Book of Urizen* is not reproduced in plate 76. What is shown is Plate 11 (the caption for the reproduction is also wrong).

p. 93: The described Orc, Los, and Enitharmon are not reproduced in plate 77 (which shows the manacled Urizen), but rather in plate 78. The caption to plate 77 should read the *Book of Urizen*, Plate 22.

p. 99: *Naomi, Ruth, and Orpah* is reproduced in plate 83, not 85.

p. 100: *There is No Natural Religion*, Series *a*, plate 10 should read Series *b*, plate 10.

p. 111: Young's *Night Thoughts* IV, page 9 is not reproduced in plate 92. It is page 10. Farther down the page, we should have a reference to plate 92.

p. 161: This typifies the abuse of the reader. The design in Plate 53 of *Jerusalem* is cited, but we are not told that it is reproduced (pl. 141). It is discussed once more on p. 180, but again without reference to plate 141. If by chance the reader does spot the reproduction, he or she will simply be confused. Both times the text properly refers to Plate 53 of *Jerusalem*, but the caption to its reproduction in plate 141 reads *Jerusalem*, Plate 56!

p. 173: Plate 13 of *Milton* is discussed without the notation that it is reproduced in plate 129.

p. 174: Reference is made to Plate 15 of *Milton* without the notation that it is reproduced in plate 130. Now a possible confusion begins. The caption to plate 130 reads Plate 18. Technically, both plates, 15 and 18, are correct (it depends on which copy of *Milton* is being consulted); nevertheless one who is not a Blake specialist could be misled.

p. 178: Not Plate 51 of *Jerusalem* but the preliminary drawing is reproduced in plate 140.

p. 179: Plate 145 should read 140.

p. 204: Plate 165 should read 166.

p. 209: The reader is not informed that the discussed Plate 20 in the *Book of Job* and the rejected idea for the plate, a watercolor in the Morgan Library, are reproduced in plates 169 and 170.

p. 210: Plate 21 of the *Book of Job* is discussed, but there is no indication that it is reproduced (pl. 172). Elsewhere on this page, Plate 11 of *Job* is said to be reproduced (pl. 169). It is not. What is seen is the Morgan Library watercolor.

p. 218: Plate 173 should read 178.

plate 51: The caption should read "Title page," not Plate 5.

Paley's *William Blake* is, strangely, one of the first picture books ever devoted to the wide accomplishments of the artist (as distinct from those volumes illustrating the drawings or the separate engravings). The illustrations are numerous and generous in size, often, as in the case of the Illuminated Books, closely approximating the dimensions of the original. The color plates appear to be accurate.

The book is aimed at a more general public, but the specialist will also enjoy reading it; there are welcome skill and charm in the writing and, not infrequently, concise, felicitous observations. For instance, writing of the tiny interlinear illustrations in the *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Paley observes that "a mode of representation that was not understood until 1973" (by David Erdman and colleagues)

"cannot be considered a very successful one, however ingenious" (pp. 22–23).

If one does not always agree with the author, one still admires his willingness to challenge a conventional or accepted wisdom. He reopens, for example, the question of how the text was written on the plates of the Illuminated Books. Some years ago it seemed that the experiment at printing performed by William Hayter and Joan Miró had cleared up this problem.[2] Their work led to a conclusion that Blake had developed a system of transfer that enabled him to avoid writing backwards on the plates, a view, incidentally, that Bindman accepts. Now it is suggested that Blake did in fact write in a reversed hand and that, to quote Paley, "it took him about a year to master the process fully." On the page facing this argument are reproductions of plates from *All Religions are One*, done about 1788 and apparently the first of Blake's illustrated books. The reproductions show clearly that the lettering of the text is relatively crude, which might well be a sign of one still learning to print or write backwards. The trouble is that such evidence can be used to support an argument for either writing technique. The crudeness of the lettering, assuming the presence of a transfer process, as well as the simplicity of the imagery, can be interpreted as signs of the tentativeness and uncertainty attendant on a first effort at making an Illuminated Book. A year later in the *Songs of Innocence*, the script is much more fluid and confident, a fact Paley sees as evidence that Blake had now mastered reversed writing. But the *Songs* show that much else changed in that one year: a near doubling of the size of the plate, a much increased elegance in the forms, and a greater complexity in the relationship of image to text. Again, assuming Blake did not elect to write backwards but instead used the transfer method, such evidence, including the more elegant script, may simply tell us that in 1789 Blake was beginning to understand what he wanted of his Illuminated Books.

As noted above, early in the 19th century Blake's art attained an eloquent unity. At the same time the numbers of audience and patrons for such art were soon becoming, if it is possible, smaller and smaller (a development not to be reversed until the wonderful John Linnell appeared on the scene). Periodically there were great hopes for commissions; some simply did not materialize while others become painful disasters. One such was Blake's ill-fated relationship with the publisher Robert Cromek. In 1805 Blake was commissioned to provide the designs and then the prints after the drawings that would illustrate Robert Blair's *The Grave*. As is well known, the most lucrative aspect of the commission, the engravings, was later taken from Blake and given to Lewis Schiavonetti. The exact reason for the change is not known, but Paley's explanation is probably very close to the mark. He cites an announcement made by Cromek that one could see at his shop, "The original drawings, and a Specimen of the Stile of Engraving." This "Specimen" was probably Blake's *Death's Door* (pl. 45), a white-line relief etching, rough and primitive in execution and bleak in mood. Paley suggests that the print probably had the altogether unwanted effect of frightening away potential customers (and thus Schiavonetti was engaged).

This book has a few inaccurate plate references in the notes to the plates and in the index, but they are minor and do not seriously detract from what is a thoughtful and finely written introduction to Blake's art.

Sir Geoffrey Keynes, the William Blake Trust, and the Trianon Press in Paris have long been famous for their production of excellent facsimiles of Blake originals. This time their collaborative efforts have turned to the portraits of those who made the originals. The contents of this handsomely produced and lavishly priced volume are best described by quoting Keynes's introductory essay: "This preliminary essay is followed by a formal annotated iconography of William and Catherine Blake with collotype reproductions of every image which can be regarded as a work of art, whether original or derived from a contemporary source. These will not include recent 'ideas' of Blake."

There are somewhat more than fifty items included, the latest of which dates from 1880. The earliest, 1780, is Edward Burney's drawing of the Royal Academy Drawing School (repro. Bindman, pl. 9). It shows four draftsmen, one of whom, the youngest, Keynes thinks might be Blake, a wishful identification at best, I think. Many of the portraits are well known in reproduction. Another large number are copies, mostly after Schiavonetti's fine etching of Thomas Phillip's painting.

There are also four small pencil drawings of Blake that have not been previously reproduced. The earliest, ca. 1780, is by Thomas Stothard, and the latest is by George Richmond, probably drawn right after Blake's death. The most interesting and indeed moving drawing of this group is that made by Linnell in his journal (Friday, August 10, 1827), while visiting Blake. The tiny sketch, 27 x 11mm, shows the artist, his head and shoulders, propped up in bed. Above the drawing Linnell wrote: "Mr. Blake not expected to live." Two days later he died.

JERROLD ZIFF
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Toskanische Impressionen: Der Beitrag der Macchiaioli zum europäischen Realismus, exh. cat., Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen und Ausstellungsleitung, Munich, 1975. Pp. 258; 324 ills., 21 in color.

I Macchiaioli nella cultura toscana dell'Ottocento, exh. cat., Centro Di, Florence, 1976. Pp. 374; 353 ills., 18 in color.

In the literature on 19th-century Italian painting, the Tuscan "Macchiaioli" are often and misleadingly described as proto-Impressionistic "patch" painters, an early group of *plein-air* artists whose work anticipated that of their younger contemporaries, the French Impressionists.

In point of fact, the Macchiaioli were artists whose aims grew out of the principles of French Romanticism and Realism. The idea of the *macchia* (the word from which the group name derived) was originally used and understood by these artists in Romantic terms: it referred to the evocative patterns of nature's light, captured by the artist via *plein-air* sketching, and transferred to the arrangement or "effect" of light in his finished work, a work that was normally completed in the studio. As a productive and programmatic

[2] See Ruthven Todd, "The Technique of William Blake's Illuminated Printing," *Print Collector's Quarterly*, XXIX, 1948, 25–37, repr. with revisions in Robert N. Essick, ed., *The Visionary Hand*, Los Angeles, 1973, 19–44.

idea, the *macchia* flourished in Florence for a relatively brief period, between 1855 and 1862, when it was superseded by newer influences from abroad, in particular, by Courbet's Realism. Impressionism, as a style and as a mode of seeing, was never really congenial to the Italians, who always thought far more in the language of drawing, and remained far more deeply attached to elements of the narrative, the descriptive, and the sentimental in their art than did their avant-garde French contemporaries. Although they were aware of French Impressionism by the late 1870's, the Florentines, on the whole, did not respond to it favorably. A major exception was Adriano Cecioni, a sculptor and critic who was closely allied with the Macchiaioli painters. Intrigued by the descriptions of Impressionism that were circulated in Florence by the critic Diego Martelli upon his return from Paris in 1879, Cecioni, in the early 1880's, began to think and to write about the Macchiaioli ("o *impressionisti*, se così ci piace chiamarli") in terms that seemed to relate their earlier activities to the current ones of the French Impressionists. Unfortunately, this specious approach to the Macchiaioli was quickly adopted during the first half of the 20th century by a host of Italian critics, dealers, and collectors, who, for reasons that ranged from naïve chauvinism to pure commercialism, were anxious to create a secure position for the Italian school within what appeared to be the most progressive currents of 19th-century European painting.[1]

That this prevailing critical tide in Europe may be turning at last in the direction of a more objective historicism is suggested by two catalogues that were produced in connection with a Macchiaioli exhibition, first shown in Munich and then in Florence in 1975 and 1976. The initiative for this large and impressive exhibition came originally from Germany, from Erich Steingräber, the Director-General of the Bavarian State Galleries, and from A. P. Ade, the Director of the Haus der Kunst in Munich, where the exhibition was first held. From the start, the Italian state museums cooperated closely with the effort, and responsibility for selecting, organizing, and cataloguing works for the German exhibition was given to the Italians, principally to Dario Durbé, Director of the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna in Rome. The idea for mounting an "improved" version of the Munich show in the Forte di Belvedere in Florence came from Sandra Pinto, Director of the Galleria Fiorentina d'Arte Moderna, who presented the exhibition as part of a local prelude to the long awaited reopening of the newly reorganized and refurbished 19th-century installations in the Palazzo Pitti.

In a foreword to the Florentine catalogue, Durbé declares that the show in Florence, although derived in large part from the one in Munich, is nevertheless not identical to it. The Florentine show, he says, is larger, containing 335 works (as opposed to the 288 shown in Munich), of which 50 paintings, 4 sculptures, and 16 drawings were not included in the German leg of the exhibition. Although the two exhibitions were in fact distinctly different from one another, this difference was not, as Durbé asserts, the result of specific and, within the context of the whole, relatively minor differences in the works that could be shown in each country. The exhibitions shared, after all, a common core of more than 200 works; the documentation presented for these works in both catalogues is virtually identical, and the historical groupings developed by the Italians to govern the arrangement of the Munich show were retained by them, intact, for the Florentine show as well. The differences, instead, are quite substantial differences in emphasis and point of view—international for the Germans, local for the Italians—differences that are expressed succinctly by the title chosen for the presentation in each country and more fully by the nature of the introductory essays in each of the catalogues.

In a brief but valuable foreword to the Munich catalogue, Steingräber quickly reviews the current art-historical position of the Macchiaioli, stressing international reactions to 19th-century Italian art and pointing out the growth of international interest in this art during the 20th century. He includes a list of major international exhibitions, and provides a brief but discriminating discussion of the generations of critics and scholars who have made significant contributions to the Macchiaioli literature in this century. This discussion, of course, concerns itself principally with Italian writers, who, until recently, have dominated the field. But it also includes the non-Italian authors of three scholarly dissertations on the Macchiaioli, which Steingräber points out to the reader as worthy of particular attention. In addition to the work of the present writer (cited above, n. 1), these include the earlier dissertation of Ivan Köhler (Munich, 1956) and a more recent one by Alexander Naujack (Tübingen, 1972).[2] These writings, needless to say, are cited in the exhaustive bibliography that is appended to the Munich catalogue. They have been dropped, however, for reasons that escape me, from what appears to be an otherwise almost identical bibliography in the catalogue for the Florentine show.

In the longer essay by Steingräber that follows, an informative and carefully documented piece entitled "The Macchiaioli and Their Contribution to European Realism," these recent contributions by international scholars in the area are amply reflected. As the title of his essay implies, Steingräber sets for himself the task of assessing the achievement of the Macchiaioli with respect to the European art of their period, in particular, Realism, to which they rallied from the early 1860's on. He tries to situate them in relation to a variety of international as well as local influences and cross-currents, thereby making sense of the many separate strains that are to be found in mid- and late 19th-century Florentine painting, a richness and diversity that formerly proved disconcerting to those who insisted upon approaching the *macchia* in French art-historical terms, as a consistent, self-contained, and monolithic movement. A historical perspective upon this fluidity and diversity emerges from Steingräber's essay, as he charts the changing conception of the *macchia* in Florence during the last decades of the 19th century.

[1] Both the nature and evolution of the *macchia* esthetic and the history of *macchia* criticism have been discussed by me at length elsewhere in these pages. See N. Broude, "The Macchiaioli: Effect and Expression in Nineteenth-Century Florentine Painting," *Art Bulletin*, LII, 1970, 11f.; and "The Macchiaioli as 'Proto-Impressionists': Realism, Popular Science and the Reshaping of *Macchia* Romanticism, 1862–1886," *Art Bulletin*, LII, 1970, 404f. See, also, my unpublished doctoral dissertation, "The Macchiaioli: Academicism and Modernism in Nineteenth-Century Italian Painting," Columbia University, New York, 1967.

[2] I. Köhler, *Die Florentiner Macchiaioli*, Munich, 1956; and A. Naujack, *Die Florentiner Macchiaioli: Studien zur Malerei und Kunsttheorie Italiens im 19. Jahrhundert*, Tübingen, 1972.

A major point that Steingräber wishes to make is that the Macchiaioli were not isolated from the rest of Europe. As he points out, they and their associates traveled and exhibited in cultural centers as diverse as London, Paris, Düsseldorf, and Munich. And even those among them who never traveled abroad (like Silvestro Lega or Giuseppe Abbati) could not avoid being touched in some measure by what was happening in other parts of Europe. Steingräber points, for example, to Biedermeier qualities in some of Lega's work, particularly the domestic interiors painted at Piagentina in the mid-1860's, and suggests ways in which these Germanic and Austrian strains could have reached Florence indirectly through the well-known work of the Milanese genre painter, Domenico Induno. Observations such as these help to broaden our conception of the contacts and tastes that were shared by the Macchiaioli with other Europeans of their period, going well beyond the merely or exclusively French, with which the literature has already amply dealt.

If Steingräber emphasizes the cultural interaction between the Macchiaioli and artistic developments in other parts of Europe, he does so not to deny the Florentines their originality or to measure their value according to some arbitrary or Franco-centric conception of an avant-garde. Instead, he reasonably attempts to situate these artists and to define their achievement within the broader European *Zeitgeist* to which they contributed. At the same time, he stresses what was unique to their art and to their sensibilities because they were Italians, because they lived in and identified with a provincial locale that was steeped in its own artistic traditions and its own political and social problems, a locale that was very different in its rhythm from the cosmopolitan milieu that helped to shape the sensibilities of the French Impressionists. If it seems to us today, as Steingräber puts it, that "this urban point of view is missing in the work of the 'Macchiaioli' " (p. 28), that assessment should be understood as a function of our own cultural conditioning, which, in 20th-century art-historical and critical circles, is decidedly urban. This bias is worth mentioning as it affects our assessment of the Macchiaioli and their quieter world. One senses, even beneath Steingräber's laudably objective efforts to distinguish between the achievements of the Macchiaioli and those of the Impressionists, a lingering tendency to indict the Florentines, by implication, for not being what the Parisians were, for "lacking," as Steingräber puts it, the urban point of view, from whence grew, we know, the flecked and rhythmic brushstrokes, the broken contours, and the casual compositions of French Impressionism.

It is perhaps this implied value judgment, which emerges inevitably in the wake of even the most objective efforts to juxtapose the Italians and the French,[3] that has impelled the organizers of the Florentine exhibition to avoid placing the Macchiaioli in any context other than a purely local one. Such fears and motives are in fact both implied and clearly stated in the Florentine catalogue by those who were principally responsible for bringing the exhibition from Munich to Florence. Sandra Pinto prefaces her own contribution to the catalogue with a brief statement (p. 39), entitled "Ragioni di una ricognizione in situ," in which she decries the prevailing art-historical tendency to approach the *macchia* only through international comparisons and to measure it solely against our artificial conception of a 19th-century avant-garde. At the same time, she finds equally reprehensible the provincialism of local Italian art dealers and collectors who have treated the work of the Macchiaioli chauvinistically on the home front, helping to create around it a literature that, Pinto declares with gratifying candor, is "abundant but historically unreliable." In the same enlightened vein, Luciano Berti, Superintendent of Galleries in Florence, comments in his foreword to the catalogue on the new title that was bestowed upon the exhibition for its Florentine stay. The title was changed, he says, from *Toskanische Impressionen: Der Beitrag der Macchiaioli zum europäischen Realismus* to *I Macchiaioli nella cultura toscana dell'Ottocento* not to restrict the scope of the exhibition but to focus it more precisely. The Macchiaioli, he stresses, were artists who lived and worked in Florence and not in Paris, and he praises them for being active citizens who contributed to the life of their period and to the values of the Risorgimento. With refreshing self-awareness, Berti, too, comments on what he calls "the provincialism of anti-provincialism," that is to say, the narrowness of values and focus that prompted Italians earlier in this century to want to free the Macchiaioli from the historical stigma of provincialism by claiming for them a prominent avant-garde position as the Italian forerunners of French Impressionism. The current exhibition, Berti says, exists not to promote or to propagandize or to "reevaluate" these artists, but simply to aid in studying them and in transmitting historical knowledge about them. As such, he concludes, the show and its catalogue should not be regarded as the last word on the Macchiaioli, but, rather, as the first step in a "more correct" approach both to their art and to the more general subject of the cultural and political position of Tuscany in the formation of the modern Italian state.

As a contribution, presumably, to this "more correct" approach, Pinto offers an introductory essay to the catalogue bearing the same title as the exhibition. This essay consists of two major parts. The first deals with the private collections of late 19th-century Italian art formed by Diego Martelli and Cristiano Banti. They were bequeathed to the state and became the foundation for the late 19th-century galleries in the Palazzo Pitti that Pinto directs. In her essay, she describes the origins and formation of these two collections, distinguishing with insight and sensitivity between the tastes and interests of the two collectors. In the second and longer part of her essay, she focuses on the role of the Macchiaioli in the evolution of modern Italian culture, presenting their lives and art as part of the fabric of social history in late 19th-century Italy. Not surprisingly, she connects the rejection of academic rules and the new emphasis on landscape and genre subjects that emerged in Italian art at mid-century with the new social and political values of the Risorgimento: the patriotism and optimistic hope for the democratization of Italian life shared by many during the years that preceded and followed national unification. She describes the disillusionment and bitterness among the Florentines that followed in the wake of post-Risorgimento

[3] A seminal essay that was instrumental in establishing this critical tone was written by Roberto Longhi and published in 1949. See his "Il Impressionismo e il gusto degli italiani," published as the introduction to the Italian edition of John Rewald's *Storia dell'Impressionismo*, trans. A. Boschetto, Florence, 1949, viif.

politics, as the artists saw their visions for a new society founder upon the bureaucratic shoals of the new bourgeois state. At the same time, she tells us how they watched their own art being ignored or overlooked by popular taste and the public collections, which preferred the anecdotal and sentimental illustrations of the Neapolitan school to the Tuscan artists' direct but universalized interpretations of nature and contemporary life. Pinto shows us these events and this aspect of Italian cultural history through the eyes and in the words of the Florentine artists and their friends. Her informative and stimulating discussion is also printed in the Munich catalogue, where it provides a valuable supplement and corrective to Steingräber's tendency to underestimate both the intensity and the artistic repercussions of the Macchiaioli's involvement in the Risorgimento. Within the context of the Florentine catalogue, however, Pinto's essay serves to establish a parochial tone for the exhibition as a whole, a tone that is not sufficiently offset by the catalogue's one other major introductory piece.

This piece, written by Dario Durbé, is a thorough but largely familiar account of the Macchiaioli and their art. In it, Durbé presents the cast of characters, the chronology, and the year-to-year developments and interactions among the artists at their legendary gathering places of the 1850's and sixties, La Spezia, Castiglioncello, and Piagentina. He then treats more briefly and without much detail the later careers of the major figures, Signorini, Fattori, and Lega; and he also touches lightly upon the travels and the international contacts that were made by some of the Florentines during the 1860's and seventies. With one particularly important exception (the discovery of documentation that now permits us to move the dating of some of Signorini's earliest innovative work done at La Spezia from the summer of 1860 back to the summer of 1858), Durbé's narrative is an orthodox one, and he presents it naively, asking no questions and making little effort at a critical or historical analysis of cross-currents. But despite this shortcoming, his essay might have served as a useful point of entry into this field for new students, first, because it is remarkably complete as a brief historical account, and, second, because it has been based extensively upon primary source materials. Apparently unaware, however, that a piece of scholarly writing can or should perform this service, Durbé makes no concessions to the uninitiated. True to the frustrating standards of older Italian scholarship, his account remains unsullied by even a single footnote. Within the text itself, moreover, he never once refers to any of the recent international scholarship that deals, historically, with the theory and the evolution of the *macchia* as an esthetic. That this scholarship, though unacknowledged, may happily have had some effect upon his thinking, nonetheless is suggested by the differences between Durbé's present text and some of his earlier writing. In a piece on the Macchiaioli that he wrote for the *Enciclopedia universale dell'arte* in 1958, for example, Durbé uncritically accepted Cecioni's reinterpretation of the *macchia* as the "patch" unit of sketch execution, and proceeded to discuss the conscious intentions of the artists in accordance with that definition. The Macchiaioli, he explained, called their landscape studies *macchie* "because they were painted with simple patches [*macchie*] of color, heightened by the contrast of light and shadow."[4] In the current essay, he seems to reflect the emphasis of recent scholarship by defining the *macchia*, more correctly, as "above all a study of light" (p. 19). He now also acknowledges the precedent that the academic studio *bozzetto* provided for the sketching style of the Macchiaioli, and he distinguishes carefully between these artists' studio *bozzetti* and their *plein-air* studies (pp. 17, 76).

Although problems in borrowing from the more than 70 private collectors who were involved with this exhibition caused acknowledged gaps both in Munich and in Florence, the organizers of the exhibition, Durbé and Giuliano Matteucci, attempted with considerable success to obtain a representative selection of works for each of the developmental stages of the *macchia* movement and for each of the major artists who were associated with it at various points throughout their careers. Although the exhibition was impressively large and all-encompassing in its scope, the treatment of individual parts within the whole, however, was often, and inevitably, less than adequate. In particular, the many early influences on the art of the Macchiaioli (including the Barbizon painters, Domenico Morelli, the Purists, the Lombard genre painters, and a variety of local academic painters) were duly mentioned, but not sufficiently represented, discussed, or illustrated. This shortcoming was compounded by the failure of those who compiled the Florentine catalogue to illustrate any of the related works and styles to which the catalogue refers. In the Munich catalogue, on the other hand, a considerable amount of such collateral material, in the form of photographs from the period and related paintings by other artists, both Italian and non-Italian, is scattered throughout the introductory text, where it serves to illustrate connections that readers of the Florentine catalogue must take entirely on faith. The serious student will of course want to use both catalogues in conjunction with one another, first, because the two exhibitions were not entirely identical in content, and, second, because neither of the catalogues, by itself, is entirely balanced or self-sufficient in its conceptual approach to the subject. The more general reader, however, might be well advised of the greater pedagogical efficiency and organizational clarity of the German publication, which is larger in general format than the Florentine catalogue, with reproductions that are larger and easier to see (though of a poorer and grainier quality) than those in the Italian publication.

Catalogue entries for the more than 300 pieces in both exhibitions were prepared by the Italians. Durbé wrote the lengthy and informative commentaries, and Drs. Francesca Errico and Laura Rago compiled the extensive critical and bibliographical apparatus. As a source for research and information on particular works, this part of the catalogue makes an admirable and substantial contribution to the Macchiaioli literature. As such, it joins a growing list of erudite projects and publications that have been undertaken over the last decade by the Italian museums for the purpose of organizing and making fully available for the first time the materials and documents relevant to the study of 19th-century Italian art. One thinks, for example, of the recent and welcome reorganization of the neglected 19th-century installations of the Galleria Fiorentina d'Arte Moderna in Palazzo Pitti, as well as the important exhibitions and publications prepared by Pinto and her able staff in connection with this reorganization. These include a catalogue of the early 19th-century holdings of the gallery entitled *Cultura neoclassica e romantica nella Toscana Granducale* (Florence,

[4] D. Durbé, "Macchiaioli," *Enciclopedia universale dell'arte*, Florence, 1958, VIII, col. 721.

1972), and an impressively researched catalogue for the exhibition "Romanticismo storico" (Florence, 1974). Other valuable exhibitions and catalogues of the past decade include *Disegni di Telemaco Signorini* (Rome, 1969), *Cecioni scultore* (Florence, 1970), *Fattori: Disegni nel Museo Civico di Livorno* (Rome, 1971), and *Silvestro Lega* (Bologna, 1973). Still another impressive recent project is the development, by Drs. Anna Gramiccia and Cristina Bonagura, of an "Archivio sistematico dei Macchiaioli toscani" at the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna in Rome. The list goes on, presenting a situation in the current state of research that contrasts sharply with that of only 20 years ago. Then, except for the precious efforts of a few gifted and historically minded amateurs,[5] the field was dominated by the commercial interests of local dealers and collectors, who produced the literature that Pinto so candidly describes as "abundant but historically unreliable." One can only be grateful to this new generation of Italian scholars and museum professionals, who are systematically rescuing and preserving a wealth of documentation that was unavailable little more than a decade ago. It appears, however, that a meaningful synthesis of this material will have to be achieved by others, especially if the Italians persist, as they now do, in ignoring even the existence of recent efforts that have been made by members of the international scholarly community to establish a broader and more objective frame of reference for the 19th-century Italian school. Let us hope that this new generation of Italian scholars has not simply set out to substitute yet another form of provincialism for the one that it has so recently and proudly abandoned.

NORMA BROUDE
The American University

PHILIPPE JULLIAN, *The Symbolists*, 2nd ed., Oxford and New York, Phaidon/Dutton, 1977. Pp. 240; 213 ills. $8.95

A score of exhibitions in England, North America, and the Continent attests to an unmistakable resurgence of interest in Symbolist art during the past decade. As part of this revival, Jullian's book, the French edition of which appeared in 1973, represents his attempt to remedy a lack of cohesion experienced in one of the pioneer exhibitions, "The Sacred and Profane in Symbolist Art" (Turin and Toronto, 1969). To this end Jullian concerns himself mainly with French and Belgian artists (because they shared a common intellectual background) and limits the period under consideration to the years between Jean Moreas's *Symbolist Manifesto* of 1886, and 1900, by which time most "painters of the imaginary" had become "academic" (p. 6).

Unlike his earlier *Dreamers of Decadence*, published first as *Esthètes et magiciens* (Paris, 1969), *The Symbolists* focuses primarily upon the visual arts rather than on Symbolism as a phenomenon embracing all creative endeavors. At the same time Jullian attempts to familiarize his readers with the intellectual and artistic background that conditioned the Symbolist aesthetic, and with those artists who later felt its influence. Thus, whereas the French and Belgian Symbolists dominate the illustrations, the brief 50-page text touches upon considerably more. This commentary is divided into eight chapters serving as a guide through a "Palace of Symbolist Art." The author functions as a kind of tour conductor arming his audience with the information necessary in order to view the exhibited works (the illustrations) in proper perspective.

A total of 213 works are illustrated, 48 superbly reproduced in color. Since so many of the artists represented are still little known, the plates alone make the book a valuable addition to the library of anyone with an interest in art of this period. One disturbing aspect is that a number of images are cropped, a feature that is especially difficult to detect in cases where the plate has been bled to the edge of the page. It is also unfortunate that figure numbers are not cited within the body of the text where they could direct the reader to specific works or subjects described. As it stands, the text is meant to prepare us for the paintings and graphics to follow, which we will then be able to confront on our own.

Notes on the plates are provided at the end of the book, but only for those works which Jullian deems in need of explanation, or those for which contemporary literary references exist. To this reviewer, the omissions often seem arbitrary, as in the case of Paul Ranson's *Nabi Landscape*, which abounds with intriguing symbols and which even merits a color reproduction. Equally disappointing is the absence of a bibliography, for which the reader is directed to the catalogue of the exhibition, "French Symbolist Painters" (on which Jullian collaborated), at the Hayward Gallery, London (1972). Indeed, there is a general lack of full documentation, a point to which we shall return.

In chapter 1 Jullian asks the reader to imagine a Palace of Symbolism housing an exhibition of work by French and Belgian painters whose horror of advancing industrialization led them to an art rooted in the imagination. Nurtured by legends of the past rather than by the visual realities of the present, they rejected both naturalism (an artistic counterpart of materialism) and academicism, to achieve an "affected" style akin in certain respects to Mannerism in the 16th century.

Jullian proceeds to outline the "exhibition" as it is displayed in the Palace of Symbolism, using the floor-plan of his imaginary edifice as a means of isolating the topics to be considered in subsequent chapters. Thus, after passing through an antechamber devoted to works that inspired the Symbolists' imaginations, we arrive at a rotunda "consecrated to the gods and masters of Symbolist thought" (p. 9). Extending to the right and left are galleries dedicated to the work of Gustave Moreau and Puvis de Chavannes, who represent the two polarities within the Symbolist movement. The Moreau room leads into a succession of galleries devoted to his pupils (Georges Rouault, Ary Renan) and admirers (Fernand Khnopff, Lucien Lévy-Dhurmer), culminating in the Surrealists of the 20th century. The Puvis room leads in like manner to his disciples (Gauguin and the Pont-Aven School, Maurice Denis).

The central rotunda assumes characteristics of a basilica complete with side chapels and crypt. Presumably among the former are three rooms containing work by Redon, Carrière, and Fantin-Latour respectively. There are also galleries devoted to catagories of art, a central garden frequented by the painters themselves, along with the poets, composers, and critics who created the Symbolist aesthetic, and finally a gallery displaying the Symbolist legacy in the 20th century. In compartmentalizing the diverse components of Symbolism into specific spaces within an architectural structure, Jullian has found a potentially useful means of organizing his material. Yet his edifice is such a complex

[5] See, e.g., Lamberto Vitali, ed., *Lettere dei Macchiaioli*, Turin, 1953, and Mario Giardelli, *I Macchiaioli e l'epoca loro*, Milan, 1958.

composite of palace and basilica that clarity is diminished rather than enhanced.

Chapter 2 is set in the anteroom or entrance hall, which functions both as a gallery and as a library and print room where visitors can familiarize themselves with the visual sources of Symbolist imagery. Here are illustrated the newspapers and magazines that introduced the work of foreign artists like the late Nazarenes (later Jullian cites Böcklin as the major pictorial influence from Germany), as well as the sepia-toned reproductions that made Botticelli, Leonardo, and other masters of previous centuries available as models for the Symbolist generation. There are also paintings by Burne-Jones and G. F. Watts, for in the grandiose Universal Exhibitions it was the English section that created the greatest impact in Paris. But although the Symbolists preferred Watts's "moonlight tonalities" and imprecise outlines to the vibrantly colored and precisely detailed paintings of most Pre-Raphaelites, the influence of the latter is evident in illustrated books. Ultimately it was a new style of life introduced by the English Aesthetic Movement that most profoundly affected the Continent by providing artists in France and Belgium with a means of escape from the effects of materialism.

Of the French masters important for Symbolism Jullian cites Chassériau (after Moreau and Puvis) for his "feminine type" and for creating "the idea of a spiritualized world" (p. 13), Ingres for his line, Delacroix for his personality and his writings, Corot and Millet, whose specific influence is difficult to pinpoint, and the three draftsmen, Victor Hugo, Gustave Doré, and Rodolphe Bresdin. Although Jullian does not elaborate upon the appeal of Bresdin's lithographs (which artists sought out "because Baudelaire liked them"; p. 13), the visual ambiguities of Hugo's and Doré's images clearly provided food for the Symbolist imagination.

In chapter 3 we enter the vast central rotunda, both library and sanctuary, where we are surrounded by the works of those who inspired the Symbolist aesthetic: two luminaries, Wagner and Baudelaire, followed in hierarchical order by Swedenborg, Mallarmé, Verlaine, and Poe, along with Maeterlinck, Oscar Wilde, Maurice Barrès, Balzac, Flaubert, and others. We discover the evocative power of Wagner's compositions and find in his music-drams, *Parsifal*, "a model of mysticism easily adopted by the Symbolists" (p. 14). Although Baudelaire's doctrine of correspondences (in turn indebted to Swedenborg) was of vital importance to Symbolism, his art criticism proved less influential than his poetry. Jullian distinguishes two extremes within Symbolist art (p. 16): a "white Symbolism" originating with Swedenborg and including Puvis, Denis, and Aman-Jean ("the painters of angels and flowers") and a "black Symbolism" stemming from Poe and inspiring Moreau and Khnopff ("the painters of cruel, death-ridden chimeras"). Two related phenomena helped condition the Symbolist aesthetic. One was a mystical kind of Catholicism, the other, the esoteric tradition, revealed in the writings of those who claimed knowledge of the occult sciences.

Chapter 4 finds us in the courtyard where we encounter the poets, dramatists, musicians, and thinkers who provided the intellectual background for the Symbolists and their friends. In true Symbolist fashion, Jullian avoids describing the inhabitants of this "paradise garden," but rather evokes an image of the kind of fragile being we are likely to encounter. The women generally imitate a female type exemplified by such "muses" as Baronne Deslandes (whose portrait was painted by Burne-Jones and who was friendly with Oscar Wilde), Georgette Leblanc (Maeterlinck's companion"), or Sarah Bernhardt.

Although the Symbolists identified with certain novels (Joris-Karl Huysmans's *A Rebours* heading the list), they were even more inclined toward the poetry of Maeterlinck, Emile Verhaeren, Jean Moréas, Gustave Kahn, Stuart Merrill, Francis Viélé-Griffin, and Henri de Regnier, all of whose works contain parallels with Symbolist painting. An equally strong relationship existed between painting and music. While strains of Wagner, César Franck, or Beethoven permeate the vast mystical rotunda (now called the basilica) in Jullian's imaginary Palace, in the garden we may expect to hear Vinteuil's sonatas, Fauré's quartets, Debussy, Chausson, and the early compositions of Ravel, Schönberg, and Scriabin. No drama is performed because theater proved far less important than music in conditioning the Symbolist sensibility. Only Maeterlinck's plays influenced the visual arts, although small theaters such as Lugné-Poe's Théâtre de l'Oeuvre commissioned Denis, Vuillard, Bonnard, and Munch to design stage sets and programs. Nevertheless it is clear that the intellectual background shared by the Symbolists provided them with a common set of images and ideals, which were reflected in virtually every art form, and which united them in abominating the name of Émile Zola.

Chapter 5, set in the Basilica, is devoted to those men whose ideas guided the Symbolists' taste: "Sar" Joséphin Péladan and Huysmans, along with critics headed by Albert Aurier of the *Mercure de France* and including, among others, Maurice Denis and Alfred Mallério. Péladan, both through his writings and the six "Salons de la Rose+Croix," which he organized between 1892 and 1897, provided the Symbolists with a stock of images, including the hermaphrodite who emerges in a series of novels that began in 1883 and were collectively titled *La Décadence latine*. Huysmans's influence stemmed from his novel, *A Rebours*, of 1884, and here Jullian provides a concise and well-presented description of the aesthete's literary and artistic tastes as exemplified in the character of des Esseintes. After a glimpse at some of the Symbolist reviews and at exhibitions that included Symbolist work (notably "Les XX," which Octave Maus founded in Brussels in 1884), we are ready to meet the masters of Symbolist art in chapter 6.

Among these masters Jullian singles out Moreau, Puvis, Redon, Gauguin, Denis, Khnopff, Seurat ("who invented no Chimeras but. . .reinvented what he saw"; p. 44), Carrière, and Fantin-Latour, along with the sculptors Rodin, Constantine Meunier, and George Minne. For some, such as Moreau and Puvis, Jullian provides a synopsis of their artistic backgrounds and relation to Symbolism. For others, the author's comments are less extensive, often cursory, concluding with the observation that of the Impressionists only Monet won praise from Symbolist critics during the 1890's.

Chapter 7 introduces the works themselves, beginning with theories and pictorial techniques. After noting certain affinities between occult doctrine and aesthetic theory, Jullian briefly mentions the importance of science: botany for the adherents of Art Nouveau, and Darwin's theories of evolution for Redon. Cloisonnism provided an alternative to Impressionism, although many Symbolists preferred pastel and charcoal drawing to oil painting. A revival of religious subjects in accordance with Péladan's edicts did not eliminate portraits in which wistful, pensive, or ghost-like faces effectively remove the subject from ordinary reality. Underlying the Symbolist rendering of nature were Puvis's timeless scenes, far removed in their evocation of the seasons

from the fleeting moment captured in *plein-air* landscapes. Frescoes and large-scale triptychs further suggest the Symbolists' need for protection from the outside world through scenes removed from everyday life. On a smaller scale, graphic artists sought to harmonize decorative image and text in richly illustrated books, while even photography and architectural drawings began to reflect the images and ideals of the Symbolists.

Chapter 8 functions as a kind of epilogue in which Jullian considers the perpetuation of Symbolism in art of the 20th century. In this final gallery there are displayed the paintings that lead us back into the realm of actuality. Here the continuing influence of Puvis's *Poor Fisherman* is discernible in Picasso's Blue Period and in the serene composition of Matisse's *Luxe, calme et volupté* (1904). The work of Rouault, Le Douanier Rousseau, Chagall, Klee, and Picasso's *Guernica* all perpetuate a personal, non-derivative Symbolism. Jullian notes a stronger continuity with Symbolism outside of France and particularly in Belgium where the Surrealists, now guided by Lautréamont and Freud found new ways of expressing the Symbolist ideal. From Delville, Lévy-Dhurmer, and Osbert (who persisted in their earlier styles until after World War II), it is but a short step to Delvaux and Magritte. Concluding his book on a contemporary note, Jullian (himself a painter as well as a critic and scholar) predicts that "a new imaginative current oriented towards magic rather than towards Surrealism" (p. 56) may define the future direction of painting by once again providing a route of escape from reality.

Jullian's prose can be delightfully evocative, and through it he succeeds at recreating a sense of the Symbolist ambiance. Despite its guide-book format, however, which suggests that *The Symbolists* is aimed at a popular audience, the novice in matters of the 19th century will experience frustration when cast amid the Symbolist idols and muses who were venerated primarily by an intellectual elite. Moreover, passages like the following example from chapter 4 assume that the reader is already familiar with the styles of particular artists as well as with one painting not even mentioned by title: "Dead leaves which covered the paths in October, the month of Decadence, formed patterns as in a tapestry by William Morris; they were burnt by the girls in Millais' picture, in a bonfire which created the smoke for the paintings of Carrière. In the garden of the palace one feels that all will soon be transformed into the mauve shades of Dulac's and Osbert's landscapes" (p. 21).

In discussing the importance of G. F. Watts as an influence on the French and Belgian Symbolists (chapter 2), Jullian apparently expects the reader to know the work of this English painter without the aid of an illustrated example, as is the case with most of the artists cited as visual sources for Symbolist imagery. It seems equally unrealistic to expect a popular audience to recognize the reference to *A Rebours* when Jullian tells us that "the entire generation which adopted the taste of Huysmans's hero saw Watts through the eyes of Des Esseintes" (p. 12). In this instance Jullian might have directed the reader ahead to chapter 5 where Huysmans's novel is discussed.

In citing parallels between Symbolist painting and poetry (chapter 4), Jullian uses notes on the text to provide examples of poetry that he feels correspond to the work of particular artists. The student who cannot, however, conjure up in his mind a typical painting by, say, Khnopff, will certainly not appreciate its kinship with Gustave Kahn's *Palais nomades*. Once again references to the plates would help immeasurably.

Jullian is obviously so comfortable with his subject that he narrates his book as if he himself had lived through the Symbolist era and consequently were privy to information gained first-hand and not in need of elaboration, not to speak of proper documentation. In citing children's newspapers such as *Magazine d'education et de récréation* and *Saint Nicholas* as "sources of a good Symbolist iconography" (p. 11), he leaves the reader hoping, in vain, for some comment beyond the off-hand statement that Rimbaud's critics have already considered this topic. We are asked to accept on faith the fact that Rossetti was liked much less than Watts, substantiated only by Montesquiou's description of Rossetti as "a bizarre Bouguereau" (p. 12). In like manner Jullian borrows Aurier's description of Khnopff as "the Bouguereau of the occult" (p. 44), and refers to Jean-Charles Cazin as "the Puvis of the poor" (p. 45). Although they may make entertaining reading, such glib characterizations provide little in the way of concrete information.

Later, in discussing the contribution of the occult sciences to the Symbolist aesthetic, Jullian cites key books by Edouard Schuré and Louis Delbecke, but notes merely that "the works of Eliphas Lévy were read with great enthusiasm" (p. 16). He apparently expects the uninitiated reader to know that Eliphas Lévi Zahed (a pseudonym for Alphonse Louis Constant) was not only the most prolific writer on the occult, but also a personal friend of, among others, Baudelaire and Gauguin's maternal grandmother, Flora Tristan, whose portrait Lévy painted. Here is an instance where more extensive footnotes could be used to elaborate upon the fascinating relationship between occult doctrine and aesthetic theory, and to mention the names of other art historians who have explored this subject.

When notes do occur, they seldom provide complete bibliographical references for quoted material and sometimes fail to elucidate the text to which they correspond. In note 5, for example, one expects elaboration on Huysmans's early admiration for English illustrated books, only to find Jullian's personal evaluation of Walter Crane as a "mediocre artist whose influence was most pronounced in the decorative arts" (p. 225).

Notes are used most effectively in chapter 5, where they provide lengthier excerpts from the writings of contemporary leaders and critics than can be accommodated in the text. Here the reader is offered the ideals and regulations that Péladan established for the Salon de la Rose + Croix, the five "laws" governing art that Albert Aurier listed in his important article on Gauguin (*Mercure de France*, 1891), and illuminating quotations from exhibition reviews. The text of this chapter also contains well-selected excerpts, such as one from the *Mercure de France* comparing the first Salon de la Rose+Croix (1892) with the Salon des Indépendants of that year, and making a perceptively worded distinction between the two separate schools, Impressionism and Symbolism, which existed simultaneously.

Despite obvious shortcomings in the area of documentation and the dilettantish presentation of material, Jullian does offer worthwhile insights concerning Symbolism's place within an art-historical continuum. In stating that "Doré is as much the last of the Romantics as he is one of the first Symbolists" (p. 13), in noting that Barbey d'Aurévilly ("the last of the Romantic writers") contributed the preface to Péladan's *La Vice supreme* (p. 26), and in describing Moreau as "the final flourish of Romanticism" (p. 37), Jullian underscores a continuity between Romanticism and

symbolism that was not entirely disrupted by Courbet and Monet. This continuity accommodates certain artists like Redon who was an exact contemporary of the Impressionists, but who anticipated the Symbolists. In extending this continuity through Symbolism to Surrealism, Jullian bridges the gap between an art of the imagination and an art that set out, under the influence of Freud, to reveal the inner recesses of the mind.

It is not entirely clear whether Jullian considers Puvis a full-fledged exponent of Symbolism or a master in whom the Symbolists found inspiration. To suggest that his work represents one of two poles within the Symbolist movement is misleading in view of Puvis's refusals to accept that designation for himself (see Richard Wattenmaker, *Puvis de Chavannes and the Modern Tradition*, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, 1975, intro.). In considering his role as a "Symbolist master" in chapter 4, Jullian notes that Puvis's late work was influenced by the Symbolists even as his own paintings and ideas were felt in Seurat's *Grande Jatte* and Gauguin's *Where do we come from? Who are we? Where are we going?* Yet these two artists, who had little in common with the Decadents (at least as exemplified by Péladan and his adherents), present an even greater problem.

Jullian seems least comfortable in dealing with Seurat and Gauguin whom he describes as "too great" to be labeled Symbolists, but who were nevertheless "connected with Symbolism" (p. 41). Gauguin's *Where do we come from? . . .*, illustrated in a two-page color reproduction, receives little comment, although it represents for Jullian "the greatest work inspired by Symbolism" (p. 41) and "the most remarkable example of Symbolist decorative work" (p. 52).

Perhaps Jullian's discomfort stems from the fact that Gauguin's style evolved through Impressionism; he did not bypass it by moving out of late Romanticism under the influence of the Pre-Raphaelites. Like many French and Belgian Symbolists, Gauguin and Seurat learned from Puvis; but they did not derive the same lessons. Jullian notes that the Symbolists admired Puvis for those qualities which resembled aspects of the late Pre-Raphaelites. The author might emphasize more strongly that Gauguin and Seurat responded to Puvis's formal simplification as much as to his "hieratic compositions." It is these qualities that complement the lessons that Gauguin and Seurat gleaned from a Turkish text of the 18th century that advised the artist to seek pictorial harmony through static poses and silhouetted shapes. Jullian mentions this treatise in chapter 7, stating unequivocally that it was discovered by Gauguin about 1885. The fact that its origin is considerably more mysterious and that it is not known for certain who possessed it first (see Mark Roskill, *Van Gogh, Gauguin and the Impressionist Circle*, Greenwich, Conn., 1970, 93f.) should warn the reader against accepting every one of Jullian's statements as Gospel.

There are links between the Symbolists and the 20th century that Jullian chooses not to pursue, perhaps because they are less visually apparent than those between Symbolism and Surrealism. Daniel Robbins has already demonstrated the continuity between the ideas of Symbolist poets like Gustave Kahn, Paul Fort, Stuart Merrill, and Émile Verhaeren, and that of Cubist painters such as Albert Gleizes, Jean Metzinger, Robert Délaunay, and Henri Le Fauconnier ("From Symbolism to Cubism: The Abbaye of Créteil," *College Art Journal*, XXIII, 1963–64, 111-16). In relation to this study, Jullian's description of subjects encountered in the annual Salons of the 1880's and 1890's (as reported in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*) arouses particular interest. He notes that in 1885 "the word 'symbolic' makes an appearance in reference to two allegorical paintings of the City of Paris, one by Aman-Jean, the other by Besnard" (p. 35). Robert Délaunay's own version of *The City of Paris* (1912) would seem to document still another connection between early Symbolism and Cubism.

In this reviewer's opinion, *The Symbolists's* main contribution, aside from its copious illustrations, is its affirmation of Symbolism as something other than an isolated and divergent phenomenon threatening the accepted notion of a smooth stylistic progression from Impressionism through Seurat, Gauguin, Van Gogh, and Cézanne, and on to the "isms" of the 20th century. By calling attention to the roots of Symbolism in the past and its implications for the future, *The Symbolists* reinforces the steadily increasing awareness that the major route from the 19th to the 20th century was complemented by auxiliary routes, and that artists could cross easily from one to another.

ANN H. MURRAY
Wheaton College

Letters to the Editor

Madam:

As guest of the Indian Academy of Sciences at the First Indian National Symposium on the Physics of Antimatter in Delhi, I am on a visit to the Taj Mahal. By good fortune, moreover, I have in hand Wayne E. Begley's article, "The Myth of the Taj Mahal and a New Theory of Its Symbolic Meaning" (*The Art Bulletin*, March, 1979, 7-35). It has given me the greatest pleasure to follow his arguments *in situ*.

Begley proposes that the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan erected the Taj, not as a love poem to his wife Mumtaz Mahal in sorrow over her untimely death but, rather, as an image of God's throne, to "mirror God's absolute Beauty" and to "reflect the glory of its earthly creator."

The article is so persuasive and well-documented otherwise that I feel compelled to take issue with the last sentence, which reads: "In the final analysis, perhaps Shah Jahan's vanity is not so very different from that of our own age, an age in which science attempts to construct its own presumptuous model of the universe, and hence of its Creator." Although Begley gives no source for this assessment of the aims of science, it reminds me of a confession of Einstein's made in the later years when he remained apart from the development of modern physics: "I believe in Spinoza's God who reveals himself in the orderly harmony of what exists, not in a God who concerns himself with the fates and actions of human beings."

Modern science does not, however, assert that the universe yields information about a creator; the argument from design has no place in physics. Since 1928, indeed, physics builds *ab novo* on the quantum theory of matter, to which we know no observational or experimental exception whatever. This theory may be viewed as the epitome of our knowledge of the physical world. Quantum theory excludes *in principle* the possibility of identifying a *specific* cause for a given observed effect. This fact is both humbling and liberating. For the first time in the history of the human intellect, we are epistemologically free to philosophize about, to reject, or to believe in the existence of an ultimate reason for what is. Such insights must derive from extraneous sources and must be gained by methods that transcend the exact sciences. Transcendent truths can neither be deduced from, nor can they conflict with our understanding of the physical world.

WERNER BRANDT
Taj Mahal, April, 1979

Madam:

In his admirable article concerning de' Barbari's view of Venice (*The Art Bulletin*, September, 1978), Juergen Schulz states on p. 428 that no records exist concerning the publisher Anton Kolb's activities before 1506, other than the scant ones he has cited. That is not correct. For it is pertinent to know that Anton Kolb was, in fact, the representative of Anton Koberger, the famous Nuremberg publisher who was Dürer's godfather. In the final accounting of the sale of *The Nuremberg Chronicle* (for easy reference, see Adrian Wilson, *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle*, Amsterdam, 1976, 235), we are told that Kolb had been given on consignment 34 copies of the *Chronicle*, of which he had sold 17 by 1499 for the sum of 51 ducats 18d 16h. The balance was settled in 1508. Given Koberger's network of distributors in 16 major cities of Europe, from Cracow to Valencia, we may at least assume that Jacopo's map benefitted from this situation.

WALTER L. STRAUSS
Scarborough, N.Y.

Madam:

I would like to correct a minor but worrisome error in the printing of my review of Jonathan Brown's *Murillo and His Drawings* (*The Art Bulletin*, September, 1978). A reference to a relationship between Murillo's *Virgin, Child, and Saint John the Baptist* and Zurbarán's painting of the same theme should have been deleted because the reference was misleading. The material appears on page 559, top right column, and reads from "The search for sources . . ." to the end of the paragraph. In reality, Zurbarán's painting may postdate Murillo's. Unless it shares a common source, such as a print, with Murillo's painting, Zurbarán's picture may derive from Murillo's, not Murillo's from Zurbarán's.

GRIDLEY MCKIM SMITH
Tulane University

THE ART BULLETIN

September 1979

THE ART BULLETIN

A Quarterly Published by
The College Art Association
of America

September 1979
Volume LXI
Number 3

Editor-in-Chief
KATHLEEN WEIL-GARRIS
New York University

Associate Editor
CREIGHTON E. GILBERT
Cornell University

Managing Editor
ANNE H. HOY
54 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10024

Book Review Editor
JUERGEN SCHULZ
Brown University

Editor, Monograph Series
ISABELLE HYMAN
Washington Square and University College, New York University

Editorial Board
The Editorial Board includes the members of *The Art Bulletin* Committee, which is composed of the former editors-in-chief of the journal, the past and present editors of the Monograph Series, and the following advisory members:

RICHARD BRILLIANT (through 1980)
Columbia University

JAMES CAHILL (through 1983)
University of California, Berkeley

WALTER CAHN (through 1983)
Yale University

CAECILIA DAVIS-WEYER (through 1983)
Tulane University

COLIN EISLER (through 1983)
New York University

ILENE FORSYTH (through 1980)
University of Michigan

OLEG GRABAR (through 1980)
Harvard University

EVELYN B. HARRISON (through 1983)
New York University

JULIUS HELD (through 1980)
Barnard College, Columbia University, Emeritus

HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK (through 1980)
New York University

GEORGE LEVITINE (through 1983)
University of Maryland

THOMAS MATHEWS (through 1980)
New York University

EDITH PORADA (through 1980)
Columbia University

RICHARD H. RANDALL, JR. (through 1980)
Walters Art Gallery

W. R. REARICK (through 1983)
University of Maryland

THEODORE REFF (through 1980)
Columbia University

ROBERT ROSENBLUM (through 1983)
New York University

JOHN ROSENFIELD (through 1980)
Harvard University

ANGELICA RUDENSTINE (through 1983)
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum

DAMIE STILLMAN (through 1983)
University of Delaware

ROBERT THOMPSON (through 1983)
Yale University

SIR FRANCIS WATSON (through 1983)
The Queen's Advisor on Works of Art

JOHN WILMERDING (through 1980)
National Gallery of Art

The Art Bulletin Committee
JAMES S. ACKERMAN
DAVID R. COFFIN
ANNE COFFIN HANSON
HOWARD HIBBARD
ISABELLE HYMAN
H. W. JANSON
GEORGE KUBLER
CHARLES L. KUHN
RENSSELAER W. LEE
BATES LOWRY
JOHN R. MARTIN
DONALD POSNER
LUCY FREEMAN SANDLER
J. CARSON WEBSTER

Manuscripts
submitted for editorial consideration should conform to the practices set forth in "Notes for Contributors" available from the offices of the College Art Association of America. Articles improperly prepared, even though accepted for publication, may be returned for retyping. All manuscripts should be sent by certified or insured post, and self-addressed envelope and prepaid return postage, to Creighton E. Gilbert, Goldwin Smith 35, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. 14853. Please enclose sufficient amount in check or money order if insured return of parcel is desired. *The Art Bulletin* cannot consider manuscripts lacking return postage or unsolicited manuscripts for book reviews.

Books for Review
should be addressed to the Book Review Editor, *The Art Bulletin*, College Art Association of America, 16 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022.

The Art Bulletin
is available only through membership, open to all interested persons and institutions, in the College Art Association of America. For information about membership or individual back issues, write the College Art Association of America, 16 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022.
Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and an additional mailing offices.

©1979, College Art Association of America, Inc.

Contributing Institutions

University of Alberta
Arizona State University
University of Arizona
Barnard College
Boston University
Brown University
Bryn Mawr College
Case Western Reserve University
University of Chicago
Columbia University
Cornell University
Duke University
Emory University
University of Illinois
Indiana University
The Institute for Advanced Study
University of Iowa
Johns Hopkins University
University of Louisville
The Maryland Institute
Michigan State University
University of Michigan
University of Minnesota
University of Missouri
Mount Holyoke College
University of New Mexico
State University of New York, Binghamton
New York University
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Northwestern University
Oberlin College
Ohio State University
University of Oregon
Pennsylvania State University
University of Pennsylvania
University of Pittsburgh
Princeton University
University of Rochester
Rutgers, The State University
Smith College
Stanford University
Tulane University
Vanderbilt University
Vassar College
University of Washington
Wellesley College
Williams College
Yale University

The Baltimore Museum of Art
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
The Brooklyn Museum
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute
Cleveland Museum of Art
Fogg Art Museum
The Frick Collection
The J. Paul Getty Museum
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum
The Hispanic Society of America
The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston
Indianapolis Museum of Art
Kimbell Art Museum
Los Angeles County Museum of Art
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Minneapolis Institute of Arts
Montreal Museum of Fine Arts
The Pierpont Morgan Library
The Museum of Modern Art
National Gallery of Art
The National Gallery of Canada
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art
Art Gallery of Ontario
Philadelphia Museum of Art
The Phillips Collection
Portland Art Museum
Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design
St. Louis Art Museum
The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco
The Toledo Museum of Art
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts
Walters Art Gallery
Whitney Museum of American Art

Benefactors

The Art Dealers Association of America, Inc.
Carnegie Corporation Fund
Samuel H. Kress Foundation
Robert Lehman Foundation, Inc.
Richard Harrison Martin
Sotheby Parke Bernet, Inc.

Patrons

Henfield Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. William K. Simpson
Eugene Victor Thaw
Wildenstein & Co., Inc.

Supporters

Harry N. Abrams, Inc.
Mr. & Mrs. Gilbert S. Edelson
Richard L. Feigen & Co. Inc.
The International Art Registry, Ltd.
Mrs. Alice M. Kaplan
Rensselaer W. Lee
Perls Galleries
The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection
Alexandre P. Rosenberg
Charles Scribner III
Wittenborn & Company

*Supporters contribute $100 to $499 per year to the College Art Association; Patrons give $500 to $999 per year; Benefactors subscribe annually for $1,000 or more. The College of Art Association is not a private foundation as defined in Section 509 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code.

Contents

Volume LXI Number 3 September 1979

Articles

Consecration and Investiture in the Life of Saint Amand, Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. ms 502 — BARBARA ABOU-EL-HAJ 342

The Model Roll of the Golden Fleece — ANNE HAGOPIAN VAN BUREN 359

The Iconography of the Sala degli Stucchi in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara — CHARLES M. ROSENBERG 377

Pope Paul III's Additions to Raphael's Logge: His *Imprese* in the Logge — BERNICE F. DAVIDSON 385

An Augustinian Interpretation of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling, Part II — ESTHER GORDON DOTSON 405

Giambattista Tiepolo's Ceiling for S. Maria di Nazareth in Venice: Legend, Traditions, and Devotions — WILLIAM BARCHAM 430

James Ward's Exhibition Pictures of 1838: Controversy in Paint — EDWARD J. NYGREN 448

An Introduction to the Dating and Organization of Eugène Atget's Photographs — BARBARA L. MICHAELS 460

Discussion

A Second Instruction to the Reader from Nicole Oresme, Translator of Aristotle's *Politics* and *Economics* — CLAIRE RICHTER SHERMAN 468

Reviews

Pamela M. Packard and Paul A. Clement, *The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Fascicule 1 (Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. USA.* Fascicule 18) — MARY B. MOORE 470

Malcolm A. R. Colledge, *Parthian Art* — TRUDY S. KAWAMI 471

Beat Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom* — MARY L. HEUSER 473

Ernst Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making, Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art, 3rd–7th Century* — WILLIAM LOERKE 477

Aune Jääskinen, *The Icon of the Virgin of Tikhvin; A Study of the Tikhvin Monastery Palladium in the Hodegetria Tradition* — ANNEMARIE WEYL CARR 480

Anthony Luttrell, ed., *Hal Millieri: A Maltese Casale, Its Churches and Paintings* — SUMNER MCKNIGHT CROSBY 481

Carlo Ragghianti and Gigetta dalli Regoli, *Firenze 1470–1480, Disegni dal modello: Pollaiolo/Leonardo/Botticelli/Filippino* — EDMUND P. PILLSBURY 482

Martin Kubelik, *Die Villa im Veneto: zur typologischen Entwicklung im Quattrocento* — JAMES S. ACKERMAN 483

Jane Schuyler, *Florentine Busts: Sculpted Portraiture in the Fifteenth Century*
Virginia Bush, *The Colossal Sculpture of the Cinquecento*
Peter Kirney, *The Early Sculpture of Bartolommeo Ammanati* — MARY D. GARRARD 485

Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., *Perspective, Optics, and Delft Artists Around 1650* — WALTER A. LIEDTKE 490

Marí Angeles Mazón de la Torre, *Jusepe Leonardo y su tiempo;* Julián Gállego and José Gudiol, *Zurbarán, 1598–1664;* Jorge Bernales Ballesteros, *Alonso Cano en Sevilla;* Antonio Martínez Ripoll, *La iglesia del Colegio de San Buenaventura;* Julián Gallego, *El pintor de artesano a artista;* Mercedes Agulló Cobo, *Noticias sobre pintores madrileños de los siglos XVI y XVII* — JONATHAN BROWN 496

Oliver Millar, *The Queen's Pictures. The History of the British Royal Collection* — CHRISTOPHER WRIGHT 500

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *Selected Papers, Traditional Art and Symbolism; Selected Papers, Metaphysics;* Roger Lipsey, *His Life and Work* — DONALD R. KUSPIT 501

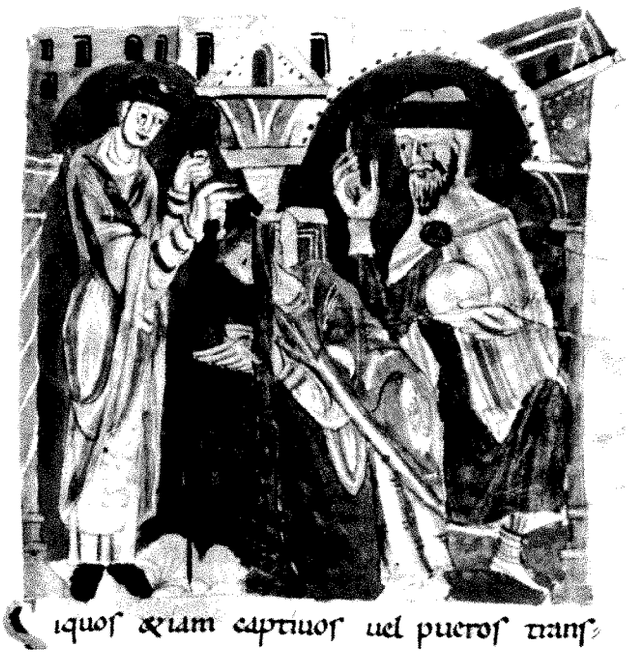
Letters to the Editor 505

List of Books Received 511

Consecration and Investiture in the Life of Saint Amand, Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. MS 502*

Barbara Abou-El-Haj

The two scenes representing the consecration of Saint Amand as a bishop and later his investiture as Bishop of Maastricht[1] (Figs. 1, 2) are part of a series of thirty-two pictures illustrating the eighth-century text of the saint's life. They belong to a manuscript written and painted at the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century,[2] at the monastery founded by the saint



1 *Amand Consecrated a Bishop*, Life of Saint Amand, St.-Amand d'Elnone, end 11th/beg. 12th cent. Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. MS 502, fol. 11r (photo: Bibl. Mun.)

usefulam insulam tandem paruam reperiens

2 *Amand Invested Bishop of Maastricht*, Life of Saint Amand, Bibl. Mun. MS 502, fol. 22r (photo: Bibl. Mun.)

* This paper is based on a portion of my dissertation. For his critical reading and kind support, I am most grateful to my adviser, Professor O. K. Werckmeister. My thanks go also to Ruth Kline, Irmingard Staeuble, and Nora Nercessian for their comments, to the Kress Foundation for a grant which enabled me to have these manuscripts photographed, and to the photographer, R. Wunderlich.

N.B. A list of abbreviations and of frequently cited sources follows the footnotes.

[1] Saint Amand (d. 675) was a missionary to northern France and northwestern Belgium. He was first consecrated a bishop without a diocese and later became Bishop of Maastricht. For Amand's career and the cult devoted to him, see: Moreau, 1927, and a shorter version of the same, *Saint Amand, le principal évangélisateur de la Belgique*, Brussels, 1942; also by Moreau, "La Vita Amandi et les fondations de Saint Amand," *Mélanges Peeters*, Brussels, 1949, I, 447–464. For further literature, see: Platelle, 1962, 6–23, and 1965, 11–22. For a recent study, see: J. Caro Baroja, "San Amando y los vascones," *Principe de Viana*, XXXII, 1971, 7–26.

[2] The years in which the manuscript was written, 1066–1107, have been determined by the last two texts but one that were copied into it. These describe two voyages undertaken with the relics of the saint. The first, according to its prologue, was organized to collect money to rebuild the monastery after a fire in 1066 had destroyed most of it: "Historia miraculorum sancti Amandi corpori per Franciam deportato." This text was apparently copied into the manuscript at the same time as the preceding texts and miniatures. A miracle, dated 1090, is described at the end of this text. This and the second text, which concerns a trip with the relics undertaken in 1107 to regain usurped lands, again according to the author's prologue, were copied later in a different hand: "Historia miraculorum sancti Amandi copore per Bragbantum delato." These texts appear in MS 502 of fols. 126–140. Boutemy does not mention the voyage of 1107, but only a miracle described directly after it, which ends the manuscript, also dated 1107, on page 232. The texts copied into MS 502, and some related texts, have been published in *MGH SSRM*, V, 395–485; *MGH PLC*, III, 557–676; *MGH SS*, XI, 408–432, XV, 848–853; *AA SS Feb. I*, 848–854, 873–893, 895–903; and described by Moreau, 1927, 69–75, 285–291. For a more detailed description of the texts copied into MS 502 and their printed editions, see my Ph.D. diss., 6–12 and nn. 14–27.

at Elnone-en-Pevele, today St.-Amand-les-Eaux.[3] The manuscript is the earliest of three illustrated copies of the life of the saint, all preserved in the public library of Valenciennes. Only the first and third copies, MSS 502 and 500, contain a narrative cycle of illustrations, the later one based on MS 502.[4]

The picture cycle of MS 502 is one of many cycles illustrating lives of saints that appear for the first time in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Western Europe.[5] Most of the texts on which they are based, however, had existed for hundreds of years without illustration.[6] This new production of illustrated lives of saints corresponds to the increased veneration of saints and to associated activities, like the discovery of relics and production of reliquaries, the growth of pilgrimages, the expanded building of shrines and churches,[7] and, especially, the increase of hagiographical writing in Europe during the same years.

Since the miniatures of the life of Saint Amand appear to have been newly composed in the late eleventh or early twelfth century to illustrate the eighth-century text,[8] a basic question is posed for the historian, which applies of course to all hagiographical picture cycles: why was the saint's life first illustrated at this moment? Regarding Saint Amand, it cannot automatically be assumed that the aims of the eleventh-century painter were the same as those of the eighth-century writer. Thus, it is not enough to understand the pictures merely as literal illustrations of the text.[9] I will attempt to show how the illustrations of MS 502 can be related to the history of the monastery of St.-Amand during the years when the manuscript was made, a relationship that accounts for a specific pictorial interpretation of the earlier text.

First, the two miniatures (Figs. 1, 2) will be compared to the texts, then to similar scenes among the saints' lives to see how they diverge from the text and from the standard representation of these subjects. The pictures will be compared to the later copies to see how they were viewed and changed one hundred years later.[10] Finally, the content that seems to be specific to the pictures in MS 502 will be explained by surveying the history of the monastery at the time they were made, and especially its position in the Investiture

[3] The saint died and was buried there. For the history of the monastery, see the two complementary studies by Platelle (cited in n. 1). For archival documents, printed primary sources, and a bibliography of scholarly literature including Platelle's articles on important monastic documents, see Platelle, 1962, 24–26, and 1965. The most recent work by Platelle is "Les Relations entre l'abbaye Saint-Amand de Rouen et l'abbaye Saint-Amand d'Elnone," in *La Normandie bénédictine au temps de Guillaume le Conquérant*, Lille, 1967, 83–106. For the ecclesiastical history of the monastery, see also: Moreau, 1945, esp. Vol. II.

[4] The illustrated lives of Saint Amand have been investigated by Boutemy. He has compared the miniatures to the texts and commented on the changes between MSS 502 and 500. The narrative cycle of miniatures in MS 502 has only been published in its entirety in 1910, in *MGH SRM*, V, figs. 2–18. For a recent article by Boutemy, see: "Similitudes et parentés. A propos d'enluminure de Saint-Amand, d'Anchin, et de la cathédrale de Cambrai," in *Études de civilisation médiévale IX–XII s. Mélanges offerts à E.-R. Labande*, Poitiers, 1975. An earlier description was published by P. Lefrancq, "Quelques notes sur les manuscrits les plus importants de la Bibliothèque de Valenciennes," *Bulletin du Comité Flamand de France*, No. 2, 1935, 349–357, esp. 353. The two later manuscripts, also preserved in the Valenciennes Public Library, are MSS 501 (1150), and MS 500. Together with MS 502, they are the three remaining manuscripts of five originally listed in the ancient catalogue of the monastic library, the *Index maior*, drawn up in the third quarter of the 12th century. The other two have been missing since the 17th century. Boutemy suggests that MS 502 is the earliest of the five and that MS 500 was completed without its drawings and paintings. These were added in the fourth quarter of the 12th century, probably around 1180, because the *Index* does not mention any illustrations ("Vie de Saint Amand," 241). MS 500 contains, among other texts, a new life written by Philippe, Abbot of Aumône, which follows the 8th-century life attributed to Baudemond with a few additions (*ibid.*, 232–33, 243–44). See Moreau, 1927, 62–68; *AA SS Feb. I*, 857–873.

[5] The single major exception to this is the 9th-century life of Saint Ambrose on the gold altar of S. Ambrogio, Milan (see n. 6).

[6] In the 11th and 12th centuries in Western Europe, extensive picture cycles of the lives of Saints Adalbert, Ambrose, Aubin, Benedict, Guthlac, Hadelin, Heribert, Liudger, Maur, Millán, Omer, Quentin, Radegonde, Remaclus, Cuthbert, and Edmund were executed in various media: manuscript illumination, metalwork, enamels, and ivory. For bibliography see Abou-El-Haj, n. 6, and notes 9, 15, 18, and 32 below. The iconographical origins of these cycles have been debated by V. H. Elbern for the life of Ambrose, "Der Ambrosiuszycklus am karolingischen Goldaltar zu Mailand," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, VII, 1953, 1–8, and H. Schrade, for the life of Liudger, *Die Vita des heiligen Liudger und ihre Bilder*, Münster, 1960, 40–41. See also Elbern's review of Schrade's book in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXV, 1960, 261–66, and Abou-El-Haj, 50, 82–83, nn. 28, 108–110. F. Wormald was first to publish the manuscripts, "Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Lives of the Saints, "*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXXV, 1952–53, 248–266.

[7] See B. de Gaiffier, 1967, esp. "L'Hagiographie dans le Marquisat de Flandre et le Duché de Basse-Lotharingie au XIe siècle," 415–506, cf. 415ff., 452–57. These activities can have been possible only in an economy of developing agricultural surplus (and consequently of disposable money) which encouraged specialist-producers of such monuments and permitted people to pay for them and travel to them.

[8] Abou-El-Haj, 83–92.

[9] This has been assumed by most scholars. The exception is the collection of essays on the bronze doors of the Cathedral of Gniezno (Gnesen) with the life of Saint Adalbert, M. Walicki, ed., *Drzwi Gnieźnieńskie*, 3 vols., Wrocław, 1959, esp. the intro. by A. Gieysztor, "Drzwi Gnieźnieńskie Jako Wyraz Polskiej świadomości Narodowosciowej w XII Wieku" (summary, "La Porte de Gniezno comme expression de la conscience nationale polonaise au XIIe siècle," 206–07). I am grateful to Jan and Mia Trouskier for translating passages from the Polish text for me. About the life of Saint Amand, Boutemy says: "Il faut d'ailleurs louer chez le miniaturiste un très grand souci de vérité historique qui sera moins sensible parfois chez ses successeurs. Dessinant et peignant les scènes immédiatement après la transcription du texte qui les raconte, il a lu ce texte attentivement et veille à en rendre les détails dans ces dessins"; "Vie de Saint Amand," 236.

[10] See p. 347 and nn. 4 and 29.

Conflict, when the pope and the German emperor fought each other over control of appointments to the high offices of the Church.[11]

The Miniatures and Text of MS 502

Let us compare fol. 11r, *Amand is Consecrated a Bishop* (Fig. 1), with the text.

> Meanwhile, after a few days had passed, *compelled by the king* as well as the clergy, *he was consecrated a bishop*, and, having accepted the honor of the pontificate, he began to preach the word of the Lord to the people, and to show himself in all things an example of good deeds.[12]

The text describes neither the form of the ceremony nor its location; thus, the painter was on his own in visualizing them. The consecrating bishop stands under an arch at the left and the king sits enthroned at the right. The saint stands in front of the king, but bends forward, behind the central column, to reach the bishop. A Gospel book rests on his shoulders as the bishop recites the prayer of consecration.[13] The king holds an orb and points upward. He obviously commands the consecration to take place. Thus the picture illustrates the words of the text I have italicized: "Compelled by the king . . . he was consecrated a bishop."

In the various illustrated saints' lives, there is a small group of recurring pictures that may be called core scenes of pictorial hagiography. In these, similar subjects appear in the same meaningful arrangements.[14] The consecration of a saint is one of these core scenes. It occurs six times in a variety of pictorial schemes.[15] Some of these, together with scenes of tonsure (Figs. 3, 4) and investiture, are related in that they appear to be derived from traditions for the representation of the anointing of Saul or David by Samuel (I Sam. 15:1 and 16:3) (Fig. 5).[16] A second group shows the acclamation of a newly consecrated bishop in a symmetrical arrangement that seems to have been derived from representations of the investiture of David (Figs. 6, 7).[17]

Among the saints' lives, only that of Heribert[18] (Fig. 8) shows exactly the same subject as that of Amand, the moment in the ceremony when the Gospel book is placed on the shoulders of the bishop-elect as the prayer of consecration is recited. There must have been an established tradition for the representation of this ceremony in Sacramentary illustrations, since the same scene appears in an early eleventh-century Sacramentary from Ivrea (Fig. 9).[19] The bishop, like the saints, bends very far forward, as if to balance the book. The consecrating bishop stands before a large altar, and a deacon and clergy witness the ceremony. The scene in the Life of Heribert is closer to the Sacramentary scene than to that of Amand, since there is also an altar, here fully equipped, clergy who witness the ceremony, and both Heribert and the bishop in the Sacramentary wear

[11] For other studies of the effects of the Investiture Controversy and especially of reformist literature on art production, see: W. Cahn, "The Tympanum of the Portal of Saint Anne of Notre-Dame de Paris and the Iconography of the Division of the Powers in the Early Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII, 1969, 55–72; E. Kitzinger, "The Gregorian Reform and the Visual Arts: A Problem of Method," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, ser. 5, XXII, 1972, 87–102, and R. Rough, *The Reformist Illuminations of the Gospels of Matilda of Tuscany. A Study in the Art of the Age of Gregory VII*, The Hague, 1973.

[12] "Cum interim, paucis post transactis diebus, *coactus a rege* vel sacerdotibus, *episcopus ordinatus est*, acceptoque pontificatus honore, gentibus verbum evangelizare coepit Domini atque se ipsum in omnibus exemplum praebere bonorum operum" (italics added). There follows a brief eulogy. MS 502, fols. 10v.-11r (chap. 8), *MGH SSRM* V, 434–35.

[13] For the ceremony of consecration, see: H. Leclercq and F. Cabrol. For the prayer of consecration while the Gospel book rests on or is suspended above the head and shoulders of the bishop-elect, see: cols. 2592–93.

[14] This similarity depends, of course, on the similarity of the hagiographical texts that they illustrate. De Gaiffier has described some of these, in "Miracles bibliques et vies de saints," 50–61, esp. 54–58, 60, as has H. Delehaye, 24, 27–31. See also: Abou-El-Haj, 50–82. On the relationship between hagiographical literature and the illustration of saints' lives, see: *ibid*, 145–157, esp. 155ff.; de Gaiffier, "Les Héros de la littérature hagiographique," 452–474, esp. 455–456. On the relationship between the life of Christ and the lives of saints, see: G. Strunk, *Kunst und Glaube in der lateinischen Heiligenlegende, zu ihrem Selbstverständnis in den Prologen*, Munich, 1970, 11.

[15] MS 502 (Fig. 1), MS 500 (Figs. 11, 12), Ambrose (Fig. 6), Heribert (Fig. 8), Liudger (Fig. 7); *Guthlac Ordained a Priest*, in London, British Museum, Harley Roll Y. 6 (see: G. Warner, *The Life of Saint Guthlac*, Oxford, 1928), and *Radegonde Made a Deaconess*, from the Life of Saint Radegonde, in Poitiers, Bibl. Mun. MS 250, fol. 27v (see: E. Ginot, "Le Manuscrit de Sainte Radegonde de Poitiers et ses peintures du XIe siècle," *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures*, IV, 1914–1920, 9–80).

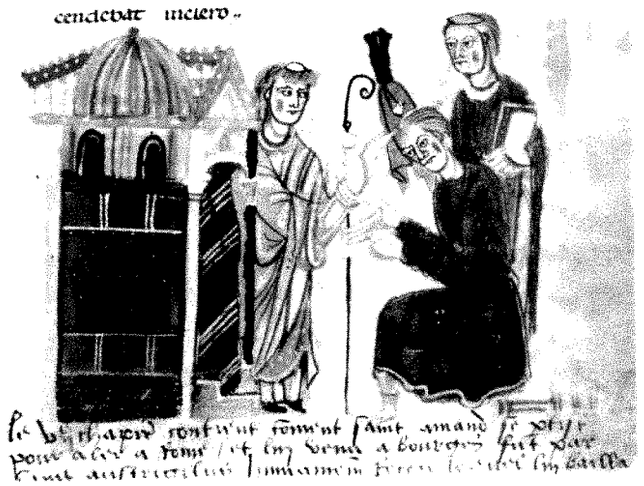
[16] These figures generally bend both knees. In the scene from the Bury Psalter (Fig. 5), Saul bends one knee in a position very similar to the figures of Amand tonsured, MS 502 (Fig. 4) and MS 500, fol. 55r (facing opposite), Guthlac tonsured (Fig. 3), and ordained a priest (place cited in n. 15).

[17] For acclamation in the ceremony of episcopal consecration, see: Cabrol and Leclercq (as cited in n. 13), col. 2602. The silver dish with the representation of the investiture of David with arms, made for the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (d. 641), has been discussed as a pair with the scene of the anointing of David from the same series of plates: see S. Wander, "The Cyprus Plates: The Story of David and Goliath," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, VIII, 1973, 89–104, fig. 6 and 93–94.

[18] Heribert of Deutz, Archbishop of Cologne (d. 1021). The shrine of Saint Heribert with enamels representing his life is in Deutz, Church of St. Heribert, and comes from Liège/Cologne, ca. 1160–1170; see: D. Kötzsche, "Der Schrein des heiligen Heribert," *Rhein und Maas, Kunst und Kultur 800–1400*, exh. cat., 2 vols., Cologne, 1972–73, I, 277–78, with literature; and *ibid.*, "Zum Stand des Forschung der Goldschmiedekunst des 12. Jahrhunderts im Rhein-Maas-Gebiet," II, 221ff.; M. M. Gauthier, *Emaux du moyen-âge occidental*, Fribourg, 1972, Cat. No. 110, 354–55.

[19] Commissioned by Bishop Warmodo for his cathedral, Ivrea, Italy, before 1002, Ivrea, Bibl. capitolare, MS 86, fol. 8. See: L. Magnani, *Le Miniature del Sacramentario d'Ivrea e di altri codici Warmondiani (Codices ex Ecclesiasticis Italiae Bybliothecis* IV), Vatican City, 1934; and G. Ladner, "Die italienische Malerei in 11. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N.F. 5, 1931, 130–160.

3 *Guthlac Tonsured*, Life of Saint Guthlac, designed for Croyland Abbey, end 12th cent. London, British Museum, Harley Roll Y 6 (photo: British Museum)



4 *Amand Tonsured*, Life of Saint Amand, Bibl. Mun. MS 502, fol. 8r (photo: Bibl. Mun.)

5 *Saul Annointed*, Bury Psalter, made for Bury St. Edmund's Abbey, second quarter 11th cent. Rome, Bibl. Vat. reg. lat. 12, fol. 95r (tracing courtesy Princeton Index of Christian Art)

6 *Ambrose Acclaimed Bishop of Milan*, gold altar of S. Ambrogio, Milan, by Wolvinius, mid-9th cent. (from Francovich, "Arte Carolingia et Ottoniana," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, VI, 1942–44)

7 *Liudger Acclaimed Bishop of Münster*, Life of Saint Liudger, Werden Abbey, end 11th cent. Berlin, Prussian State Library, Theol. lat. fol. 323, fol. 11r (photo: Prussian State Library)

8 *Heribert Interrogated and Consecrated Archbishop of Cologne*, enamel from Shrine of Saint Heribert, Liège/Cologne, ca. 1160-1170. Deutz, Church of St. Heribert (from Kötzsche, *Rhein und Maas*)

9 *The Consecration of a Bishop*, Sacramentary of Bishop Warmodo of Ivrea, before 1002. Ivrea, Bibl. Capitolare MS 86, fol. 8r (from Magnani, *Sacramentario d'Ivrea*)

maniples. The Roman formula for the ordination of a pope contains a Eucharistic prayer; and since the consecration of bishops followed a modified version of this formula, one would think that the ceremony would have taken place in a church before an altar.[20] This is exactly what is represented in the life of Heribert, where the altar appears under a three-part arch, a scheme traditionally used to identify the sanctuary of a church.[21]

The scene from the life of Amand, although it does represent the passage of the text saying that the king forced the saint to become a bishop, differs in several respects from what must have been both the established iconography for the scene and what was necessary for an accurate representation of the liturgy. Church architecture and furnishings either do not appear or are represented minimally in Figure 1, since there is not even an altar. Attendants or witnesses are lacking, although the text states that both the king and clergy compelled the saint to be consecrated, and the liturgy required attendants.[22] In striking contrast to this minimal representation of ecclesiastical elements, the king is clearly emphasized. He is enthroned, wears a crown, holds an orb, and makes an emphatic gesture of command, and this is represented, although it was not customary for kings to preside over consecrations, even in the eighth century.[23] The saint leans very far forward so that his face is partially hidden in an awkward way behind the central column which supports the two arches. The arch framing the king is much larger than the one over the bishop, and the saint stands in the king's compartment, with his feet at the throne. He leans or seems to tilt forward so that his head and hands protrude into the arch occupied by the bishop only as much as is necessary for the ceremony. He is clearly meant to be seen as subject to the king's command. The whole is a highly unusual scene of a consecration presided over by a king. Unlike the king, the figure consecrating Amand wears no garment that identifies his office, although he must be a bishop. This is in line with the reduced representation of the liturgical aspects of the ceremony in this illumination. Thus, in comparison to the other representations of this subject, the position of the Church is deemphasized in Figure 1, whereas that of the king is exaggerated.

In fol. 11r, the arch over the king is wider than the one over the bishop. The central column and the decorated half column at the right together form a separate,

[20] See: Cabrol and Leclercq (as cited in n. 13), on the furnished altar for episcopal consecration in the Syrian rite, 2593–94; the Roman formula for the ordination of a pope, on which the episcopal ceremony is based, 2602, and the Eucharistic prayer, 2596.

[21] O. K. Werckmeister has shown that the scheme is designed to represent the sanctuary of a church: fig. 2a, p. 36, and nn. 269, 272.

[22] On witnesses necessary for the ceremony, see: Cabrol and Leclercq, cols. 2586–87.

[23] See Benson, 9, who has given a detailed account of the investiture struggle with specific reference to the office of the bishop. Under Gregory the Great, in the regions under papal control, it was apparently customary for a newly elected bishop to be first confirmed by his metropolitan and then to travel to Rome to be consecrated by the pope: O. M. Dalton, ed., *Gregory of Tours, History of the Franks*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1927, I, 29. According to Rough (as cited in n. 11), the practice was partially revived by Gregory VII, who asserted his authority by requiring bishops to receive the pallium from him. See his discussion of Matthew, represented as an enthroned bishop wearing a pallium, p. 47.

10 *Henry III Visits the Royal Abbey of Echternach*, Pericope Book of Henry III, Echternach, 1039. Bremen, State Library Cod. b. 21, fol. 3v (from Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*)

more elaborate architectural unit. A similar combination in which a ruler appears under a large arch at the right and subordinates stand under a smaller one at the left can be seen in a representation of the Abbey of Echternach in the Pericope Book of Henry III in Bremen (Fig. 10).[24] Apparently the combination of two unequal arches was meant to distinguish figures from one another in rank as the three-part arch system does in symmetrical groups.[25]

The miniature of MS 502 therefore is a selective representation of the text. It omits the clergy who are described together with the king in the text, and conversely it exaggerates the king's role, also described there. This emphasis on the authority of the king contrasts sharply with the treatment of the same subject in other cycles. There, whether the scene represented is a consecration or an acclamation of the newly consecrated bishop, the saint appears in the center of a hierarchical composition.[26] The author of the eighth-century text records without comment the king directing Amand's consecration.[27] Three centuries later, the same command would have been highly controversial. Indeed, the miniature of MS 502 was painted during the same years when the power of kings to appoint bishops through their right to perform the ceremony of investiture was questioned and then opposed by the popes and their allies.[28]

Comparison with MS 500

The problematical role of the king in the miniature of MS 502 seems to have been clearly understood when it was copied almost one hundred years later. MS 500 was apparently intended to modernize the earlier manuscript.[29] A new life of the saint was commissioned by Abbot Hugh II of St.-Amand (1150–1169) from Philippe, Abbot of Aumone (from 1156). Shortly after the manuscript was brought to Elnone, it was illustrated with two cycles of practically identical pictures, one of drawings and another of painted miniatures.

In both drawing and miniature (MS 500, fols. 65v and 57r) (Figs. 11, 12), a scene of acclamation, with the consecrated saint flanked by two bishops in the traditional, symmetrical arrangement, has been substituted for the consecration itself. In the drawing, an assistant holds oil on the right and the king appears on the left, still making a gesture of command. Thus the figure of the king was still retained from MS 502, but his authority appears very much reduced in comparison with that of the enthroned figure in the earlier miniature. Now the ruler stands and points downward, and it is the saint who is emphasized as the central and frontal figure, with the lateral and subordinate figures turned towards him as two bishops, wearing miters, acclaim him.

[24] Pericopes of Henry III, Echternach, 1039, Bremen, Staatsbibl., Cod. b. 21, fol. 3v. See J. M. Plotzek, *Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs III in Bremen und seine Stellung innerhalb der Echternacher Buchmalerei*, Cologne, 1970. For plates see A. Goldschmidt, *German Illumination*, 2 vols., Florence/New York, 1928, II, pl. 53, inscribed "Henricum regem juvenile flore nitentem ad laudem regni conservet gratia christi."

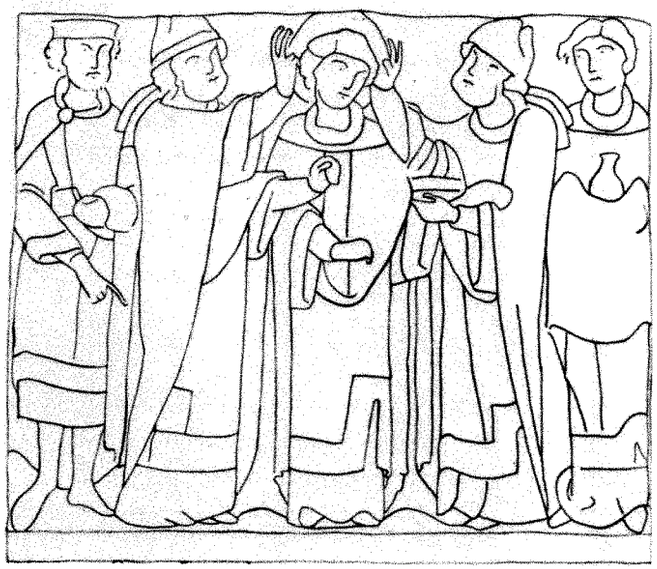
[25] See: H. Schnitzler, "Die Komposition der Lorscher Elfenbeintafeln," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, ser. 3, I; 1950, 26–42, 35ff.; Werckmeister, 36 and n. 269, 77 and nn. 646–48. W. Cahn (as cited in n. 11) has made similar observations on the differing positions and insignia of the kneeling king and standing bishop on either side of the enthroned Virgin and Child on the portal of Saint Anne, Notre-Dame, Paris, observations he bases upon illustrations (and their antecedents) of Gratian's Decretum, the primary text used by the canonists in support of the reforms of Gregory VII.

[26] See n. 17. See the scenes in the lives of Amand MS 500, Ambrose, and Liudger (Figs. 11, 12, 6, and 7).

[27] Dalton, *Gregory of Tours*, I, 288–291.

[28] For recent literature on the Investiture Controversy, see: J. Fleckenstein, ed., *Investiturstreit und Reichs-Verfassung. Vorträge und Forschungen (Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte*, XVII), Sigmaringen, 1973; Christian Schneider, *Prophetisches Sacerdotium und heilsgeschichtliches Regnum im Dialog, 1073–1077. Zur Geschichte Gregors VII. und Heinrichs IV. (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften*, IX), Munich, 1972; Benson.

[29] See note 4 on the biography by Philippe. From Philippe's prologue: "exercitio vigili recipiant obscura lucem, modum superflua, hiantia iuncturam minus habentia supplementum"; MS 500, fols. 71r–71v, *AA SS Feb. I*, 857; Moreau, 1927, 63.



11 *Amand Consecrated a Bishop*, Life of Saint Amand, St.-Amand d'Elnone, ca. 1180. Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. MS 500, fol. 65v (author's tracing)

12 *Amand Consecrated a Bishop*, Life of Saint Amand, Bibl. Mun. MS 500, fol. 57r (photo: Bibl Mun.)

In the painted miniature in MS 500, the figure of the king is omitted altogether. A saint holding oil flasks stands in his place. The drawing, therefore, has to be seen as an intermediary stage in a transformation of the subject from its early, controversial rendering into an entirely traditional, liturgical ceremony. The king was apparently out of place one hundred years later when the Investiture Controversy had been resolved. The progressive pictorial recasting of this scene in MS 500 was meant to take into account the current state of affairs.

The text for fol. 22r, *Amand is Invested Bishop of Maastricht* (Fig. 2), reads:

> When these things had happened in this fashion, the day of his death came, and the bishop of Maastricht happily departed to Christ. As a result, the king, when he had learned of the death of this venerable man, made Saint Amand come [to him]. A multitude of priests and lay people came together, a huge crowd, and *the king installed him to rule the church of Maastricht. Amand refused and loudly proclaimed himself unworthy,* but all cried out with one voice that he was worthy of the ecclesiastical office and should accept the church for the sake of the care of souls rather than [worry about] financial gain. Thus, compelled by the king and the clergy, he received the pontifical throne. . . .[30]

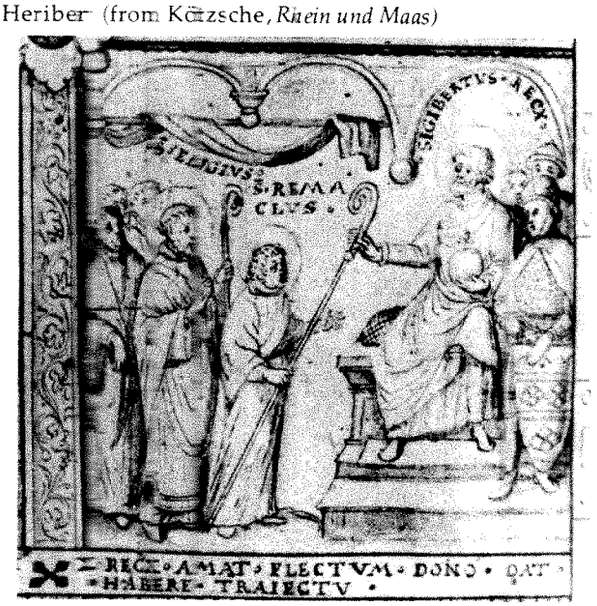
As in the previous chapter, the ceremony and its location are not specified. The miniature represents an investiture to illustrate how Amand received the pontifical throne or see *(pontificalem suscepit cathedram)*. The formula spoken by a prince as he invested a new bishop, generally by handing him the ring and crosier, was "receive the church" *(Accipe ecclesiam)*. This ceremony would normally have taken place in a palace.[31] In the illumination, the king sits under an arch at the left. Four tonsured monks or clerics stand behind him. Amand, with another monk or cleric partially behind him, stands under the central arch, and a second monk or cleric stands under the third. The king offers a crosier to the saint, but the saint makes no gesture to accept it. Instead, the two seem to argue, the king speaking and the saint making double gestures of speech and response. This must be the moment prior to his appointment, when he refuses investiture. The onlookers make no movement that would correspond to the popular outcry described in the text. The picture illustrates

[30] "His ita gestis, adveniente obitus sui die, Treiectensium episcopus feliciter migravit ad Christum. *Rex* igitur huius viri venerabilis conperiens obitum *sanctum* accersiri fecit *Amandum*. Congregataque multitudine sacerdotum populique, turba non modica, ad regendam Treiectensium *ecclesiam eum praeposuit. Illo vero renuente atque se indignum vociferante*, omnes una voce clamabant, dignum eum esse sacerdotio atque ob animarum sollicitudinem ecclesiam magis quam pecuniae questum debere suscipere. Coactus igitur a rege ac sacerdotibus, pontificalem suscepit cathedram" (italics added). There follows a brief account of his work. MS 502, fol. 21v (chap. 18); *MGH SSRM*, V, 442–43.

[31] Benson with literature, 9, 204–05 and n. 4. For the ceremony, see also: R. Naz, *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, Paris, 1957 VI, cols. 17–42. For feudal investiture, see J. Le Goff, "Les Gestes symboliques dans la vie sociale: Les Gestes de la vassalité," *Simboli e simbologia nell'alto medioevo (Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo Settimane de Studi*, XXIII), Spoleto, 1976, II, 679–779.

13 *Adalbert Invested Bishop of Prague*, bronze doors of Cathedral of Gniezno, Poland, ca. 1170–1187 (from Walicki, *Drzwi Gnieźnieńskie*)

14 *Heribert Invested Archbishop of Cologne and Receiving the Pallium*, enamel from Shrine of Saint Heribert, Liège/Cologne, ca. 1160–1170. Deutz, Church of St. Heribert (from Kötzsche, *Rhein und Maas*)



15 *Remaclus Invested Bishop of Maastricht*, 1661 drawing of the lost Retable of Saint Remaclus, Stavelot, ca. 1150 (from Kötzsche, *Rhein und Maas*)

the words of the text italicized above: "the king installed him to rule the church of Maastricht. Amand refused and loudly proclaimed himself unworthy. . . ."

Scenes of investiture occur six times among contemporary cycles of saints' lives.[32] The iconographical arrangement for this subject appears much more standardized than was the case with the consecration, and the scene in the life of Amand (Fig. 2) adheres to the norm much more closely (Figs. 13-15).[33] The saint, bending his knees and bowing his head, receives a staff from the enthroned prince. The relationship between ruler and clergy expressed by these postures is the submission of the bishop-elect to the prince who confers the office upon him. Although the ring and crosier became the standard symbols for the bishop's office in the ceremony of lay investiture, generally only the crosier is represented. Only Heribert, by receiving a spear and the banner of the city of Cologne, instead of a crosier, from Otto III, receives the temporal and not the sacred insignia of the office.[34]

The striking difference between all these scenes and the one in MS 502 is that Amand does not accept the crosier offerred by the king. This corresponds, of course, to the text where the saint first refused the insignia and was only later persuaded to do so by popular outcry. The text explains why Amand, although he inclines his head, does not bend his knees in the gesture of submission normally associated with investiture. To refuse investiture (or more often consecration) is a standard gesture of humility ascribed to many saints in hagiographical literature.[35] Like other saints, Amand

[32] Amand MS 502 (Fig. 2), MS 500 (Figs. 20, 21), Adalbert invested bishop of Prague (Fig. 13), Heribert invested archbishop of Cologne (Fig. 14), Remaclus invested bishop of Maastricht (Fig. 15), and Omer invested bishop of Thérouanne. For literature on Remaclus, see: P. Rupert Ruhstaller, "Lateinische Inschriften auf Denkmälern der maasländischen Metallkunst im 12. Jahrhundert," *Rhein und Maas*, II, (as cited in n. 18), 95–97; D. Kötzsche, "Zeichnung des Remaklusretabels von Stavelot," in *ibid.*, I, 249; and "Forschung der Goldschmiedekunst," in *ibid.*, 193ff.; Gauthier, *Emaux*, No. 83, 345–46; U. Kempel, "Das Remaklusretabel in Stavelot und seine künstlerische Nachfolge," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, ser. 3, XXII, 1971, 23–45. For literature on Omer, see: A. Boinet, "Un Manuscrit à peintures de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Omer," *Bulletin archéologique, Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, 1904, 415–430. For the others, see notes 9 and 18.

[33] Only the scene from the life of Omer varies significantly. The saint and King Dagobert appear enthroned, side by side, as Omer is handed the crosier.

[34] This is one of four scenes representing the elevation of Heribert to the archbishopric of Cologne. The others are his ecclesiastical interrogation, canonical consecration (discussed already), and Heribert before Pope Silvester II, who stands behind an altar on which the archbishop's pallium is displayed. The last scene may refer to the practice instituted by Gregory VII to require bishops to receive the pallium from him (see n. 23). Together, these scenes follow the Concordat of Worms of 1122. Free election and consecration were promised by the emperor, who gave up the ceremony of investiture with the ring and staff (the sacred insignia). See Benson, 231 and n. 11.

[35] Delehaye, 98.

accepts the office almost immediately. I will try to show that the painter has transformed this gesture recorded in the eighth-century text into an image of resistance by the clergy to the lay appointment of bishops in the late eleventh century.

The architecture in the scene of investiture (Fig. 2) consists of three arches surmounted by a pitched roof with a dome in the center. This arrangement follows a common medieval architectural scheme in which an exterior view of the roof is combined with an arcade framing interior space.[36] Usually in such instances, a gable appears at one end of the roof, but here the roof has the shape of a trapezoid pierced by windows, and is similar to the representation of Echternach Abbey in the Pericope Book of Henry III described above (Fig. 10). The Cathedral of Speyer in the dedication page of the Golden Gospels of Henry III in the Escorial has a similar roof (Fig. 16).[37] The architecture of Maastricht in Figure 2 appears to be a very abbreviated version of this building type, with the clerestory windows placed in the roof itself, rather than in the nave wall. The three equal arches are replaced by two larger ones in order to emphasize the confrontation between king and saint.

In all three instances, this architectural scheme appears in scenes with a king or emperor.[38] In the life of Amand, the king commands a ceremony that was not only controversial but also directly associated with the German emperors Henry IV and Henry V, the principal and bitter antagonists of the popes in the Investiture Controversy. Perhaps this architecture was used in the scene of Amand's investiture because it was already associated with the German emperors.

The bright red dome in Figure 2, set slightly to the right of the middle of the roof, appears over the head of the saint, although one might expect to see it over the figure of the king.[39] Since it has been added to the architecture, which otherwise is no more than a traditional scheme taken up like any other iconographical formula, one may ask whether the dome corresponds to some part of the real architecture at Maastricht. There are in fact other miniatures in MS 502 in which elements of existing buildings are combined with architectural schemes to represent well-known sites in an equally schematic fashion.[40]

The church of St. Servaas at Maastricht[41] had a dome or domical vault within the central tower of the *Westwerk* of 1180 (Fig. 17).[42] A *Westwerk* existed there from the early Middle Ages. On the second floor was a room called the emperor's hall (Figs. 18, 19), used by Merovingian kings and Carolingian and German emperors for both secular and ecclesiastical state business.[43] If the room too had a dome or rounded vault, it might have been represented ideographically in the miniature.[44] In this way the saint would be made to appear in the audience hall of the imperial church rather than in the prince's palace, where a bishop-elect generally received his staff.

Investiture by the emperor, and therefore his control over high offices of the church and their property and power, was the main issue of the Investiture Contro-

[36] Buildings of this type usually have a gable at one end of the roof. They may also have architraves instead of arches; see: W. Ueberwasser, "Deutsche Architekturdarstellung um das Jahr 1000," *Festschrift für Hans Jantzen*, Berlin, 1951, 45–70, figs. 20, 22, 24. See also: P. Lampl, "Schemes of Architectural Representation in Early Medieval Art," *Marsyas*, IX, 1961, 6–13.

[37] For the Pericope Book of Henry III, see above, n. 24. Codex Aureus of Echternach, Gospels made for Henry III, 1045–46, donated to the Cathedral of Speyer, Escorial, Cod. B Vetrinus 17, fol. 3r, Dedication scene; see: A. Boeckler, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III*, Berlin, 1933, pl. VII.

[38] I am not proposing here an exclusively royal interpretation for the arcade (see: E. B. Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages*, Princeton, 1956, 30–37), but am only suggesting that in this configuration/and with this content, the architecture may be derived from specific German traditions. Much of the iconography, including architectural representation, in MS 502 is based upon German illustrations of the late 10th and 11th centuries: Abou-El-Haj, chaps. II and III. Elbern (as cited in n. 6) found similar sources for the life of Ambrose.

[39] K. Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *Art Bulletin*, XXVII, 1945, 1–27, esp. 8. Also A. Boethius, "The Reception Hall of the Roman Emperors," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XLVI, 1951, 25–31, n. 2, with literature. For medieval images of rulers enthroned beneath a ciborium (or portable dome) in Western manuscripts, see: the S. Paolo Bible, Solomon, fol. 185v: the emperor appears under a ciborium with a gable in fol. 337v of Pentecost (J. Gaehde, "The Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome: Its Date and Its Relation to Charles the Bald," *Gesta*, V, 1966, 8–21, figs. 1, 5, 6). See also: the portrait of Charles the Bald in the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram, fol. 5v (Werckmeister, 77); and the German copy of this miniature in the Sacramentary of Henry II, Regensburg, of between 1102 and 1114, Munich, Bay. Staatsbibl., clm 4456, cim 60, fol. 11v (P. E. Schramm, *Die deutschen Könige und Kaiser in Bildern ihrer Zeit*, Leipzig/Berlin, 1935–36, pls. 29a and 85b, and *ibid.*, *Denkmäler der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, Munich, 1962). See also: E. B. Smith, on imperial ciboria.

[40] At St. Martin of Tours, the ciborium over the gravesite (Fig. 4); Old St. Peter's, its asymmetrical bell tower, fol. 9v; the city of Bourges, the shared tower of the cathedral and city wall, fol. 9r; Abou-El-Haj, 100-12.

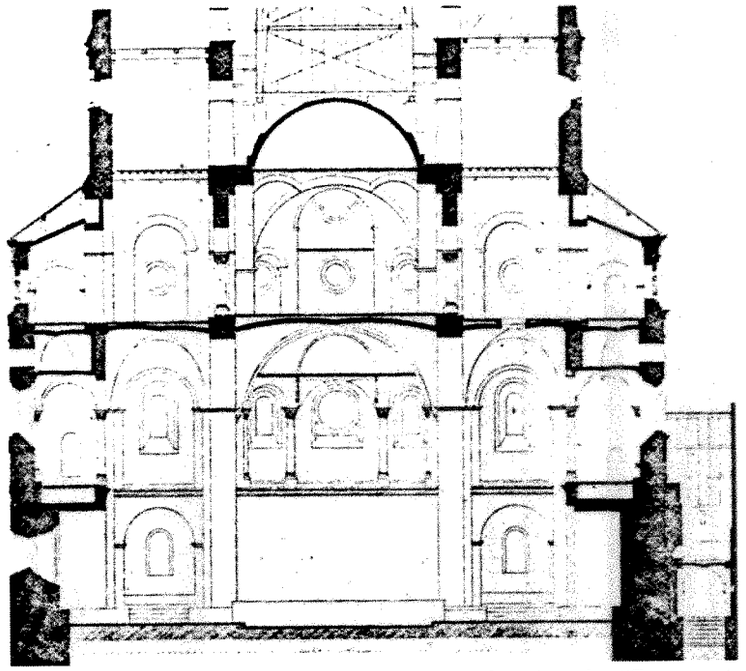
[41] The Merovingian kings possessed a palace nearby, which continued to be used by the German emperors in the 11th century. Nothing is known of its architecture. See: W. Rave, "Sint Servaas zu Maastricht und die Westwerkfrage," *Westfalen*, XXII, 1937, 49-75. On the Merovingian palace, 55-57.

[42] Rave says it had a rounded vault "kugelkalotte," rather than a dome, "Hängekuppel," 55, n. 15. A large central tower surmounted by a melon-shaped dome in the center of a longitudinal roof with a tower at each end is used to represent the church of Maastricht on the reverse of a seal with the portrait of Frederick Barbarossa (1155–1190). See: A. Engel and R. Serrure, *Traité de numismatique du Moyen Age*, 1891–1905 (Boulogne, 1964), 2 vols., II, 579-580, fig. 1050.

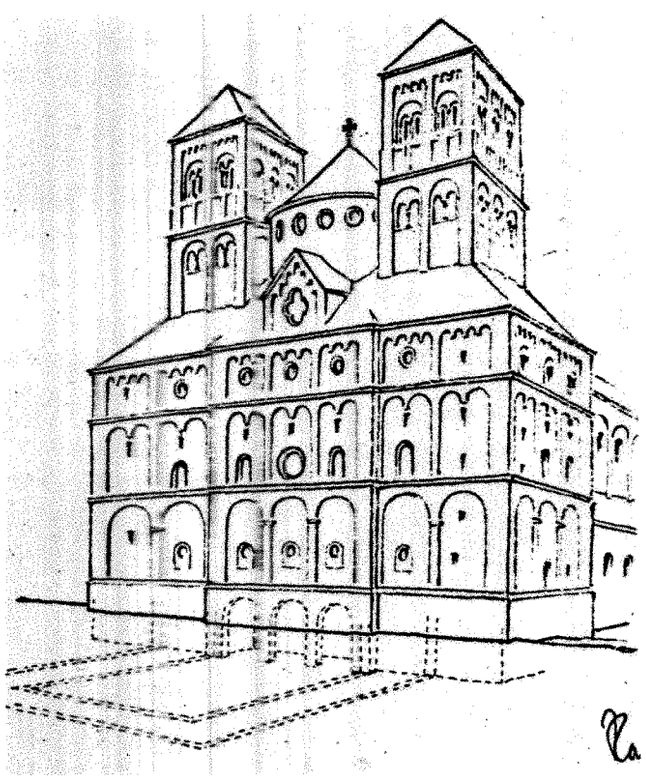
[43] Rave, 56–57. Henry III participated in the consecration of the church in 1039 and in the consecration of twelve bishops at the same ceremony, 57.

[44] This use of architectural elements is not unique to this miniature, but appears elsewhere in the manuscript as one of the characteristic features of architectural representation; Abou-El-Haj, 126–144, esp. 143.

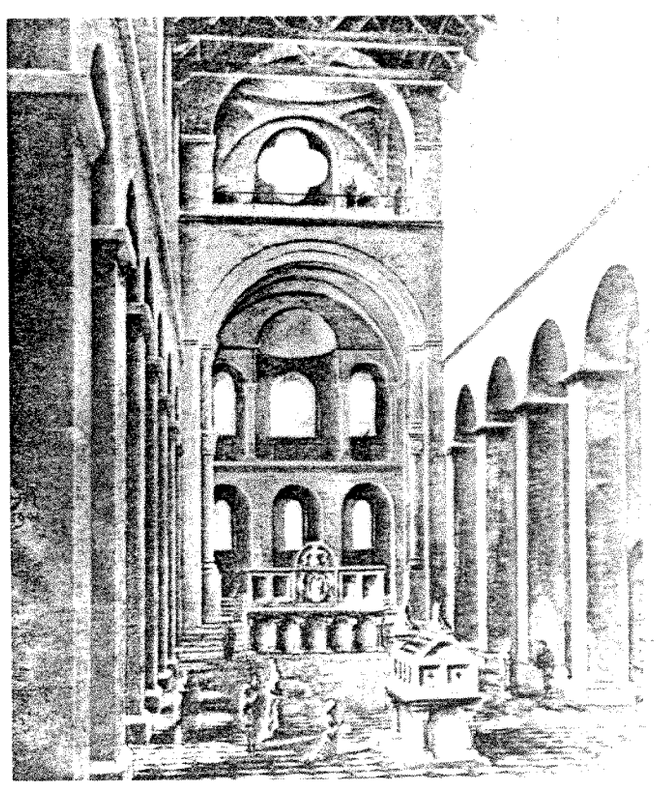
16 *Henry III and Agnes Dedicating the Golden Gospels to the Virgin, Patroness of Speyer Cathedral,* Golden Gospels of Henry III, Echternach, bet. 1043 and 1046. Madrid, Escorial, Cod. Vitr. 17, fol. 3r (from Fillitz, *Das Mittelalter*)



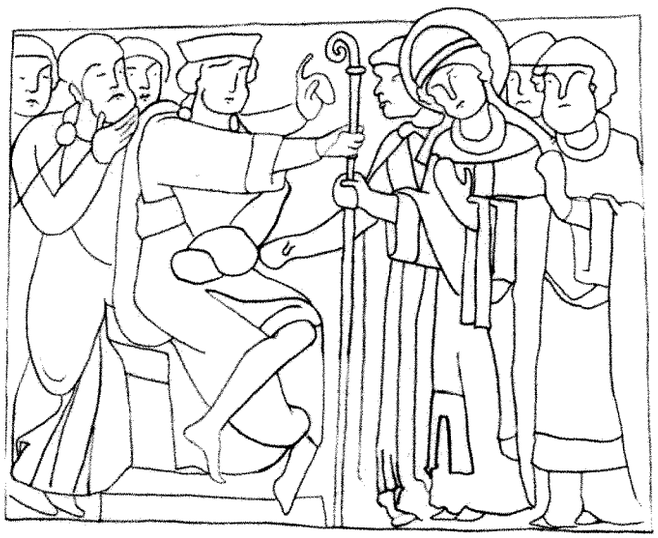
18 Cross-section of *Westwerk* of St. Servaas showing the "Emperor's Hall" (from Rave, "Sint Servaas")



17 Reconstruction of St. Servaas of Maastricht, *Westwerk*, ca. 1200 (from Rave, "Sint Servaas")



19 Reconstructed view after Hustinx Roberti of the interior of the *Westwerk* of St. Servaas showing the "Emperor's Hall" (from Rave, "Sint Servaas")



20 *Amand Invested Bishop of Maastricht*, Life of Saint Amand, Bibl. Mun. MS 500, fol. 63r (author's tracing)

21 *Amand Invested Bishop of Maastricht*, Life of Saint Amand, Bibl. Mun. MS 500, fol. 55v (photo: Bibl. Mun.)

versy, which lasted from the published ban on lay investiture by Gregory VII in 1078 to the agreement reached between Henry V and Calixtus II in 1122 at the Lenten Synod at Worms. The miniature shows precisely this ceremony, by which the king, a layman, invested a bishop-elect by giving him a crosier, the symbol of the sacred powers of that office. The long and often bloody battles over this ceremony were fought during the years in which this miniature was painted.[45] In the context of the Investiture Controversy, the dome in this scene may not only emphasize the saint's refusal to be invested by the king but may also represent the church as the proper location for the ceremony. The architecture could be a critical commentary on the text in the light of contemporary church politics.

In the drawing of the later manuscript (fol. 55v; Fig. 20), the saint is represented in the posture traditional for this scene, grasping the crosier, bowing his head, stretching out his open hand. As in the illustration of the consecration (Fig. 1), the conflict apparently represented in the earlier miniature is eliminated in favor of the traditional iconographic image. In the painted miniature of MS 500 (fol. 63r; Fig. 21), however, a discussion between the king and the saint is again illustrated, with the important change that the king holds his scepter, not a crosier. The later artist or designer must have been undecided how the early miniature should be corrected. In the end, in an effort to adjust the outdated picture to contemporary reality, he eliminated its controversial content, while preserving its form. This was done by substituting the scepter for the crosier, exactly as agreed in 1122 at the Synod at Worms that no object symbolizing the bishop's office was to be transferred from the prince to the bishop.[46]

In the scene of consecration (MS 502, fol. 11r; Fig. 1), the king and bishop each appear under an arch, but the king's is much larger. The saint stands before his throne, bends very far forward at the king's command, and enters the smaller area of the bishop only as far as necessary for the ceremony. The column in the center overlaps his head in such an awkward manner that it appears to be a deliberate device used to mark the saint's movement in a negative or even disfiguring way.

In the scene of investiture (fol. 22r; Fig. 2), the saint and his companions occupy two arches, the king and clergy the third, about the same division of space as in the other scene, but reversed in position. Here there is no separation of king and clergy, but an opposition that takes the form of a dialogue or argument between the king, who holds the crosier, and the saint, who does not accept it. The two scenes can be seen as antithetical in both form and content. The depiction of the saint refusing royal investiture directly contradicts the illus-

[45] See n. 28 above.

[46] Benson (as cited in n. 23), 228ff.; on investiture by the scepter, 231 and n. 11. Boutemy pointed out this difference between the drawing and miniature in the later manuscript, but he did not see that the drawing already corrects the miniature in MS 502. "Dans les dessins le roi remet la crosse au prélat, dans les peintures, il se contente d'un geste de la main droite vers le Saint, tandis que la gauche tient un sceptre à fleur de lis. On pourrait être tenté d'y voir une preuve d'antiquité chez le dessinateur. Mais nous sommes loin du concordat de Worms et si le roi presente encore la crosse à S. Amand dans le dessin, c'est par pure imitation de la source qui a inspiré la plupart des dessins au moins de vue de la composition, c'est-à-dire du ms. 502, sensiblement antérieur au concordat précité" (p. 245); "ici sans doute on peut attribuer à l'artiste un souci de conformer son oeuvre aux institutions contemporaines que n'avait pas son devancier" (p. 245, n. 20).

tration of the consecration with its exaggerated gestures of command and submission. Even the dome placed over the saint rather than over the king contrasts with the architecture in the consecration scene where the saint's head is hidden behind the central column. At the same time, the scenes also represent two aspects of the same contemporary conflict. Forced consecration and lay investiture were attacked by the Papacy along with the sale of ecclesiastical offices. Canonical, that is, free election by the clergy, followed by ecclesiastical consecration and investiture, were the aims of the reforms pursued by Gregory and his successors.[47] One may ask how the battle over these reforms would have so affected the Monastery of St.-Amand that its polemics were incorporated into illustrations of its patron's life.

The Investiture Conflict and the Monastery of St.-Amand[48]

Both in Flanders and Lower Lotharingia, the majority of the monks were partisans of the popes in the Investiture Controversy. St.-Amand was not reformed by Cluny, but it did adopt Cluniac customs along with almost all the monasteries in Flanders at the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. Therefore it would have been associated with the most important monastic ally of the popes in the Investiture Controversy during these years.[49]

For the monasteries, the investiture issue hinged upon the extent to which they were independent, especially in the nomination of abbots, from their ecclesiastical and feudal superiors.[50] For St.-Amand, these were the bishops of Noyon-Tournai, Radbod II (1068–1098) and Balderic 1098–1112),[51] and the Counts of Flanders, Baldwin V (1035–1067), Robert the Frisian (1070–1093), and Robert II (1087–1111).[52] During the Investiture Controversy, Bishop Radbod of Noyon-Tournai was accused of simony on four occasions by Popes Gregory and Urban: once before 1073, then at the Synod of Autun in 1077, at the Council of Poitiers in 1078, and finally in 1095. Only the support of the Counts of Flanders prevented Radbod from being deposed.[53] For these reasons, one might think that the abbots and monks would have been critical of their bishop and the counts who supported him. St.-Amand was, however, on good terms both with its spiritual and lay superiors. This can be seen in the uninterrupted succession of abbots at the monastery, some of whom seem to have chosen their successors, indicating that there was no outside interference. The abbots during these years were Foucart-Lambert (1062–1077), Bovo I (1077–1085), and Hugh I (1085–1107).[54]

Some specific events also indicate that relations were harmonious between the abbey and its ecclesiastical and lay superiors. After a fire destroyed the monastery in 1066, the monks made a journey with the relics of Saint Amand throughout the north to collect money. This was undertaken with the consent and support of the Count of Flanders and the Bishops of Noyon-Tournai and Cambrai.[55] The campaign was successful and in 1088 the rebuilt church of the monastery was consecrated by Bishops Radbod and Gerard II of Cambrai.[56] During the same years and later, the Counts of Flanders, as high advocates of the abbey, protected St.-Amand in every dispute over rights and possessions both with a neighboring monastery and with its own feudal officers.[57]

Why, then, would the miniatures in MS 502 explicitly and polemically refer to the issue of investiture? In the neighboring diocese of Cambrai where the abbey had possessions, the issue was fought openly and over a long period of time. Here, the abbey's high advocate, Robert II, Count of Flanders, was directly involved in the conflict as an ally of Pope Paschal II.

The Roles of Robert I (The Frisian) and Robert II in Flanders

In Flanders, Robert I (the Frisian) and Robert II acted against the wishes of the popes by supporting simoniac bishops. After Robert II returned from the Crusade in

[47] See above, n. 23.

[48] For the scholarly literature on the history of the monastery and of Flanders during these years, see: nn. 1 and 3.

[49] Platelle, 1962, 178–79. A formulary for the Feast of All Souls, established by Odilo, is found in one of the monastery's 11th-century manuscripts. See: A. Wilmart and L. Brou, "Un Office monastique pour le 2 novembre dans le Nord de la France du XIe siècle," *Sacris erudiri*, v. 1953, 247–330, esp. 271f., 293; also H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, Oxford, 1970.

[50] Moreau, 1945, II, 109.

[51] Throughout the 11th and 12th centuries, the abbey claimed total exemption from its diocesan bishop, which would have prohibited him from entering the monastery or celebrating any liturgical ceremony there without the express invitation of the abbot. This exemption was claimed first in a forged 9th-century document, which purports to replace an even older one, then lost. There are no documents for the 10th and 11th centuries, but beginning in 1107 there are a number of papal privileges. These give the monastery the direct protection of the pope, while also safeguarding the rights of the bishop. Platelle, 1962, 173–75. Plainly, the monastery acted to protect itself from potential interference by the bishop, although none seems to have occurred.

[52] On the counts of Flanders as high advocates of the monastery, see: Platelle, 1962, 128–29, n. 41; 1965, 39–40.

[53] For this history of the bishops of Noyon-Tournai and Thérouanne, see: Moreau, 1945, II, 58–73; on Radbod, II, 59–62.

[54] For an account of these abbots, see: Platelle, 1962, 122–28; 1965, 88–112.

[55] Platelle, 1962, 6, 124. On the fire, *ibid.*, 124–25, and 1965, 118–19, and above, n. 2.

[56] Recorded in the Annales Elnonenses, P. Grierson, ed., *Les Annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand*, Brussels, 1937, 160, under the year 1088. See: Platelle, 1962, 126 and n. 31; 1965, 119 and nn. 18, 19.

[57] See below, pp. 355f.

1100, however, he changed sides. Now he acted on behalf of Paschal II in Cambrai against the German emperor, and was asked to do the same in Liège against the clergy there.[58] This became significant for St.-Amand, which had had possessions in Cambrai at least since Carolingian times. By the time of the papal confirmation of 1107, these holdings were substantial. They were mostly in the neighborhood of the abbey, which was situated very close to the border with Cambrai, but some properties were at a considerable distance.[59] The monks charged with collecting revenues from these possessions had to travel there regularly, on journeys lasting up to three weeks. In this way, the monastery had contact with the clergy of Cambrai.[60] The abbey also enjoyed friendly relations with the bishop of Cambrai. During the voyage with the relics of the saint in 1066, Cambrai was a principal stop, made with the bishop's consent. According to the description of the voyage copied into MS 502, bishops and clergy ceremonially greeted the procession in Cambrai and in several other episcopal towns.[61] Gerard II, Bishop of Cambrai from 1076 to 1092, later officiated together with Radbod at the consecration in 1088 of the main abbey church, rebuilt with funds collected on that trip.[62] Following Gerard's death in 1092, a controversy developed over the investiture of a new bishop, in which Robert II interfered. There is no evidence of direct relations between St.-Amand and Cambrai from the time of Gerard's death until the controversy was temporarily resolved in 1105.

Two rival bishops were nominated to succeed Gerard, one supported by the pope and the other by the emperor.[63] The office remained vacant for a year, and during this time the vassals of the bishop built castles and forts on church lands. For these lands they paid homage to the Count of Flanders, Robert II,[64] taking in fief from him domains belonging to the chapter of Cambrai and, therefore, belonging indirectly to Emperor Henry IV, the principal antagonist to the pope in the Investiture Controversy.

In 1102, after Henry and Paschal had each deposed the other's candidate, the pope asked Robert to intervene.[65] During that year he and Henry battled one another in Flanders and Cambrai. This is noted in a number of chronicles and annals, including one written at St.-Amand, the *Annales Elnonensis*, under the date October, 1102: "Emperor Henry came to attack Count Robert, and he seized the castles of Sclusam and Bolcen, and he ravaged all of Ostrevant with fire."[66] This text clearly takes sides against the emperor, first for attacking Robert, the monks' high advocate, and then for laying waste the whole region, including, no doubt, some of their own possessions.[67] In 1103 the pope asked Robert to intervene in Liège against excommunicated clerics. Instead, Robert went there and made a treaty with Henry.[68] The count promised to protect Henry's candidate and in return for this support he received the manors of Cambrai and Cateau-Cambrésis in fief from the emperor. Therefore, Robert's intervention on the papal side was also to his own profit, and it continued a Flemish policy of expansion to the east at the emperor's expense.[69] In 1105 Paschal ordered a new election in Cambrai, but the new bishop, Odo, was also opposed by Henry IV and Henry V, and armed battles continued until a final peace was concluded between the emperor and the count in 1107.[70]

During these years, when the abbey's possessions in Cambrai and revenues from them may have been affected by the battles between the emperor and the count, there is no evidence of contact between St.-Amand and the bishop of Cambrai: that is, from the time Gerard visited the abbey in 1088 for the consecration ceremony until 1105 when Odo became bishop with the support of Pope Paschal II and Robert II. In

[58] For the history of the Investiture Controversy in Cambrai and Liège, see: Moreau, 1945, II, 73–110, 193–221; and Cauchie.

[59] There are sixteen place names from Carolingian times, six of which appear in the confirmation of 1107, and three can be added to these. Platelle, 1962, 157, map V.

[60] *Ibid.*, 159; Moreau, 1945, II, 228f.; B. de Gaiffier, "Les Revendications de biens dans quelques documents hagiographiques du XIe siècle," *Analecta Bollandiana*, L, 1932, 123–138, 129, n. 2.

[61] *Historia Miraculorum*, I, 4; MS 502, fol. 127v; *AA SS Feb. I*, 896; Platelle, 1962, 125; Moreau, 1927, 72 and 287, and 72, n. 1

[62] See above, n. 56.

[63] See above, n. 58.

[64] Moreau, 1945, II, 93; Platelle, 1962, 131–32.

[65] The imperial candidate was Gaucher, archdeacon of Brabant and warden of the church of Tournai. He was invested by the emperor but later deposed and the papal candidate Manasses was established. Henry sent Lotharingian nobles to Cambrai to reinstate Gaucher in 1102. Moreau, 1945, II, 87 and n. 2, 93–101.

[66] "Henricus imperator venit hostiliter super comitem Robertum, et cepit munitiones Sclusam et Bolcen, et depopulatus est igne totum Ostrevantum," *Annales Elnonensis*, Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. MS 343, fols. 35v–57r, ed. Pertz, *MGH SS*, V, 10–20 (1844), 14; and more recently Grierson (as cited in n. 56), 161. See also Platelle, 1962, 10–11. For the circumstances of the expedition, see: M. von Knonau, *Jahrbücher des deutsches Reichs unter Heinrich IV und Heinrich V*, V, 153–55 and n. 6 with sources.

[67] At one point Henry invaded Flanders with 7,000 knights. He withdrew in the winter and Robert attacked the episcopal city of Cambrai. Cauchie, II, 161–62.

[68] Von Knonau, 179 and n. 14; Moreau, 1945, II, 99. For the history for Liège, see: *ibid.*, 89–92, 103–110; Moreau, "Les Derniers Temps de la querelle des investitures à Liège 1106–1122," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, C, 1936, 301–348, and Cauchie.

[69] See above, n. 64.

[70] In 1107 the emperor took 30,000 men and laid siege to Douai, which was successfully defended by Robert and his vassals. In the peace concluded in that year at Aix-la-Chapelle, Gaucher renounced the bishopric and Robert received confirmation of the fiefs he had from the emperor in 1103; Moreau, 1945, II, 101 and Cauchie, II, 202–03.

that year, with the new bishop's consent, St.-Amand purchased an altar in the episcopal town.[71] The transaction and obligations of such a purchase required a contract between the abbot of St.-Amand and the bishop of Cambrai in which the abbot named a person who was invested by the bishop and charged with collecting the revenues from donations made on the altar. It was the bishop who allowed the abbey to possess an altar and who fixed the portions payable to the priest and to the abbey.[72] St.-Amand received a large share, which would indicate that the abbot and the new bishop were on good terms.

St.-Amand enjoyed renewed contact with Cambrai in 1105 after the investiture battle seemed to be settled there. In addition, in 1107, when Gaucher finally renounced his claim to Cambrai as part of the peace concluded between the emperor and Robert, St.-Amand had its first documented contact with a pope since the seventh century.[73] Paschal II, for whom Robert had fought the German emperor, granted a confirmation of all privileges and possessions of the abbey from Carolingian times.[74] The timing of the confirmation suggests that it may have been a papal reward for support by the abbot and monks. We know nothing of the precise form this support might have taken, but only that it was documented by the abbot and monks in the pictures of their patron's life.

St.-Amand's position on investiture, as it appears in the two miniatures, clearly supports the popes, as in fact did that of almost all monasteries at that time. But the monks may have taken a stand on the events in Cambrai primarily to support their high advocate, Robert II,[75] who consistently protected their economic interests during these years. Just as the count's alliance with the pope appears to have been motivated more by his own territorial aims than by conviction, so the abbey's canonical position coincided with its immediate economic and political interests. Robert's support protected the monastery from losing portions of its revenues during these years, especially at the end of the eleventh century, when the abbot and monks were increasingly embroiled in conflicts with their feudal officers, the lower advocates and lay provosts.[76] These conflicts were over properties and rights and were therefore explicitly economic. Recorded in pleas taken in the feudal court, especially under Robert II and during the abbacy of Hugh (1085–1107), the disputes occurred in just the years in which the bishopric of Cambrai was contested.[77]

One dispute is of special interest since it clearly shows the economic advantage to a monastery of a powerful protector. The argument concerned two mills constructed by the monastery of St. Peter of Hasnon, and an account of it was written by a monk of St.-Amand shortly after 1093.[78] Near the end of the eleventh century, Abbot Lotbert of Hasnon (1084-1091) constructed a mill at Hertain[79] and Abbot Albert (1091-1107) had a second mill constructed on the Scarpe River. "Thus he did what he had set out to do, and closed off the waterway, not only to those of whom we spoke [the brothers of St.-Amand who carried their provisions along the water route], but also to those, rich and poor, who pursue their livelihood with this kind of commerce, if they can travel the river freely in times of peace."[80] To reopen the river, Abbot Hugh of St.-Amand petitioned Robert the Frisian (who died in 1093) and Robert II, whose feudal court decided in favor of St.-Amand. Baldwin II of Hainaut apparently

[71] This followed a policy of acquisitions already begun at the end of the 11th century. Platelle, 1962, 126–27, 150.

[72] *Ibid.*, 151–52. The abbot and priest of the place where the altar was purchased were also expected to attend diocesan synods.

[73] For the letter of Pope Martin, see: Krusch, *MGH SSRM* (1910), v, 452–56. Moreau, 1927, 185–89.

[74] Platelle, 1962, 37, 127, and 1965, 28, 61 and nn. 46, 94.

[75] This has been described as a position he held by contract. He also exercised judicial authority in a feudal court there. Platelle, 1962, 144, 1965, 59–60.

[76] The progressive "feudalization of the abbey" during the 11th century, whose lay officers had become hereditary by this time, has been described in detail by Platelle, 1965, 31, 59–60; see also: 1962, 123, on the early establishment of hereditary feudal officers under Abbot Malbod, 128–29, on the power of the counts of Flanders as high advocates, 133–142, on the lower advocates and lay provosts; and Moreau, 1925, II, 222.

[77] These included expropriation of abbey lands, exaction of undue rents, raising of mills, the establishment of an obligatory right of way with toll house, all to the detriment of the mills and toll house owned by the abbey; Platelle, 1965, 31, 61–63, 74–75, 79, 96–97, and appendixes, 417–431; 1962, 126–28, esp. 132, 144–45.

[78] *De Lite Abbatiarum Elnonensis et Hasnoniensis*, after 1093, Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. MS 406, fol. 57r and MS 519, fol. 135r, ed. Holder-Egger, *MGH SS*, XIV, 158–160; Platelle, 1962, 130ff., nn. 48, 50, 59; and 1965, 63, 121–23, n. 28.

[79] In 1070 Count Baldwin V of Flanders and his son, who became Baldwin I of Hainaut, restored Hasnon, partly under the direction of Abbot Malbod and monks from St.-Amand. At that time Baldwin I asked for permission to construct mills on the Scarpe for St.-Pierre, but he was denied this by his father, who cited the interests of St.-Amand. After Robert the Frisian took power in Flanders, the two counties were in conflict; see: C. Verlinden, *Robert Ier le Frison*, Antwerp/Paris, 1935, and F. L. Ganshof, *La Flandre sous les premiers comtes*, Brussels, 1943.

[80] "Igitur sicut inchoaverat perfecit, et non tantum his de quibus sermo est, sed et divitibus ac pauperibus, qui tali mercimonio vitae subsidia querunt, si possunt illam per pacem frequentare, viam navigii damnavit" (see n. 78), XIV, 160. Platelle suggests that this text indicates a developed commerce in transport at St.-Amand during these years resulting from the construction of new monasteries and the reconstruction of older foundations along the Scarpe. The monks feared this commerce would be harmed by damming the waters necessary for the mill of Hasnon; 1965, 125–26, n. 42, 129.

was not in a position strong enough to resist Robert. He ordered the abbot of Hasnon to comply with the decision and when the abbot refused, Baldwin allowed Flemish knights, who were also lay provosts of St.-Amand, to destroy the mills.[81]

The economic effects of this and other disputes during the same years seem to have been substantial.[82] The abbot and monks are frequently recorded trying to regain usurped possessions, and when, in 1107, a second journey with the relics of the saint was undertaken by Abbot Hugh, it was not to collect alms among the pious as the first in 1066 had been, but to go into Brabant: "As the cause of this emergency became urgent, namely that evil men wanted to take away possessions in Brabant which for a long time had been given to God and the Saint by kings and pious princes for the salvation of their souls, and that these men held onto what they had seized by force [in the past]."[83] Even though it cannot be documented exactly how the monks perceived the support of their lay protector, he must have intervened often and effectively to protect their possessions. All these events suggest that the two miniatures depicting investiture in MS 502 represent more than a statement of canonical position. The monastery would have been following its own interests in supporting not only the popes but also its protector, Robert II.

Another, more remote event may be reflected in MS 502, fols. 11r and 22r. The issue of investiture had already been briefly tested in Cambrai in 1076 when Gerard II became bishop. He had been canonically elected, but he received his staff of office from the German emperor, Henry IV. When he went to Rome, he was not received by Gregory VII but excommunicated. After Gerard gave up his episcopal insignia to the pope, he was pardoned and consecrated at the Assembly of Autun in 1077.[84] In preparation for that event, Gregory sent a letter to the papal legate, Hugh, Bishop of Die, asking him to obtain the consent of the king of France and to gather together a great convocation at Autun, with the archbishop of Reims and as many French archbishops and bishops as possible.[85] Gerard's consecration has to be seen, therefore, as an important and publicized event in the context of Pope Gregory's effort to extend his reforms in France. It must have been performed in a manner directly antithetical to that in the representation of Amand consecrated by order of the king. Gerard's history may have shaped the negative appearance of the scene in MS 502. At the same council where Gerard was consecrated, Bishop Radbod of Noyon-Tournai was accused of simony; and he promised to resign his office and to allow a new canonical election to take place (which never happened). The abbot and monks of Elnone must have known about the proceedings of this council, therefore, because their own bishop was among those under investigation there.[86]

The Purpose of the Miniatures

Without documentary evidence, it is difficult to establish what the two miniatures of consecration and investiture were meant to accomplish for the abbey. They are clearly not straightforward depictions of historical events in the life of the saint, but polemical statements in visual form. More is known about how relics and shrines were used,[87] sometimes from minia-

[81] A final agreement was drawn up by the archbishop of Reims, to whom St.-Peter complained. The agreement called for a mill to be constructed at common cost at the border of the two abbeys and for its revenues to be equally divided. For the destroyed mill Hasnon received symbolic damages, the sum of five marks.

[82] A dispute with a feudal officer of the monastery, Anselm of Ribemont, where the feudal court ruled in favor of the monastery, ended only after an anathema was pronounced against Anselm and he did penance before the relics of Saint Amand. Nevertheless, for 120 marks, the abbey had to buy back from him a disputed mill, transit route, toll house, and his advocacy of monastic possessions. This payment, and the loss of part of the abbey's treasure ten years earlier, caused a financial crisis from which St.-Amand did not recover until the middle of the 12th century; Platelle, 1962, 125–26, 132, 186–89, and 1965, 62, 79, appendix IV, 421–27, with the entire text of the complaint against Anselm.

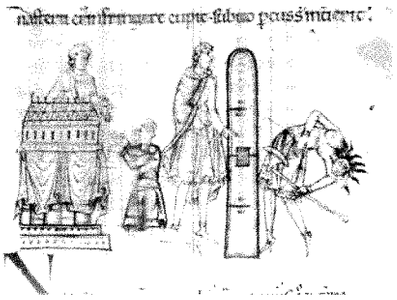
[83] "Huiusmodi causa necessitatis urgente, scilicet ea quae dudum a Regibus et religiosis Principibus, ab salutem animarum suarum, Deo et Amando collata fuerint in pago Brabanti malignis hominibus auferre cupientibus, et iam violenter ablata retinentibus"; MS 502, fol. 138r; *AA SS Feb. I*, 900. See above, n. 2. Platelle, 1962, 127–28, and 1965, 61. Moreau, 1927, 289–291; 1945, II, 222.

[84] Moreau, 1945, II, 74–76. There is some disagreement as to when Gregory publicly interdicted the lay investiture of bishops. Benson, 218–19. On the council of Autun, see: A. Becker, *Studien zum Investiturproblem in Frankreich, Papsttum, Königtum und Episkopat im Zeitalter der gregorianischen Kirchenreform (1049–1119)*, Saarbrücken, 1955, 59–63.

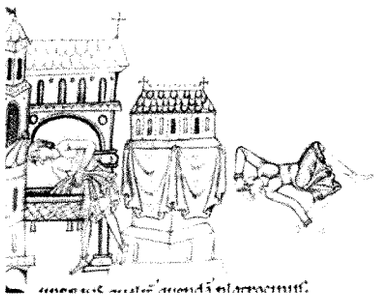
[85] Gerard was to be consecrated on the condition that he publicly disavow consenting to the execution of a certain Ramhidres, whom Gerard had accused of heresy for preaching that simoniac and unceli-bate priests could not celebrate Mass. These, besides lay investiture, were key issues in Gregory's reforms. Cauchie, I, 3–9; Moreau, 1945, II, 74–76.

[86] Becker, 61.

[87] For St.-Amand, we have the accounts of the uses of relics in the voyages of 1066 and 1107 already mentioned, as well as sermons on the occasion of one of the Feasts of the saint by Milo, the 9th-century monk and poet of Elnone, sermons also copied into MS 502, fol. 58v, and *MGH SSRM*, V, 473. We know also that a pilgrimage to Elnone developed toward the end of the 11th century, apparently as a result of the voyage with the relics of 1066; Platelle, 1965, 119, 136, 1962, 125, 129, 287 and n. 118; and Moreau, 1927, 289. Most interesting is the story of Anselm de Ribemont (see n. 82) who was terrorized into doing penance before the body of Saint Amand, not only by the anathema pronounced against him by Abbot Hugh and the monks, but also certainly by the way it was carried out. The text of the complaint was placed in the arms of a crucifix before the altar and body of Amand and other saints and it was read each day before Mass. (See my argument that a number of the miniatures in MS 502 reflect this and other feudal/economic conflicts; 164–170, 182–191.)

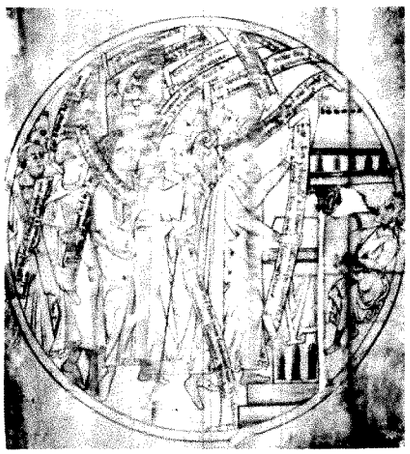


22 *A Knight Attacks Cuthbert's Shrine and is Struck Down*, Life of Saint Cuthbert, Durham?, first quarter 12th cent. Oxford Bodleian Library, Univ. Coll. MS 165, fol. 157r (photo: Bodl. Lib.)



23 *A Thief Who Steals from Cuthbert's Shrine is Struck Dead*, Life of Saint Cuthbert, Univ. Coll. MS 165, fol. 163r (photo: Bodl. Lib.)

24 *A Paralyzed Monk is Healed at Cuthbert's Shrine*, Life of Saint Cuthbert, Univ. Coll. MS 165, fol. 130r (photo: Bodl. Lib.)



25 *A Demoniac is Healed at Guthlac's Shrine in the Presence of the Benefactors of Croyland Abbey*, Life of Saint Guthlac, designed for Croyland Abbey, end 12th cent. London, British Museum Harley Roll Y. 6 (photo: British Museum)

tures in illustrated saints' lives (Figs. 22, 23, 24, 25). The functions can also be imagined of pictures visible to the public because they were attached to shrines containing relics or to parts of the church or its furniture. But how might a book have served its patrons? At that time such a book, with pictures, must have been a rare possession, probably kept locked in the library, used under the eyes of the sacristan or abbot, and taken out on the major Feast days of the saint to be read to pilgrims.[88] The Life of Amand is a small manuscript; its pictures vary from one-third to full-page size. But in a culture where pictures were still exceedingly rare, even illuminations of this size must have been perceived with a much greater intensity than can be possible today. At the time the little and often awkward figures may have seemed intensely real, just as reliquary figures of saints must have seemed very lifelike. At the early eleventh-century Synod of Rodez, for instance, an assembly of such figures, including the famous statue of Saint Foy and a now-lost figure of Saint Amand, was displayed, as if each spoke for its congregation.[89] In a similar fashion these pictures might have been shown to important people on whom the monastery depended. Presumably, the monks supported the pope in the issue of investiture out of conviction, but they also took the political position of their feudal master because the canonical position coincided with their economic self-interest.

These pictures, along with others in the manuscript that are equally controversial, were systematically revised or omitted in the new illustrated Life, MS 500. The new manuscript excluded visual references to contemporary church politics and feudal conflicts, although many of the economic problems of the eleventh century continued throughout the twelfth.[90] Beginning with the papal privilege of 1107 and the charter of 1117, the monastery apparently began to rely more on legal

[88] On the uses of saints' lives, see: Delehaye, 6, and de Gaiffier.

[89] The Rodez Synod was reported by Bernard of Angers. All the congregations of monks and canons brought the relics of their saints, whether in shrines or in containers in the shape of golden statues, and the assembly was distributed under tents and pavilions. Many of the figures are listed by Bernard: Saints Maur, Sernin, Foi of Conques, and a statue of Saint Amand. The latter must have belonged to one of the other monasteries claiming to have been founded by Amand. There is no mention of such a statue at Elnone, where the saint's body was preserved: "Sancti Amandi, esque confessoris et episcopi, aurea majestas" (from the *Liber Miraculorum Sancte Fidis*, ed. A. Bouillet, 71f., quoted in H. Keller, "Zur Entstehung der sakralen Volkskulptur in der ottonischen Zeit," *Festschrift für Hans Jantzen*, Berlin, 1951, 71–91, 79–80, n. 44).

[90] For the history of the monastery in the 12th century, see: Platelle, 1962, 162ff., 1965, 141–178. For specific conflicts, 1962, 170, 172–73, 185–86; 1965, 71–74, 79–80, 99ff., 141ff.; "Deux chartes comptales relatives à Saint-Amand en date du 16 décembre 1116," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, CXXVI, 1960, 61–82, n. 1, and "Le Premier Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand," *Le Moyen-Age*, LXII, 1956, 301–329, 325, 328.

forms of procedure to document its possessions and privileges, in the form of charters. These are no less polemical, since not all possessions are listed in them, although specific accounts are given of those under dispute.[91] At the same time, pictures no longer seem to have been used to further St.-Amand's economic interests by supporting the politics of the powers around it.

University of California, Los Angeles

[91] A similar description appears in the prologue to the voyage with the relics of 1107 (see n. 83), and the charter of 1116, "multa sint seu per negligentiam praelatorum, seu per violentiam malorum subtracta"; in Platelle, "Le Premier Cartulaire," 319. For similarity in texts of saints' lives and charters, both aimed at reclaiming usurped possessions, see: B. de Gaiffier (as cited in n. 60), 136 and n. 3.

Abbreviations

MGH SSRM = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*
MGH SS = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*
MGH PLC = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*
AA SS Feb. I = *Acta Sanctorum Februarii I*
DACL = *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*

Bibliography of Frequently Cited Sources

Abou-El-Haj, Barbara, "The First Illustrated Life of Saint Amand: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 502," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1975.

Benson, Robert L., *The Bishop-Elect: A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office*, Princeton, 1968.

Boutemy, André, "L'Illustration de la vie de Saint Amand," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, x, 1940, 231–49.

Cauchie, Alfred, *La Querelle des investitures dans les diocèses de Liège et de Cambrai*, 2 vols., Louvain, 1890–91.

Delehaye, Hippolyte, *The Legends of the Saints*, Notre Dame, South Bend, Ind., 1961.

de Gaiffier, Baudoin, *Études critiques d'hagiographie et d'iconologie*, Brussels, 1967.

Leclercq, Henri, and Fernand Cabrol, "Consécration episcopale," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, III, Pt. 2, cols. 2579–2604.

de Moreau, Edouard, 1945, *Histoire de l'église en Belgique*, 4 vols., Brussels.

——, 1927, *Saint Amand, apôtre de la Belgique et du Nord de la France*, Louvain.

Platelle, Henri, 1962, *Le Temporel de l'abbaye de Saint Amand des origines à 1340*, Paris.

——, 1965, *La Justice seigneuriale de l'abbaye de Saint Amand. Son organisation judiciare, sa procédure et sa compétence du XIe au XVIe siècle*, Paris/Louvain.

Rave, Wilhelm, "Sint Servaas zu Maestricht und die Westwerkfrage," *Westfalen*, XXII, 1937, 49–75.

Werckmeister, Otto Karl, *Der Deckel des Codex Aureus von St. Emmeram*, Baden-Baden/Strasbourg, 1963.

The Model Roll of the Golden Fleece

Anne Hagopian van Buren

If it is true that almost every medieval drawing was made to transmit ideas from one work of art to another,[1] the statement is particularly true for drawings on the horizontal strips of parchment that are called "model rolls." One such object is a little-known fifteenth-century roll of scenes from the story of the Golden Fleece in the Printroom of the Berlin Museum. Its drawings add to the known production of the court illuminators of Philip the Good and at the same time they reflect the peculiar mixture of art, literature, chivalry, and political mythology that reigned in the culture of his court. The most important aspect of the Berlin Museum Roll, however, is that it is a ghost, a lively ghost that can be shown to embody both the vision of a splendid tapestry and the memory of a famous lost monument of early Netherlandish painting.

A. The Roll and Its Date

The drawings in thin brown ink are now on separate pieces of parchment, and a vertical line of dirt on each one reveals that they were for a time bound as a gathering in a book (Figs. 1–5).[2] Originally, however, they were connected in a roll about six feet long. The beginning of the roll, the part most handled, is quite worn, but the rest is still fresh. The early drawings are accompanied by inscriptions in heavier ink, placed alternately above and below the pictures and furnished with alphabetical initial letters which guide the viewer to read them in the correct order. Varying in length and containing words crossed out by the scribe as he wrote, the titles leave off abruptly near the middle of the Roll, although the drawings go on (Fig. 3). A second system of cursive minuscule numbers, apparently by the writer of the titles, extends below certain scenes all along the Roll. The first of these numerals is obscured by dirt, but the rest, running from "ii" to "vi," are clear. The last one is under the next to last scene.

All the drawings were executed in the same short-stroke technique, but the character of the draftsmanship changes. Before the titles break off, the figures are tiny, graceful, and well formed, and the land masses are described by single strokes. After that point, the forms are larger, and the figures, with bent knees and limp bodies, are less coherent. The land contours are also different; the upper ones are blurred by rough hatching and the lower ones double to form a declivitous shore. In addition, the masts of ships now intrude regularly into the upper margin originally planned for titles. Clearly, two artists were at work.

The titles describe the scenes as episodes in the medieval tale of the Golden Fleece (see the Appendix). Athamas of Thebes expells his children Phrixus and Helle from his kingdom. They wander about in a wood (Fig. 1; Title A) and their mother, Nephile, invokes the aid of Juno (Title b), who sends them a gold-fleeced ram (c: numeral ii) to ride across the sea to Colchis. Helle takes fright and falls off the ram (d), thus baptizing the Hellespont, but Phrixus rides on, lands, and sacrifices the ram to Mars (E: iii). The god sets the ram in a field (Fig. 2: f) with a pair of fire-breathing bulls and a three-tongued dragon to protect it. The story then shifts to Thessaly where King Pelias hears the gods (g) tell him that the next man he meets wearing only one shoe will usurp his throne. And indeed, his nephew Jason emerges from the bedroom in that condition (h: iiii), whereupon Pelias orders a great banquet (J) at which he charges Jason with obtaining the Golden Fleece from Colchis. In a porch adjoining the banquet hall (k) Pelias commissions Argos to build a ship (L). When the Argo is finished, Jason and his companions take leave of the king (Figs. 2 and 3: m: v) and sail smartly before the wind. They attempt to land near Troy to resupply (Fig. 3: N), but are expelled by a messenger from the fearful king, Laomedon. The Argo sails

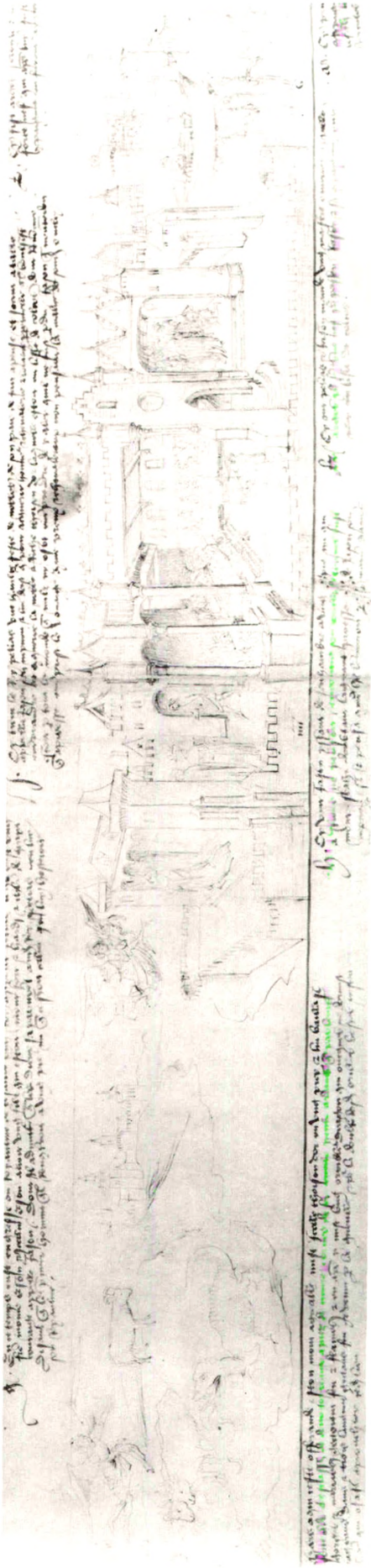
* I am indebted to Professors Frank Dominguez, Jean S. French, Dorothy H. Gillerman, Ernst Kitzinger, James Marrow, Gert Pinkernell, and John Plummer for help and advice on earlier versions of this article; to Dr. Fedja Anzelewsky and Monsieur François Avril for taking measurements and checking transcriptions; and to the Tufts University Faculty Research Committee for a grant toward photographs and expenses. Portions of the material were presented at the College Art Association meeting of 1976 in Chicago, the State University of New York in Binghamton, and the University of Kiel.

N.B.: A bibliography of frequently cited sources, given by author or short title in the notes, appears at the end of the article.

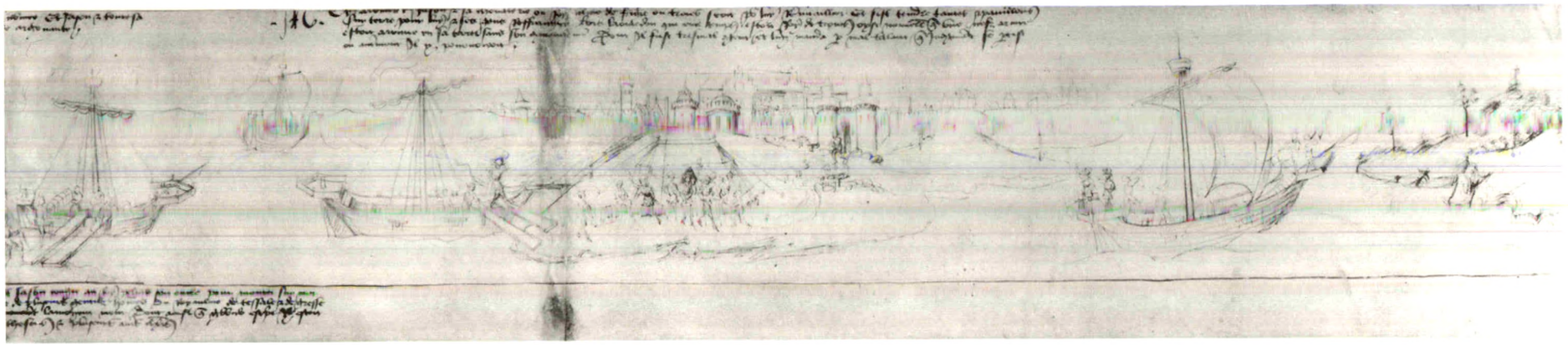
[1] Bernhard Degenhardt and Annegrit Schmitt, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen, 1300–1450*, Berlin, 1968, I, 1, xiii.

[2] Kupferstichkabinett, Inv., 14,721 a-e; ink on the hair sides of six joined parchment skins, respectively measuring 11.6 x 40, 11.5 x 35.5, 11.5 x 41, 11.9 x 34.5, 11.8 x 49.4, and 11.8 x 49.7cm (a total of 250.1cm) now cut into five sections, respectively 47.5, 49.3, 52.9, 49.2, and 49.8cm long (248.7cm in all; the difference is due to overlapping). The roll has been discussed only by Fedja Anzelewsky in Berlin, Staatliche Museën, 1973, *Vom späten Mittelalter bis zu Jacques Louis David*, Cat. No. 8, dating it to 1440–1460. It is listed in London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1932, *An Exhibition of French Art, 1200–1900*, Cat. Nos. 623 and 627, as of 1440–1450, and just mentioned in Troescher, 105, as of 1460–1470.

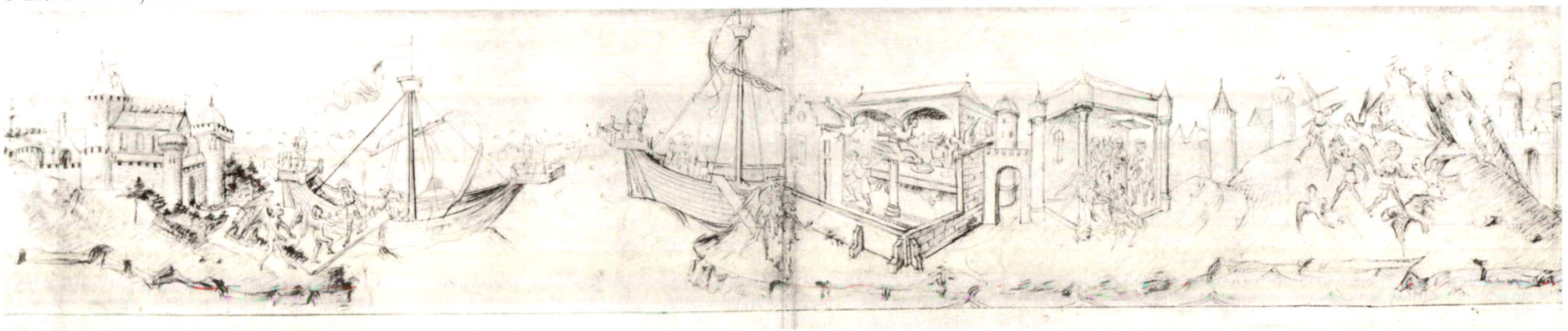
1 *Story of Phrixus*, drawings. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett (photo: Anders)



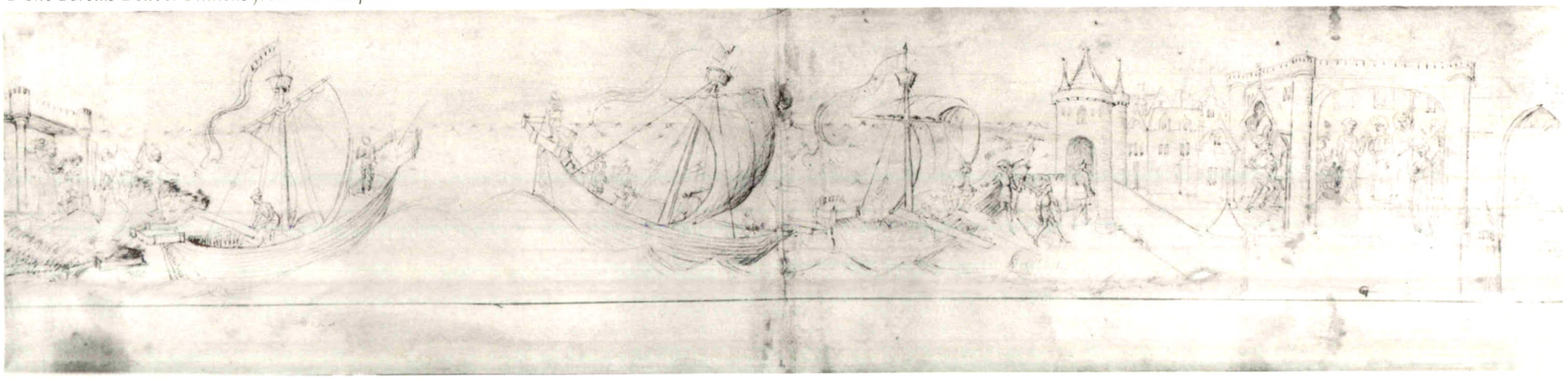
2 *Pelias Sends Jason after the Fleece*



3 *Laomedon's Rejection*



4 *The Boréids Deliver Phineus from the Harpies*



5 *The Argonauts on Colchis*

6 Melchior Broederlam, *Infancy of Christ.* Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Musée)

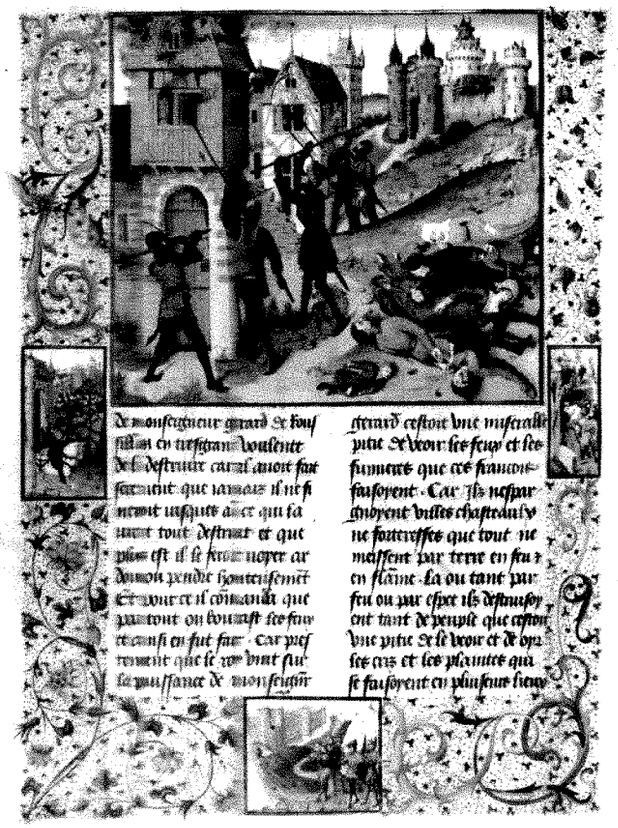
on, and Jason is next seen on the far side of an island (Fig. 4), re-embarking with a pair of nude and winged demi-gods, the sons of Boreas. The ship lands at the home of the blind king Phineus, who is plagued by four harpies who seize the food from his table. Jason and the Boreïds offer to help him, and they chase the birds away to a neighboring hill. Phineus rewards them with a dove to guide them on their way. The Argo arrives at Colchis, and the heroes enter the hall of King Aëtes (the scene is labeled "vi"), who stands with his daughter Medea on his left. Aëtes refuses their request for the ram and Medea goes to her room to brood over the love that Jason has awakened in her. Here the Roll breaks off.

The titles were written in the sharp-angled cursive script regularly used for informal writing at the Burgundian court. Such writing can be seen in financial accounts of the Duchy from around 1430 to 1480, but since it did not evolve much during the interval, palaeographical details cannot date the Roll's titles any more closely. It can be shown, however, that the titles are contemporaneous with the drawings. The same dark ink was used for a horizontal line ruled below the drawings all along the Roll. While the line and parts of the upper titles overlap the earlier drawings (Fig. 2), the later drawings contain strokes, such as those for the sea waves below Phineus's palace (Fig. 4), which either avoid or run over the line. The bastions of Pelias's palace (Fig. 2) intersect the line sharply, but those of Aëtes' palace, at the end, stop short of it (Fig. 5). The titles were evidently written by the first draftsman, or a collaborating scribe; the second hand took over afterward.

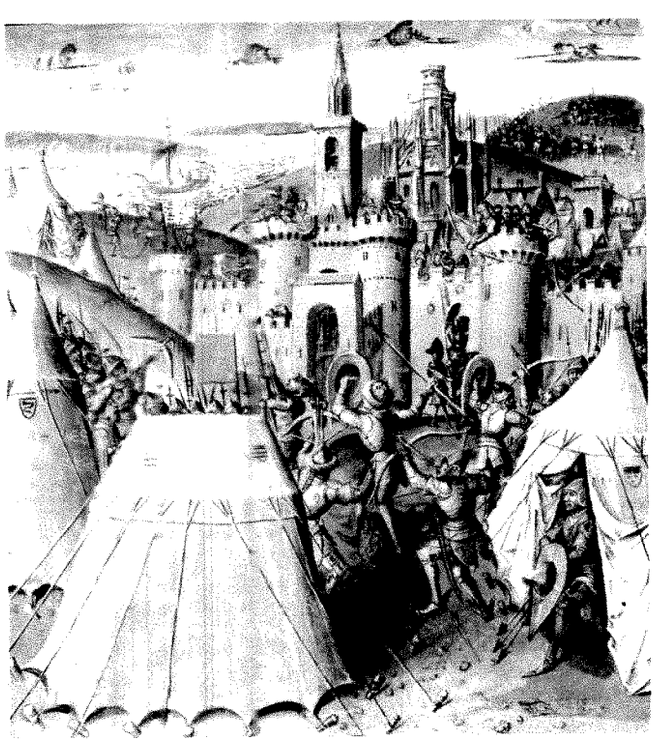
The drawings can be dated more closely than the titles, but the several criteria seem contradictory at first. The delicate skewed buildings and the listing conical mountains are reminiscent of Melchior Broederlam's Altarpiece of the Infancy of Christ. When the Infancy wings are seen together as they were meant to be (Fig. 6), because the triptych was probably kept shut between Masses, they reveal narrative devices that are the same as the Roll's.[3] The story is told in a "strip narrative" sequence[4] of indoor and outdoor scenes linked by figures who move or gaze through the doorways, and it proceeds by means of groups weighted to the right and hills that recede in the same direction. Although Broederlam painted these panels in the 1390's, however, the Roll presents almost all its figures in fashions worn two generations later. Juno's long, nearly horizontal templets (Fig. 1) are like those of Anne,

[3] Panofsky, 86f. The monks at Champmol saying the Office before the altar saw the same subjects as those illustrating their breviaries, except that the panels show only the subjects for Matins, Lauds, None, and Compline, whereas the subject for Sext, the Adoration of the Magi, is depicted among the sculptures inside. The absence of the other three subjects is an iconographic anomaly, which coincides with the panels' often-noted compositional awkwardness. Panofsky explains this as due to the adaptation of the panels to Jacques de Baerze's oddly shaped altarpiece, but Troescher's explanation, 101f., that Broederlam was perhaps unused to such a small format since he was primarily a wall painter, seems more likely. Perhaps the scenes on the wings were extracted from a wall cycle that showed all the Infancy scenes.

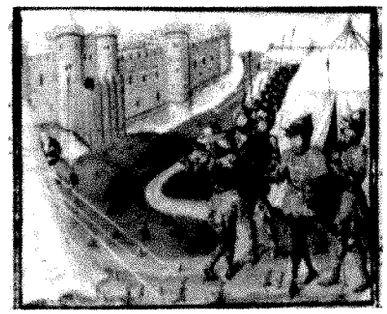
[4] The term was used by Margaret Rickert in *Painting in Britain*, Harmondsworth/Baltimore, 1965, 50 and 59.



7a *French Troops Sack Burgundian Strongholds* from *Le Roman de Girart de Roussillon*. Vienna, Oesterr. Nationalbibl., Cod. 2549, fol. 100v (photo: Alpenland)



8 *Greeks Attack Troy* from *Histoire de la destruction de Troye*. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 9253, fol. 1r (photo: Bibl. Roy.)



7b Detail of Fig. 7a

Duchess of Bedford, in a portrait that was inserted into her Book of Hours probably in 1430.[5] The men's hats seen throughout (which are tall with soft or hard crowns) and the low-belted tunic with close-cuffed sleeves seen in the *Leavetaking* (Fig. 2) correspond to the clothes of the sitters in the portraits of Jan van Eyck.[6] One item, however, suggests a still later date: Nephile's headdress (Fig. 1) is like that of the Magdalen in Rogier van der Weyden's Bracque Triptych, which was painted after 1452.[7]

The mid-century is also the period of the pictorial style of the drawings, for which the closest parallels are found in certain Burgundian court manuscripts of the 1450's. The parallels are so close, in fact, that the Roll's first draftsman seems to have been one of the illuminators of Philip the Good's splendid but still incompletely published *Roman de Girart de Roussillon*.[8] The *Girart*'s scene of French soldiers attacking a Burgundian stronghold (Fig. 7a) is typical of the style of the artist, who has been called "the Master of the *Chroniques abregiées de Jérusalem*," because of his share in the execution of a manuscript made a few years later, also for Philip.[9] In the *Girart*, graceful figures turn in a landscape of undulating mounds which recede in parallel layers toward a faceted city (Fig. 7a), just as they do in the Roll's *Rejection by Laomedon* (Fig. 3). The *Girart*'s little border miniatures gave the artist an opportunity to work on the same diminutive scale as the Roll, and they reveal his partiality for the motif of the receding city wall. Before the wall in the bottom margin (Fig. 7b), he placed a tent with pirouetting soldiers and a genuflecting herald who look quite like the Argonauts before Troy.

The Roll's second draftsman can be found again in a French translation of Guido delle Colonné's *Historia*

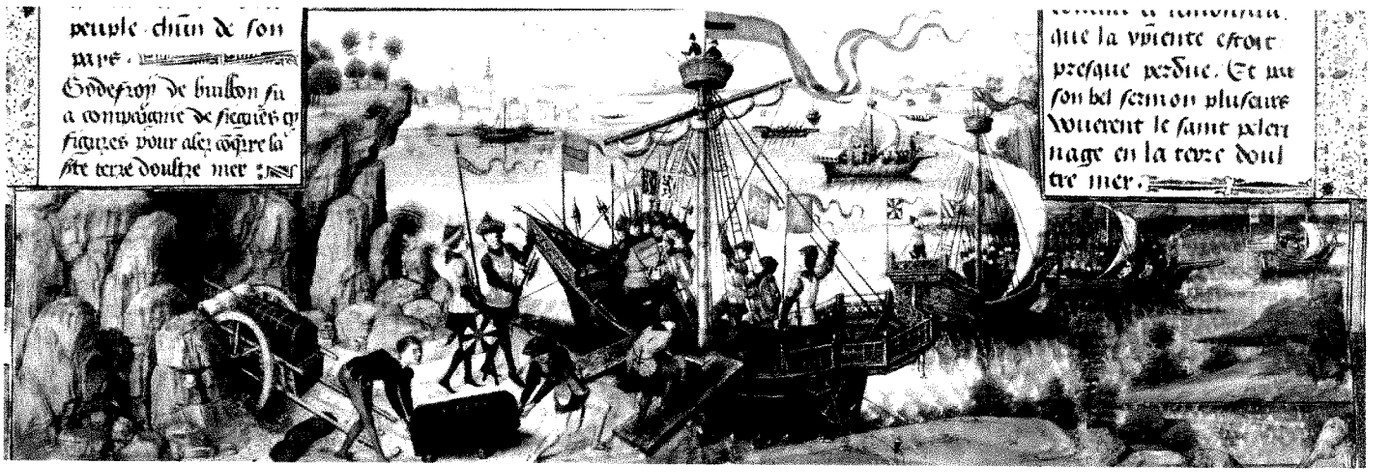
[5] London, Brit. Lib., Add. MS 18850, fol. 257r; Eleanor P. Spencer, "The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Bedford Hours," *Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, 495–502, fig. 2.

[6] Panofsky, pls. 120, 131, and 147.

[7] Panofsky, pl. 195; for the date see Shirley N. Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs*, Berkeley, 1969, 29.

[8] Vienna, Öst. Nat. Bibl. Cod. 2549; De Schryver, 51f. with earlier literature.

[9] Vienna, Öst. Nat. Bibl. Cod. 2533; De Schryver, 65f.



9 *Crusaders Embark for the Holy Land* from *Les Chroniques abregiées de Jerusalem*. Vienna, Oesterr. Nationalbibl., Cod. 2533 fol. 3r (photo: Alpenland)

Destructionis Troiae made for one of Philip's courtiers in the spring of 1453.[10] The manuscript's single grisaille miniature of the Greeks attacking Troy probably dates from that year (Fig. 8). It contains pudding-shaped hills shadowed by rough hatching on the right identical to those in the Roll's scene of the Boreïds attacking the harpies (Fig. 4), and the central attacker has the same awkwardly drawn legs as the figure of the Argonaut mounting the steps of Aëtes' palace (Fig. 5). Since it is well known that this frontispiece depends on one of the miniatures of the *Girart*,[11] it is no surprise to find the painter again collaborating with one of the *Girart* hands on the Berlin Roll. In both his works, the loose-limbed figures are too large for their surroundings, but the disproportion is lessened in the Roll.

A more pronounced evolution in the depiction of space is seen in the work of the Roll's first draftsman, if he is indeed the Master of the Jerusalem Chronicle. All three of the works here attributed to him assume a slightly elevated point of view, in order to show a deep landscape full of hills, buildings, ships, and people. In the *Girart*, the over-large figures inhabit a bumpy landscape that rises to a high horizon (Fig. 7); on the Roll the figures are smaller in relation to their surroundings and the buildings and hills overlap in front of a slightly lower horizon (Fig. 3); in the Jerusalem Chronicle, the figures are still better proportioned in relation to landscape forms and the ships diminish in size almost regularly toward the horizon (Fig. 9). Because the Roll's spatial organization approaches that of the Chronicle, which dates from the second half of the fifties,[12] the Roll can be said to belong to the time around 1455. Such a date also coincides with the slight improvement in the second draftsman's work over his performance in 1453. The reminiscences of Broederlam in the Roll and the costumes of the early thirties must be reflections of some older work on which it is based.

B. The Inscriptions

The titles of the Berlin Roll are in simple Middle French prose and they vary in length according to the amount of information they have to convey. Both the language and the order of the episodes are different from those of any of the medieval versions of the Argonautica, which are embedded in such well-known texts as Benoit de Saint Maure's *Roman de Troie*, the *Ovide moralisé*, and Guido's *Historia*.[13] But the titles do conform to a few chapters of a condensed universal history that I found in a single manuscript in Paris. The manuscript, on paper datable to 1465–1475, contains a transcription full of faults, corrections, and linguistic peculiarities proper to the northern French-speaking region.[14]

The story of the Fleece occupies the chapters at the beginning of a book on Troy. The first chapter explains how Phrixus brought the ram to Colchis. The second

[10] Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS 9264; Delaissé, Cat. No. 47.

[11] Léon M. J. Delaissé, "Les 'Chroniques de Hainaut' et l'atelier de Jean Wauquelin à Mons, dans l'histoire de la miniature flamande," *Miscellanea Erwin Panofsky*, Brussels, 1955, 44f., considers it a copy of the *Girart* miniature itself, although in fact only the figures and tents are the same.

[12] See n. 9.

[13] The history of medieval texts on the Golden Fleece is presented most completely in Frank Dominguez, "The Medieval Argonautica," *Studia Humanitatis*, 1979, but also in Pinkernell, 66–96.

[14] Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 15458, fols. 8v–13v; Léopold Constans, "Une Traduction française des Heroïdes au XIIIe siècle," *Romania* XLIII, 1914, 184f.

In a letter of May 16, 1978, Herr Gerhard Piccard reports that the watermark was made from the same wiremark as those in the Mentelin Bible, printed in Strasbourg by 1461 (Hain 3033) and in books printed in Lyons in 1478 and 1483 (Briquet 13042). It represents the shape of the wiremark at an intermediate stage, but since the paper is of a large format, its date could fall anywhere within ten years around that midpoint. I am grateful to Herr Piccard and to Dr. Hermann Bannasch of the State Archives of Baden in Stuttgart for answering my questions.

tells of Pelias's charge to Jason, the Argonauts' departure, the rejections at Troy, the delivery of Phineus, and the arrival at Colchis—precisely the episodes that are shown on the Roll. The episodes also come in the same order, which is not the case with any earlier Argonautic text. The congruence is so close, in fact (see the Appendix), that it is clear that the inscriptions were quoted from an earlier copy of this text. Only five details in the twenty-three drawings are not mentioned in the manuscript: Phrixus and Helle wander about in a wood; Pelias charges Jason with his mission at a banquet; the Argonauts pitch a tent near Troy; the Boreïds are nude; and there are four instead of three harpies. Three of these points correspond to the inscriptions, while the last two are in untitled scenes. This is not the place to publish or analyze the "Brief Golden Fleece Romance,"[15] as the text may be called, but it can be said that the first two deviations correspond to two of the text's ultimate sources, the writing of the Second Mythographer[16] and the *Ovide moralisé*.[17] This superior faithfulness to the sources and also the correct spelling of proper names, which are corrupted in the manuscript, indicate that the Roll is based on a more accurate, earlier copy of the Romance.

The late manuscript is nevertheless important because it is the only copy of a text that contains episodes, including the rarely told one of Phineus,[18] from an extraordinary variety of sources. Some of the sources are mentioned by name, among them Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Heroïdes*. The latter is a set of laments by the abandoned women of antiquity, two of whom, Hypsipile and Medea, were jilted by Jason. This is the only French manuscript known to mention the name of the *Heroïdes*;[19] indeed, it even quotes them in Latin.

Important for the present purpose, the manuscript reveals what was on the lost section of the Roll. Chapter II continues with Jason and Medea meeting in a temple and then trysting in her bedroom, where Jason proposes marriage in return for a number of magic objects. On both occasions he quotes from the twelfth of the *Heroïdes*.[20] He then takes a boat to the islet where the ram is kept, kills the bulls and the dragon, and sows the teeth from which armed men spring up. Finally, he slaughters the ram and, returning with the fleece to Aëtes, escapes with Medea back to Thessaly. Chapter III tells of the lovers' wedding and Hercules raising a retaliatory expedition against Laomedon. The Greeks destroy Troy, kill Laomedon, and capture his only surviving daughter. The chapter ends with a passing mention of the "maulvaise mort" of Hercules and Jason and the remark that it was the Greeks' capture of the Trojan princess that led, after Priam had rebuilt the city, to Helen's rape and the great Trojan war. Because the first destruction of Troy was a popular subject for illustration, as we shall see, it can be hypothesized that the lost section of the Roll included at least some and probably all of these later episodes.

In addition, the text and the Roll display the same lacuna. One of the indirect sources, the *Ovide moralisé*, recounts the event, after Laomedon's rejection, of the Argonauts' visit to Lemnos, where Jason begets two children on its queen, Hypsipile, before sailing off and abandoning her to her tears.[21] The story is also the subject of the sixth of the *Heroïdes*, which the author must have had before him in order to quote from the twelfth. It is curious that the episode is absent from both text and Roll. The scene belongs after the one of the Argo's departure from Troy and before that of the island from which the Boreïds embark (Figs. 2 and 3), but on the Roll this is just where the titles break off and the draftsmanship changes.

C. The Roll's Function

The titles do not merely reveal the textual source of the Golden Fleece Roll. They suggest part of the answer to the question, what sort of works were linked by the Roll? The long phrases are more than labels. Beginning with words like "Comment Frixus . . ." and "Cy vint Jason . . ." and presenting a complete narrative, they were meant not just for the artist's use, but to explain the scenes to a larger audience. The first draftsman conceived the final work to include inscriptions, probably made equal in length and perhaps put into quatrains.

The format of the Roll is another clue to its function. A few other horizontal rolls are known to have served as models for monumental works of similar format. The thirteenth-century Vercelli Roll bears an inscription that says it was made to aid in repainting scenes from the Acts of the Apostles on the ceiling of the local church.[22] The fourteenth-century St. Quentin Roll is indirectly related to the choir screen of the church in the Vermandois which presents the saint's life in a band of relief sculpture.[23] And a fifteenth-century tapestry roll seems to have provided illustrations of a copy of

[15] This is done in a book I am writing on the Hesdin paintings.

[16] Mythographus II, 134 *Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum, Latini tres Romae nuper Reperti*, ed. Georg H. Bode, Zell, 1834, repr. Hildesheim, 1968.

[17] *Ovide moralisé*, VII, ll. 137–148.

[18] I have found it only in Bersuire's *Ovidius Moralizatus (Metamorphosis Ovidiana Moraliter a Magistro Thoma Walleys . . . Explanata*, Paris, 1509, fol. LIIII r., and in Thomas of Walsingham's *De Archana Deorum*, ed. Robert A. van Kluyve, Durham, 1968, 7.1, which depends on Bersuire.

[19] Constans (as cited in n. 14), 185; but he does not notice that the source was actually a Latin text of the *Heroïdes*.

[20] *Heroïdes*, XII, ll. 80 and 85f.

[21] *Ovide moralisé*, VII, ll. 255–267.

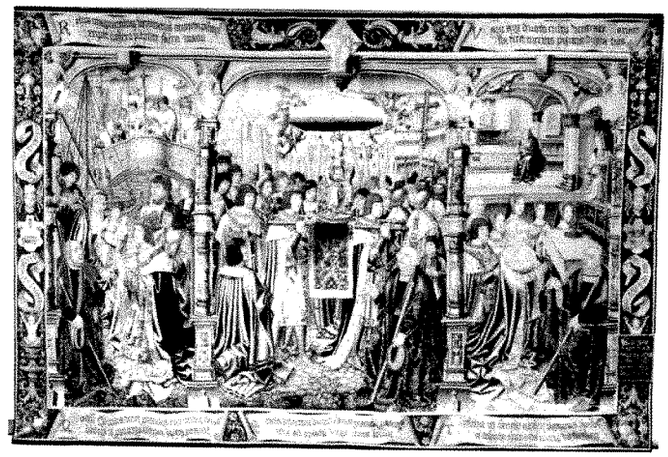
[22] Vercelli, Bibl. Cap.; Herbert L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, Princeton, 1977, 116f., with earlier literature; figs. 183 and 184.

[23] Bibl. Roy. MS II 3189; Robert Branner, "The Saint Quentin Rotulus," *Scriptorium*, XXI, 1967, 252–260.

Jean Germain's allegorical *Chemin de paradis.*[24] The prologue to that work states that the author ordered patterns for a pair of tapestry panels on his theme of the march of the Church Militant, and perhaps the tapestries also.[25] The paper manuscript is illustrated by drawings on parchment showing a church procession that is connected from leaf to leaf by a strap held by the successive marchers. The leaves, some of them too large for the manuscript,[26] were evidently the sections of a roll that was cut up and inserted into the manuscript, as the Berling Roll itself was for a time. The imagery is so faithful to Germain's description of the first of his tapestry patterns that the roll (dating from around 1470[27]) must be a copy of the original *petit patron,* as preparatory designs for the full-scale tapestry cartoons were called. Perhaps the copy was made for the sake of a replica of the original tapestry.

The Berlin Roll seems to be such a *petit patron.* Its very narrow format, reminiscent of that of another "strip narrative" composition, the Bayeaux tapestry, suggests that it was intended for a work placed above the paneled wainscotting of a hall. The regular alternation of the titles adds ingeniously to the movement of the narrative, but their alphabetical initial letters are necessary to guide the viewer to read them in the proper order. Since the titles would probably be in the same positions in the final work, it would have to be on the walls of a room. Its pictures could have been painted directly on the walls, but in the cold climate of the Netherlands tapestries were more common than wall paintings. A long tapestry could be divided into sections to allow for the room's doors, windows, and fireplaces.

It is true that most Netherlandish tapestries do not show figures clearly grouped within spacious buildings and landscapes as they are on the Roll. Indeed, such works usually display a *horror vacui,* with flat forms piled up to a very high horizon. But multiple copies woven from the same cartoon and the only surviving combination of *petit patrons* and their corresponding tapestries all show that weavers were in the habit of filling the spaces around the figures with decorative plants, animals, or clouds of their own.[28] The practice served to crowd and flatten the original design. For this reason, and because workers in one center often received designs from other places,[29] the Roll's style alone cannot reveal which center might have received the commission.



10 *The Legend of Notre-Dame du Sablon,* tapestry section. Brussels, Musée Royale du Cinquantenaire (photo: A.G.L., Brussels)

It may be possible nevertheless to know where the Roll itself was made. The alternating titles have no equivalent in surviving fifteenth-century tapestries, which display titles in one or the other but not in both borders,[30] but one later example does present them in a similar way. The Notre-Dame du Sablon series, woven in Brussels in 1516, probably to designs by Barent van Orley,[31] has titles likewise preceded by alphabetical initial letters that alternate from top to bottom, although somewhat less regularly than on the Roll (Fig. 10). This helps to advance the somewhat static depiction of the miraculous event.

The Sablon set may reflect a long-standing practice in Brussels, where weavers were numerous enough to form their own guild already in 1447.[32] Although this

[24] Brussels, Bibl. Roy. MS IV 823; Robert L. Wyss, *Die Caesarteppiche,* Bern, 1957, 125f., n. 1; Marguerite Debae, "Le 'Chemin de paradis,' de Jean Germain," *Les Dossiers de l'archéologie,* XVI, 1976, 130–37.

[25] ". . . la compilation dudit patron et pans de tapisserie . . .;" Philadelphia Free Library, MS E 210, fol. 6v. I am indebted to Elizabeth Moodey Bickley, who transcribed the prologue in a Tufts honors thesis of 1977.

[26] Debae (as cited in n. 24), 134.

[27] The date is suggested by one very short doublet with wide shoulders seen on fol. 41v (Debae, 132f.). The transcription of the manuscript itself was dated by the scribe 1473 and 1474.

[28] E.g., the fragments showing a courtly couple (Souchal, 1973, Cat. Nos. 25–27) and the Trojan War set (*ibid.,* Cat. Nos. 7–10). For the latter see Jean Paul Asselberghs, "Les Tapisseries tournaisiennes de la guerre de Troie," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art,* XXXIX, 1970, 93–183; and Nicole Reynaud, "Un Peintre français cartonnier de tapisserie au XVe siècle. Henri de Vulcop," *Revue de l'art,* XXII, 1973, 7–21.

[29] *Ibid.;* the Trojan War set was woven in Tournai, but its designs are probably the work of Henri de Vulcop of Bourges. Philip's Gideon tapestries were ordered from dealers in Tournai with the stipulation that the designs would be made by a painter in Arras. See n. 72.

[30] Although the Trojan War tapestries have titles in both borders, the upper ones in French and the lower ones in Latin, each set is read horizontally and independently.

[31] Souchal, 1973, Cat. Nos. 85–86; see also Roger d'Hulst, *Tapisseries flamandes du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle,* Brussels, 1970, Nos. 2 and 3. I am indebted to Dr. Anzelewsky for calling this example to my attention.

[32] Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, "La Tapisserie bruxelloise au XVe siècle," *Bruxelles au XVe siècle,* Brussels, 1953, 89.

argument is not strong, because no work is securely connected with that town before the *Mille fleurs* fragment of 1466,[33] it is supported by the Roll's connection with the *Girart* manuscripts. There is good circumstantial evidence that the manuscripts are the work of illuminators under the direction of Dreux Jean, Philip's appointed illuminator, who is documented in Brussels from at least 1453 until his death around 1465.[34] Illuminators were the artists who best knew the literary texts that provided so much of the subject matter of medieval wall hangings, and there are documented cases of their being called to design such pieces.[35]

Although it thus appears that Dreux Jean or some of his collaborators designed a tapestry on the subject of Jason's quest, the project seems not to have been carried out. Because of the expense as well as the subject, the most likely patron would have been Duke Philip, who made the Golden Fleece the central emblem of his reign. But Philip already owned a pair of panels on the subject, which his grandfather had bought in 1393, and his accounts say nothing of a new set. The only extant Jason tapestries date from the early sixteenth century and have inscriptions in Latin.[36]

The Berlin Roll does seem to have served for another sort of work. The minuscule numerals below certain scenes, perhaps in the scribe's own hand, indicate that the cycle was soon excerpted. Similar numerals, probably coded to preliminary drawings, have been found in the margins next to the miniatures of contemporary Flemish manuscripts.[37] And there is reason to believe that a manuscript of the Brief Golden Fleece Romance was made shortly before 1460.

D. The Roll's Model

Although the Roll is a project for another work, its drawings are not original creations. Neither of its draftsmen made *pentimenti*, which would reveal an inventing mind at work. Their very technique—with short, stiff, and contour-bound strokes—is that of Franco-Flemish copyists working in ink.[38]

The model they were copying was most unusual. To begin with, the compositions show little connection with the pictorial tradition, which was well established. That tradition, illustrating a variety of Argonautic texts in earlier manuscripts, seems to have been set in the thirteenth century for a work whose text was likewise normative: Benoit de Saint Maure's *Roman de Troie*.[39] Almost all Troy manuscripts containing the verse or prose versions of Benoit or their popular derivative, Guido's *Historia*, begin with a few Jason miniatures. They make up a brief cycle that usually runs from *Pelias's Charge to Jason* to the *First Destruction of Troy*. The *Charge* is one of the most popular scenes. A typical miniature, like that in a fourteenth-century Venetian copy of Guido,[40] shows the uncle frontally enthroned, with attendants behind him, addressing the nephew who stands on the right (Fig. 11). Compared to this, the Roll's banquet scene, in which the protagonists face each other in profile across an oblique receding table (Fig. 13), is utterly different. A few of the drawings—*Phrixus and Helle on the Ram*, *Phrixus Sacrificing the Ram*, the *Building of the Argo*, the *Leavetaking*, and the *Rejection at Troy*—have a tenuous connection with the tradition,[41] but the others seem never to have been illustrated before. The Roll, requiring twenty-three scenes for a section that never received more than six in earlier manuscripts, illustrates the narrative with extraordinary density.

Certain contemporary manuscripts, some of them made for the Burgundian court, contain designs that are much more closely related to the Roll. The earliest is a romance of Alexander the Great that was made for the Duke, in some conjunction with the *Girart*, around 1448.[42] Three of its miniatures contain architectural settings almost identical to buildings seen on the Roll. Philip of Macedon holds a banquet in a hall like that of Pelias (Figs. 12 and 13). The building is simplified, however, and lacks the low cross-wall that is shown on the Roll, which leaves the receding wall to dangle in the air: this reveals that the drawing is more faithful to

[33] *Ibid.*, 91.

[34] De Schryver, 60f.

[35] Some examples are Jean Bondol (Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry, I. The Late XIVth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, London, 1967, 100f.); Vulcop (Reynaud, as cited in n. 28); and the Master of the Ghent Privileges (Betty Kurth, "Die Blütezeit der Bildwirkerkunst zu Tournai und der burgundische Hof," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXIV, 1917, 90f.; Wyss, as cited in n. 24, 103–108).

[36] Jozef Duverger, "Laat Middeleeuws Tapijtwerk met de Geschiedenis van Jasoon en Gedeon," *West Vlaanderen*, XI, 1962, 318f.; Souchal, Cat. Nos. 83–84. In addition, it should be noted that all Philip's known orders of tapestry before 1454 were addressed to Tournai; Crick-Kuntziger (as cited in n. 32), 89f.

[37] By Douglas Farquhar, who was kind enough to call them to my attention, in the Vrelantesque *Golden Legend* in New York (Morgan Lib., MS M 672) and in the *Miroir historiale* in Paris (Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 308–310). For a set of alphabetical letters placed in the same way, see my "New Evidence for Jean Wauquelin's activity in the *Chroniques de Hainaut* and for the Date of the Miniatures," *Scriptorium*, XXVI, 1972, 254, and 1973, 318.

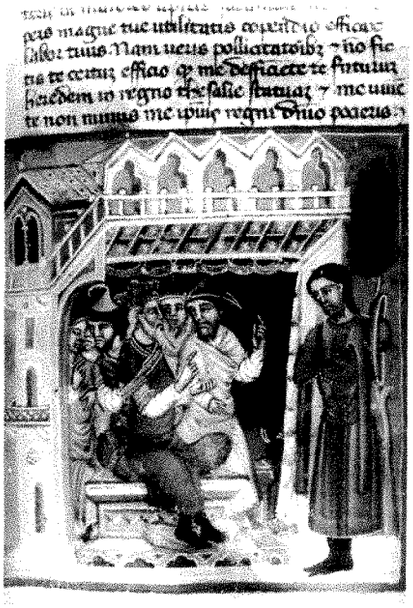
[38] Micheline Sonkes, *Dessins du XVe siècle: Groupe van der Weyden*, Brussels, 1969, 271.

[39] Hugo Buchthal, *Historia Troiana*, London/Leyden, 1971, 9–19.

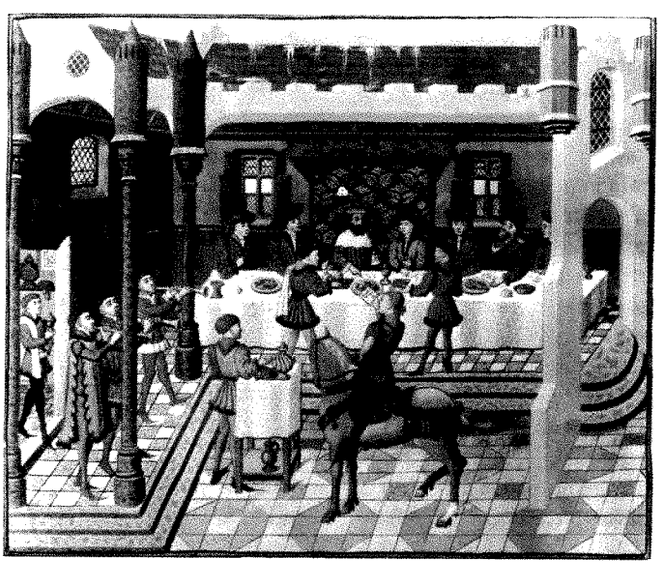
[40] *Ibid.*, 28–31.

[41] Their antecedents are examined in the study cited in n. 15.

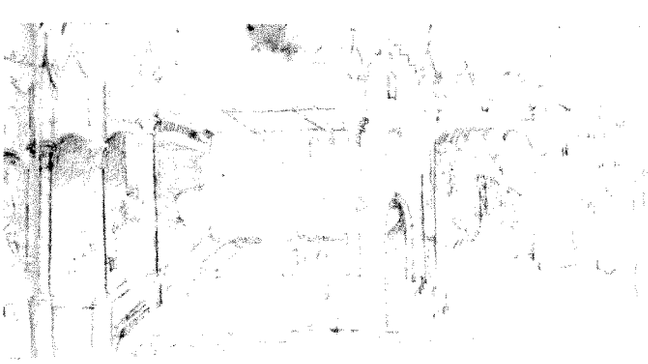
[42] Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 9342; Delaissé (as cited in n. 11), 32f.



11 *Pelias's Charge to Jason* from Guido delle Colonne, *Historia Destructionis Troiae*. Geneva, Bibl. Bodmeriana, MS 78, fol. 2r (photo: author)



12 *Banquet of Philip of Macedon* from *Le Roman d'Alixandre*. Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 9342, fol. 13r (photo: Bibl. Nat.)



13 *Pelias's Banquet*, detail of Figure 2

the source on which both works depend. In a second miniature, the Greek conqueror suffers the agonies of poison in a room like the one in which the Argo is commissioned (Figs. 13 and 14); in a third his courtiers play chess in a wall-surrounded porch that is a much constricted version of Aëtes' hall (Figs. 15 and 16). In fact, the architecture is crowded in all three of the miniatures, even though they are a good deal larger than the drawings.[43] Evidently, the common source was larger still.

A particularly faithful parallel is seen in a modest prose version of Benoit's Troy romance made in northern France in the 1470's.[44] The single miniature shows the Argonauts taking leave of Pelias. Despite its poor condition and low quality, we can see that the composition is exactly the same as in the Roll, with the same figures, ship, coastline, and building in the background (Figs. 17, 2, and 3). Here again, a discrepancy between the large figures and the space of the miniature suggests that the original was a larger picture.

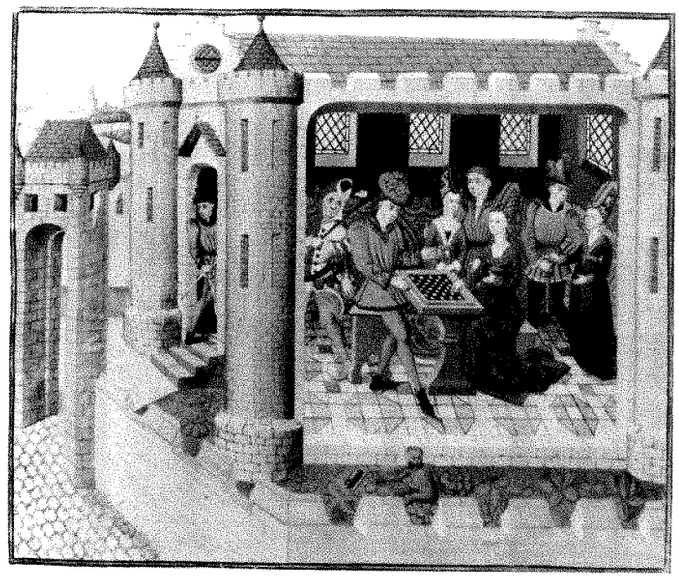
Around 1472, Liévin van Lathem, illuminator to the next duke, Charles the Bold, painted a copy of Raoul Lefèvre's recently composed *Histoire de Jason*.[45] Although many of the miniatures illustrate material invented by Lefèvre, three of them, and to some extent a fourth, coincide with the Roll. Each miniature uses simultaneous narration for incidents that extend along one of the Roll's land masses and each focuses on one of the incidents. In his *Pelias Commissioning the Argo*, Van Lathem reorganizes the original extended sequence and locks the forms in a spatial crescent embracing the kneeling figure of Argos (Fig. 18). Nevertheless, two of the settings (the deep passageway for the scene of Jason half-shod and the L-shaped banquet table) and three of the figure groups still correspond to those on the Roll. The *Rejection by Laomedon* has an oblique tent and fewer figures, but the protagonist and the messenger emerging from the distant city are simply reversals of their counterparts on the Roll (Figs. 19 and 3). The *Argonauts on Colchis* emphasizes the meeting with Aëtes. Whereas the text has the lovers meet later on at a banquet, the miniature agrees with the Roll in showing Medea present at the moment of the Argonauts' arrival. The standing Argonaut has been moved to the left edge, but the kneeling one who doffs his hat is there and the welcoming party is identical in composition to the corresponding group on the Roll (Figs. 20 and 16). In none of the three minatures could the broad conception of the episode have been inspired by the Roll's thin little drawings.

[43] They average 14.5 x 20cm.

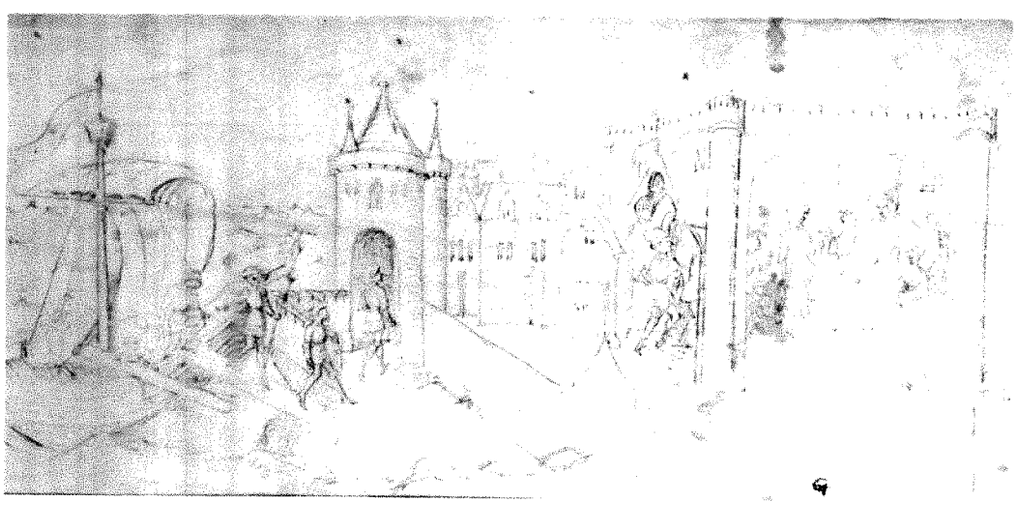
[44] Rouen, Bibl. Mun. MS 0.33, unpublished.

[45] Gert Pinkernell, "Die Handschrift, B.N. ms fr. 331, von Raoul Lefèvres 'Histoire de Jason,' und das Wirken des Miniaturisten Liévin van Lathem in Brugge," *Scriptorium*, XXVII, 1973, 300.

14 *Alexander Attempts Suicide*, from Guido, *Historia*, fol. 208v

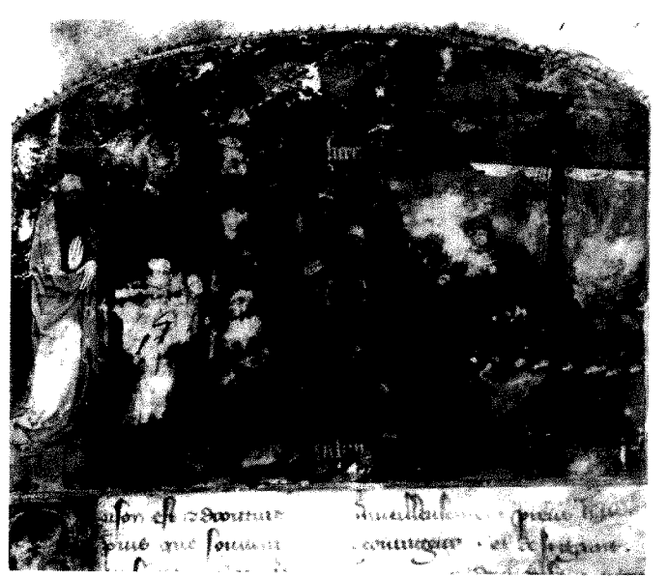


15 *Chess Game* from Guido, *Historia*, fol. 48v



16 *The Argonauts Meet Aëtes and Medea*, detail of Figure 5

The Colchis miniature also illustrates later parts of the story. An upper chamber reveals, not Medea brooding over her lover, but her nurse putting a charm into Jason's bed, which is an invention of Lefèvre's. The lovers' meeting in the temple in the background, however, corresponding to both the present text and the Brief Golden Fleece Romance, may well have been seen at the beginning of the Roll's lost section, and in the common model. The next miniature in the manuscript shows the climactic struggle for the fleece in one of Van Lathem's characteristic deep plains, and it has the dragon in Mars's temple because Lefèvre added that detail to the textual tradition. The snarling creature itself, with right foot raised, is identical to the one in the drawing of Mars setting the beasts around the ram (Figs. 21 and 22), which suggests that the original *Struggle* repeated the positions of the beasts from the earlier scene. Van Lathem's are the finest of the reflections of the original source. Whenever his miniatures can be compared with the drawings, it is clear that the artist exceeded his usual practice of putting a borrowed



17 *The Argonauts Take Leave of Pelias*. Rouen, Bibl. mun., MS 0.33, fol. 2r (photo: Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes)

group of figures into his own setting and took elements of the original setting as well.[46] His own contribution is the interlocked choreography of the figures in a light- and air-filled space.

Lefèvre's text was translated into Dutch in a manuscript of the early seventies,[47] which provided it with ink and wash drawings that are sometimes closer to the Roll than to any earlier illustrations of Lefèvre's text,[48] including Van Lathem's. *Pelias Meeting Jason Half-Shod* puts the protagonists in the same poses as on the Roll (Figs. 23 and 2). The *Meeting with Aëtes*, set before the city gate, portrays the Argonauts as Van Lathem did and multiplies the actors (Figs. 20 and 24), but it preserves details—the single mast of the moored ship, the pose of Aëtes, and the long, slit sleeves of Medea's surcoat—that are on the Roll (Fig. 16). Finally, this manuscript also suggests that the original *Struggle for the Fleece* repeated the scene of Mars deploying the beasts. Its own *Struggle* presents the beasts one above another on a hill in an order that corresponds, not to that in which Jason attacks them in the text, but to their presentation in the early drawings (Figs. 25 and 22).

This manuscript served in 1484 as the exemplar for Jakob Bellaert's printed *Historie van Jason*.[49] Its miniatures were repeated and simplified in the woodcuts for that edition.[50] Through such prints, a wider public came to know of the Burgundian court tradition of the Golden Fleece.

The persistence of these images over two generations in works from a single geographical area indicates that they originated in a famous monument. That work illustrated the story of the Fleece with unprecedented fullness and with many new scenes. It was in existence by the late 1440's and was larger than any manuscript, probably much larger. All of this suggests that the monument was a tapestry or a set of wall-paintings of the Voyage of the Argonauts and the Conquest of the Fleece.

E. The Paintings at Hesdin

Secular wall paintings seem to have been rare in the Netherlands, but a set on the subject of the Fleece did exist, and it was much admired. William Caxton, who spent some years in the Low Countries under the sponsorship of Charles's duchess, Margaret of York, mentions it in the prologue to the book he wrote in 1477 for his new press at Westminister. Significantly, the text was a translation of Lefèvre's *Histoire de Jason*.

> Well wote I that the noble Duc Philippe, firste foundeur of this sayd ordre dyd doo maken a chambre in the castell of Hesdyn where in was craftyly and curiously depeynted the conqueste of the golden flese by the sayd Jason, in whiche chambre I have ben and seen the sayd historie so depeynted. And in remembraunce of Medea and of her connyng and science he had do make in the sayd chambre by subtil engyn that whan he wolde it shuld seem that it lightened and then thondre, snow and rayne. And all within the sayd chambre as ofte tymes and whan it shuld please him, which was al made for his singuler pleasir.[51]

The Hesdin castle no longer exists. It was destroyed in 1553 by the Emperor Charles V in recapturing it from the French. Situated on the river Canche, halfway between Boulogne and Arras, Hesdin was a vulnerable outpost of the Burgundian domain, but it had been a favorite resort of the ducal family ever since Philip the Bold inherited the castle and had it completely refurbished around 1390 under the direction of his favorite painter, Melchior Broederlam. Some of the records for that campaign have survived, along with payments for earlier and later work on the castle and in the park.[52]

Philip's grandson and namesake, Philip the Good, spent his childhood summers in that sunny valley resort and returned there almost every summer after the castle became his own.[53] In 1430, the year of his third marriage and concomitant founding of the Order to which Caxton refers, he decided to have the castle decorated again. This time the work was directed by a local painter named Colard le Voleur, whose father had painted floor tiles for the castle buildings according to designs of Broederlam.[54] Since Colard's first master, Hue de Boulogne, had been sent at the behest of Philip the Bold to be trained by Broederlam,[55] Colard himself was trained in the same tradition.

In February, 1431, Colard was given three hundred

[46] Anne H. van Buren, "The Master of Mary of Burgundy and His Colleagues; the State of Research and Questions of Method," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXVIII, 1975, 298f.

[47] London, Brit. Lib., Add. MS 10290; Fritz Saxl and Hans Meier, *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters*, III. *Handschriften in englischen Bibliotheken*, London, 1953, II, 3–7. The date of this paper manuscript is suggested by the pictorial style as well as the watermark, which according to Dr. Bannasch (see n. 14) belongs to the group assembled by Gerhard Piccard, *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Findbuch IV. Wasserzeichen Buchstabe P*, Stuttgart, 1977, Nos. IX 622, 623, 648, and 656, all of which date from 1471–75.

[48] The other illustrated manuscripts of the *Histoire de Jason* (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, MS 5067; Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 12570; and New York, Morgan Lib. MS M 119) bear no similarity to the drawings on the Roll.

[49] Lotte Hellinga, "Notes on the Setting of a Fifteenth Century Book," *Quaerendo*, IV, 1974, 65.

[50] Marinus Josef Schretlen, *Dutch and Flemish Woodcuts of the Fifteenth Century*, 1925, repr. New York, 1969, pls. 17–19.

[51] The *Historie of Jason*, ed. John Munro, London, 1913, 2.

[52] They are published in Dehaisnes and in Laborde.

[53] Hermann van der Linden, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon et de Charles le Téméraire*, Brussels, 1940, *passim*.

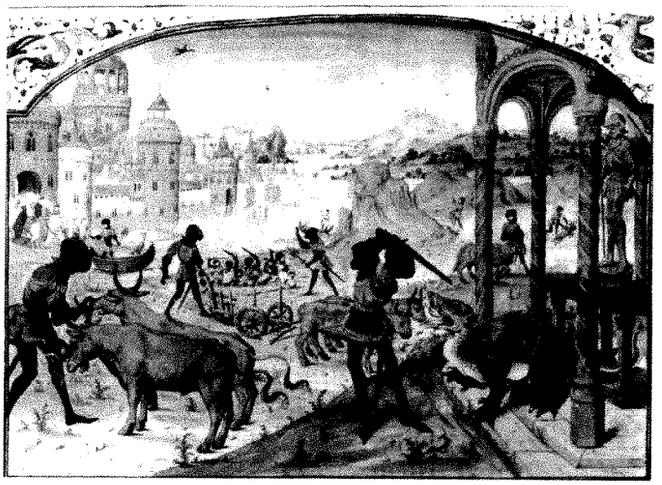
[54] Dehaisnes II, 683f., 685f., 713, 769, 794; there is no reason for the attribution by Troescher, 105, to Hue de Boulogne.

[55] Dehaisnes I, 707; Laborde I, No. 576.

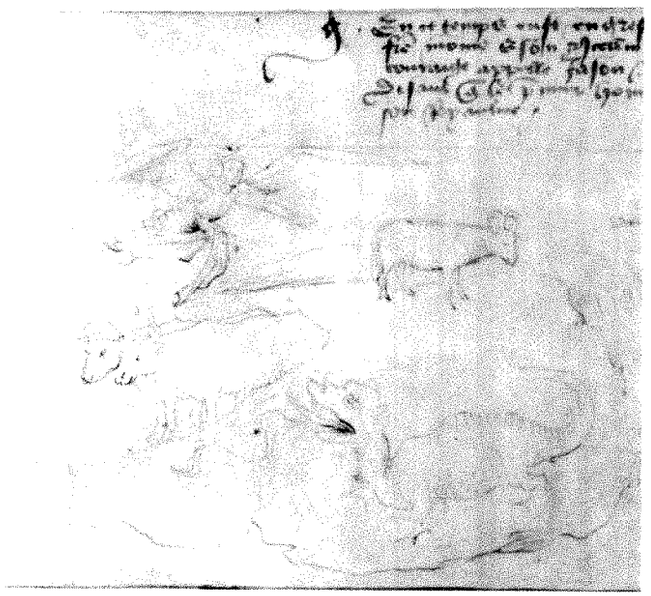
18 *The Commissioning of the Argo* from Raoul Lefèvre, *L'Histoire de Jason*. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 331, fol. 52v (photo: Bibl. Nat.)

19 *Laomedon's Rejection* from Lefèvre, fol. 58v

20 *The Argonauts on Colchis* from Lefèvre, fol. 92r



21 *The Struggle for the Fleece* from Lefèvre, fol. 106v



22 *Mars Sets a Guard Around the Ram*, detail of Figure 2

pounds on account *pour aucuns ouvraiges de painterie*.[56] The payment does not specify in which of the buildings that work was done, but a careful reading of earlier and later documents reveals that Colard was soon working in a pleasure building called the *Pavillon du Marais* situated some distance away from the castle, in the park where the dukes used to hunt and sup near splashing fountains.[57] He was paid again in late 1432 and, in a final settlement of the total amount of one thousand

[56] Laborde I, No. 887.

[57] Marguerite Charageat, "Le Parc d'Hesdin, création monumentale du XIIIe siècle," *Société de l'histoire de l'art français, Bulletin*, 1950, 94–106; Michel Brunet, "Le Parc des attractions des ducs de Bourgogne à Hesdin," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, LXXIII, 1971, 331–342.

pounds, sometime before February 19, 1433.[58] The record of the last payment is often quoted because of its loving descriptions of mirrors, dummies, trick fountains, and other devices which lured visitors into traps, where they were buffeted about the head or dropped into water beneath the building.[59]

Colard's work as a painter has been ignored, however, even though the account says explicitly that he had *fait et renouvellé les ystoires* that already existed in the gallery, along with a number of older fountains and mechanical figures.[60] Those narrative scenes were probably the creation of Colard's most immediate predecessor, Broederlam; after forty years of humidity and splashing from the fountains, they must have been in a sorry state. The document of 1433 adds that Colard worked in an adjacent hall also. There he extended an existing pavement to cover the whole floor and to support a machine:

> qui fait plouvoir tout par tout comme l'eaue qui vient du ciel et aussi tonner et néger et aussi esclitrer comme se on le veoit ou ciel.[61]

Then he painted the ceiling and the walls of

> la sale . . . ou il doit plouvoir de coulleurs a huille bonnes et belles, de fin or, fin asur et . . . en plusieurs lieux d'en hault, dedens les murs, sont ystoires de grans ymaiges de paintrerie riches et gentes, et embas peint de tapisserie vive a veoir.[62]

The weather machine is, of course, the one that Caxton mentions. The hall is his "chambre" and the *ystoires de grans ymaiges* depicted the capture of the Golden Fleece.[63] They cannot be attributed to Colard, however. In fact, the document implies that, like the ones in the gallery, they were already there. They too must have dated from Broederlam's time and have been at least designed by the great master.

The Broederlamesque motifs on the Roll strengthen its connection with the Hesdin paintings. The narrow format of scenes clustered on separate islands fits the description of *ystoires* placed high among the vaults of the room above a dado of simulated tapestry. The costumes shown are, moreover, those of the years 1431 and 1432, when Colard was painting in the hall. Although the document focuses on his machinery and decorative paintings, Colard seems to have *fait et renouvelé* the *ystoires*, as he did in the gallery (the expression apparently means retouching and modernizing, in the way painters copying older works often modernized the costumes and the illusion of depth).[64] Nevertheless, Colard repeated the preexisting designs, and, as a pupil of Broederlam's pupil, he would have used the same materials and technique. This restoration seems to have been his only pictorial painting, at least for the Duke. Later documents speak only of his making and maintaining the mechanical contraptions, which (whatever the Duke's hapless guests may have thought of them), are regularly called *ouvraiges ingenieux et de joyeuseté et plaisance*.[65]

No more than Colard did the draftsmen of the mid-fifties reproduce on the Berlin Roll the paintings as they saw them. The draftsmen remained unusually faithful to the costumes (relaxing their attention for only one of the figures), but they followed the style of their period in drawing the human figure and its surrounding space. They also modified the content of the work to some extent.

F. Philip, Jason, and the Roll

By the time the Berlin Roll was made, a generation had passed and the image of its hero had suffered a number of vicissitudes. When Philip the Good established the Order of the Fleece, he first placed it under the patronage of Jason.[66] A chronicler reports that he had the *poetrie* of the hero in mind, referring to the whole account[67] which was seen as an allegory of Christ's procuring salvation for mankind.[68] In view of the ancient localization of Colchis on the far shore of the Black Sea, this interpretation suited one of Philip's purposes, the building of a corps of leaders for an eventual Crusade against the Turks.[69] But the choice displeased the clergy, *pourceque Jason menti sa foy*, meaning that he was untrue in love.[70] The Order's chancellor, the same Jean Germain who wrote the *Chemin de Paradis*, vehemently condemned Jason, probably already at the Order's first meeting in 1431. Instead, he proposed

[58] Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, Série B. Nos. 1947/69 and 1948, fols. 262v–264v; *Inventaire sommaire*, 123f. The dates given do not refer to the artist's payments but to the reimbursement of the Hesdin account by the general account of the Duchy.

[59] Published in full in: *Inventaire sommaire*, 123f.; Laborde I, Nos. 944–968; Christiaan Kramm and Johannes Immerzeel, *De Levens en Werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche Kunstschilders, Beeldhouwers, Graveurs en Bouwmeesters van den Vroegsten tot op Onzen Tijd*, Amsterdam, 1863, 1785f.; and partly trans. in Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, London, 1970, 138f.

[60] Laborde I, Nos. 944f.

[61] *Ibid.*, No. 947.

[62] *Ibid.*, No. 957.

[63] Doutrepont, 200; Pinkernell, 98f.

[64] E.g., in repeating illustrations of the same text; Alexandre de Laborde, *La Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin*, Paris, 1909, pls. XXIV, XXV, XXVII, and XXXVII.

[65] E.g., A.D.N. B (as cited in n. 58), No. 1987; Laborde II, No. 4012.

[66] The material in this paragraph is based on the work of Doutrepont.

[67] Olivier de la Marche, *Epistre pour tenir et celebrer la noble feste du Thoison d'or*, ed. H. Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont, Paris, 1883–88, IV, 183f.

[68] E.g. *Ovide moralisé*, VII, ll. 709–803.

[69] Charles Terlinden, "Les Origines religieuses et politiques de la Toison d'Or," *Centre Européen d'Etudes Burgundo-Médianes. Publications*, V, 1963, 35–46.

[70] Jacques du Clercq, *Mémoires*, ed. de Reiffenberg, Brussels, 1823, III, 192.

23 *Pelias Meets Jason Half-Shod* from Raoul Lefèvre, *Historie van Jason*. London, British Library, Add. MS 10290, fol. 53r (photo: Brit. Lib.)

24 *The Argonauts on Colchis* from Lefèvre, *Historie van Jason*, fol. 91r

the politically less appropriate but more scriptural Gideon, apparently forgetting that the Bible credits Gideon with several wives and a concubine.[71] Philip yielded. The official patronage was changed and in 1448 the eight large tapestry panels of Gideon were ordered. The set was complete in 1453 and displayed at subsequent meetings of the Order.[72]

Philip did not abandon Jason, however. His copy of *Le Champion des Dames* of 1431 gives the Greek hero almost equal billing with Gideon within a border of the Order's emblems (Fig. 26).[73] Philip's great Banquet of the Pheasant staged after the fall of Constantinople in 1454, in order to promote a Crusade, included the story of Jason among its mimed interludes. On a raised stage, the hero was seen fighting the bulls and dragon, sowing the dragon's teeth, and watching the armed men spring up to kill one another.[74]

One of the witnesses of the feast, Philippe Bouton, wrote a poem soon afterward that reveals that Jason was much admired in Philip's entourage, but also that some still considered him an equivocal model for knightly behavior. The poem goes so far as to identify Jason with the Duke himself, but it urges him to be a better Jason, who will not break his promise. Bouton was referring to Philip's vow to start a new Crusade.[75]

A full-scale rehabilitation of Jason does not seem to have been possible until the time of Germain's death in

25 *The Struggle for the Fleece* from Lefèvre, *Historie van Jason*, fol. 106v

[71] Judges 8:29ff.

[72] Lille, A.D.N. B (as cited in n. 58), Nos. 2002 and 2012; *Inventaire sommaire*, 184 and 192; Laborde I, Nos. 1401 and 1412; Eugene Soil, "Les Tapisseries de Tournai. . . . Recherches et documents," *Société Historique et Littéraire de Tournai, Mémoires*, XXII, 1891, 374f.

[73] Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 12476; Alphonse Bayot, *L'Estrif de fortune et de vertu*, Paris/Brussels, 1928, II, nn. 1 and 2.

[74] Matthieu d'Escouchy, *Chroniques*, ed. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt, Paris, 1863, II, 144–151.

[75] Jean de la Croix Bouton, "Un Poème à Philippe le Bon sur la Toison d'Or," *Annales de Bourgogne*, XLII, 1970, 5–29.

26 Frontispiece, *Le Champion des dames*. Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 12476, fol. 1v (photo: Bibl. Nat.)

1460. That is precisely the time when Raoul Lefèvre composed his *Histoire de Jason*.[76] In the prologue, Lefèvre declared that he would correct the error of those who besmirched the hero's glory by accusing him of breaking his promise to Medea. He then proceeded to invent a first love for Jason, Mirro, Queen of Olyferne, to whom he tries to remain faithful even as he yields to the passionate aggressions of, successively, Hypsipile, Medea, and Creusa. Jason abandons Medea only temporarily, in horror at her causing the death of Pelias, and in the end he fulfills his duty to Mirro and Medea too.[77]

As late as 1472, Guillaume Fillastre still felt compelled to explain Jason's behavior. The first book of his *Histoire de la Thoison d'Or*, based on a sermon he preached in 1468, reports all of Jason's loves, but attributes all his failures to Medea. It ends with a *moralité* in which Jason is identified as the two-fold symbol of knightly magnanimity and of Christ himself, whose saving work can be obstructed by the weakness of human flesh, represented by Medea.[78]

Now it appears that another Argonautic account existed at the Burgundian court at least by 1430 and perhaps as early as 1390, if the Hesdin paintings were indeed created by Broederlam. Although the account was probably embedded in the Universal History, where it still lies in the surviving manuscript, it presented a combination of episodes uniquely full for the early half of the century, with that of Phineus among them. Hypsipile's was probably included too because the surviving copy has all the other episodes contained in its Ovidian sources.

Hypsipile is not in the late copy, however. The account of Jason's extracurricular love affair seems to have been left out in deference to the condemnation that prevailed at the Burgundian court. The excision cannot have been the work of the scribe, so unfamiliar with the ancient names that he usually misspelled them, who was surely copying an already edited text. By his time, more sophisticated ways of explaining the hero's behavior had been invented: Lefèvre finished his work around 1460 and Fillastre outlined his ideas in a sermon in 1468. The present text of the Golden Fleece Romance contains no allegorizations and is merely bowdlerized. Such a simple procedure must predate Lefèvre's subtler effort.

Hypsipile is likewise absent from the Berlin Roll. The break in the execution just where her scene belongs is a visible scar of excision and reveals that the scene was among the paintings at Hesdin. In 1455 it would have been unwise to include the scene in so public a monument as a tapestry: Germain was still alive and people like Bouton were still "besmirching the hero's glory." One can imagine the first draftsman copying the paintings and composing the titles, perhaps from an edited text of the Romance. If the Hypsipile episode had been absent from his text, he might have been unable to identify the scene when he came to it on the wall at Hesdin; perhaps he stopped to inquire and received the order to omit it. He then turned the job over to his associate, perhaps meaning to finish the titles after the drawings were done.

We have seen that the Roll was excerpted soon afterwards, probably for a manuscript whose early miniatures would have shown the three Phrixus incidents, perhaps in a single picture; Pelias meeting Jason half-shod; the Argonauts taking leave of Pelias; and their meeting with Aëtes and Medea in Colchis. At the same time, since the bowdlerized version of the Romance appears to have been made sometime before 1460, it may have been taken from the larger context and presented in a manuscript of its own around this time. Transcribed in the large Burgundian *bastarda* and illustrated with large miniatures, such a work would have resembled the slim and handsome picture books that the *Girart* artists were producing. There is actually a hint of such a manuscript in a problematical and so far unidentified entry in the inventory of Philip's library. It speaks of an illuminated book that was entitled on the spine "Coment Jason conquist la Thoison d'or et de la première destruction de Troyes."[79]

[76] Pinkernell, 45, with a dating of ca. 1460.

[77] Doutrepont, 202f.; Pinkernell, 97f.

[78] Guillaume Fillastre, *Le Premier et le Second Volume de la Thoison d'Or*, Paris, 1516, fols. iv–ix; Doutrepont, 206 f.

[79] Joseph Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique, ou librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens*, Paris, 1830, Nos. 1079/1782; Alphonse Bayot, *La Légende de Troie à la cour de Bourgogne*, Bruges, 1908, 46. The problem is that the unidentifiable text of the manuscript was in German. It is unclear whether the French title on the spine was merely a translation of the German content, or whether the binding had been transferred from some other manuscript.

Whether or not such a manuscript was made, the Roll testifies to a possible tapestry commission and certainly to a renewed interest in Jason in the period after the fall of Constantinople. During those years, Philip was commissioning tents and banners for his planned Crusade.[80] Considering that tapestries were an essential part of a royal commander's military equipment, it is significant that Philip bought up the Gideon cartoons in 1455.[81] He may merely have been preventing the replication of the Order's official tapestries, but another motive is possible too: he may have planned to have duplicates made, in some center other than Tournai, to take along with him on the Crusade. It is intriguing to think that he may have entertained a plan for a companion set, more comprehensive and more modern than his grandfather's two panels, one that would match the staid subject of Gideon with the romantic adventures of Jason.

Tufts University

Bibliography of Frequently Cited Sources

Dehaisnes, Chrétien, ed., *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois, et le Hainaut avant le XVe siècle*, Lille, 1886

Delaissé, Léon M. J., ed., *Le Siècle d'or de la miniature flamande. Le mécénat de Philippe le Bon*, exh. cat., Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brussels/Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1959

De Schryver, Antoine, "Pour une Meilleure Orientation des recherches à propos du maitre du Girart de Roussillon," *Rogier van der Weyden en zijn Tijd*, Brussels, 1974, 43–82

Doutrepont, Georges, "Jason et Gedéon, patrons de la Toison d'Or," *Mélanges Godefroid Kurth*, Liège/Paris, 1908, II, 191–208

Ovid, *Heroides and Amores* (*Ovid in Six Volumes* I), ed. Grant Showerman, Cambridge, Mass./London, 1971

Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales anterieurs à 1790: Nord, Série B, ed. Chrétien Dehaisnes, Lille, 1898, IV

Laborde, Léon de, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, 2nd pt., *Preuves*, Paris, 1849 and 1851

Pinkernell, Gert, ed., *Raoul Lefèvre, L'Histoire de Jason*, Frankfurt a/M, 1971

'Ovide moralisé,' poeme du commencement du quatorzième siècle, ed. Cornelis De Boer *et al.* (Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeeling Letterkunde, *Verhandelingen*, n.r. xxx), 1931

Panofsky, Erwin, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1953

Salet, Francis, and Geneviève Souchal, *Les Chefs-d'oeuvre de la tapisserie du XIVe au XVIe siècle*, exh. cat., Grand Palais, Paris, 1973

Troescher, Georg, *Die burgundische Malerei*, Berlin, 1966

Appendix[1]

Berlin Roll

A. Comment Frixus et Hellé sa seur en grant misère s'en vont en bois et desert et ne savoient que faire ne que devenir.

b. Nimphile sentant en son cuer le deuil et la grant misere de ses deux enffans pre a Juno la déesse sa maistresse de conforter sesdiz enffans de leur douleurs.

c. Cy s'aparut Junc la déesse aux deux enffans devantdiz. Et leur donna un mouton vifz, lequel avoit la thoison d'or, et leur commanda de passer sur ledit mouton en l'ille de Colcos oultre mer et d'en faire offerande a Mars le dieu des guerres.

Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS fr. 15458, fols. 8v–10v

I. L'istoire du toison d'or qui fut cause de la destruction de la noble cité de Troye

Ovide le pouète en son vij[e] livre Metamorphose raconte une histoire merveilleuse d'un toison qui estoit tout d'or et ausi en fait il mension en son livre qui Herodium [est appelé],[2] sicomme les expositeurs qui sur ce escrivent, tesmoignent et declairent . . .

. . . sy ne savoint que faire . . .

Anymphe . . . sentant en son cuer la douleur et misère . . . depria Juno sa maistresse . . . que . . . elle fist secours a ses enfens et les jestast de la misère ou il estoint.

Celle Juno . . . s'aparut aulx enfens et leur donna un moton vif lequel avoit la toison d'or, et leur commanda . . . qu'il . . . passisent la mer . . . en l'ile de Colcos faire offrande du toison a Mars le dieu des batailles

[80] Laborde I, Nos. 1479–1602; Vaughan (as cited in n. 59), 360–65.

[81] Laborde I, No. 1605.

[1] The texts are transcribed literally, except that "u's," "v's," and the use of capital letters have been modernized. Modern punctuation and a few accents, mainly for final "e's," have been added. Words crossed out or repeated by the scribe are omitted. Brackets indicate illegible words, for which suggested readings are occasionally offered.

[2] Presumed scribal omission.

d. Cy vont Frixus et Hellé selon le commandement de Juno chevauchant sur ledit mouton sur la mer pour aler audit ille de Colcos, laquelle Hellé demoura noyée, de quoy ladite mer ou ce advint est apellée Hellespontus.

. . . et montrèrent sus le moton et se mirent a chemin en la mer pour faire ce qui leur estoit commandé; et en chevaulchant fut Herlé noyée, pour quoy la mer a esté, et est encore, apellée Heleponthus.

E. Cy vint Frixus sur terre, après ce que Hellé sa seur fust noyée, en l'isle de Colcos. Et fait selon le commandement de Juno la déesse offerande dudit mouton a Mars le dieu des guerres.

Et Frixus . . . ariva et descendit a terre en l'ile de Colcos . . . et du toison fist offrande a Mars, sicomme Juno lui avoit commandé . . .

f. Mars, a qui ceste offerande estoit mout agréable, mist icelle thoison d'or en ung prex et lui baillast forte ayde, c'est assavoir de deux toureaux a piez de cuivre, cornes de fer, yeulx ardans qui par leurs gorges et narines gectoient feu et flames, et en apres y mist ung orrible dragon qui oncques ne dormist, a grans dans et trois langues gectans feu et venin par la gueulle. Et pour la doubte desdiz oribles bestes n'estoit homme qui osast aprouchier cedit lieu.

Mars, a qui ceste offrande estoit agréable mit ce toison d'or en ung pray . . . il mist tres forte garde, c'est assavoir deulx . . . toreaulx qui avoint piés de cuivre[3] et cornes de serf. les yeulx ardens . . . par les guelles et les naseaux gettoint feu et flame . . . et emprès avoit ung horrible dagron que oncques ne dormit, lequel avoit troys langues . . . Il getoit feu et venin par la gueulle . . . sy doubte que nus tant fust fort hardi . . . qui . . . ne s'ousat aventurer d'entrer en ce lieu.

II. Comment la noble toison fut conquis par Jason filz de Ezon, frère du roy Pelias

g. En ce temps eust en Gresse ou royaulme de Tesaille ung roy appellé Pelias lequel eust ung frere nommé Eson, et icellui Eson avoit ung filz qui estoit mout fort et hardi et chevalier de grant couraige appellé Jason, dont il advint que les dieux s'aparurent audit roy Pelias en lui disant que le premier homme qu'il recontreroit a ung pié nu, que ce seroit cellui qui luy hosteroit son royaulme.

Peleus roy de Theselle, lequel eut ung frere qui estoit apellé Enson. Celuy avoit ung filx nommé Jason . . . estoit fors et hardy, large et courtoys . . . Or, avint que les dieux s'aparurent au roy Pelias en disant que celuy qui enconteroit le premier ung pié nu seroit celuy qui luy outeroit son réaulme.

h. Cy vint Jason, yssant de sa chambre a ung pié nu qui a riens ne pensoit, encontra son oncle, lequel fust mout esbahi, doubtant la grant proesse de Jason son nepveu. Il se pensa comment il le traieroit par [semblant] d'amours.

Et Jason, qui riens ne pensoit en issant de sa chambre, ung pié nu encontra son oncle, lequel fut moult ebahÿ . . . doubtant la grant prouesse son nepveu, si pensa comant soubs couverture d'amour il le pouroit envoyer en exil.

J. Cy tient le roy Pelias une haulte feste de nobles de son païs de fort aparense. Et séant a table, appella Jason son nepveu et lui dist que pour acquerir honneur et chevalerie et louange perpetuelle, qu'il voulsist entreprandre de conquerir la noble et riche thoison d'or, laquelle estoit en l'isle de Colcos, dont renommée estoit par tout le monde que nulz n'y osoit entreprendre de y aler qu'il ne fust perdu. Jason, qui n'entrevit que a proesse, comprist le louange comme preux et chevalereux, non pensant la malice de sondit oncle.

. . . ce Pelias tint une haulte court plenire des plus nobles de son païs . . . Pelias apella son nepveu en disant . . . pour toy esmouvoir a plus haulte honneur je te fais savoir que en

l'île de Colcos est[4] une merveille d'un moton qui a la toison tout d'or lequel ne peult estre conquis . . . Jason, non pensant a la malisce de son oncle, mais a haulte prouesse de chevalerie . . .

k. Cy ont Pelias et Jason mandé ung maistre ouvrier appellé Argos pour faire une nef pour passer Jason et sa compaignie oultre mer en l'isle de Colcos.

. . . Pelias . . . menda ung engineur cherpentier nommé Argos . . . pour faire une nef forte et puissant . . .

L. Cy fist Argos selon le commandement une forte nef qui après luy fust nommée, et Jason et toute sa compaignie en furent appellée Argonaute.

. . . et ainsin fist. Celle nef fut nommée Argos, pour laquelle Jason et ses compaignons furent puis apellés Argoniens.

m. Cy print Jason congié au roy Pelias son oncle pour monter sur mer accompaigné de pluseurs gentilz hommes du royaulme de Tessale et de Gresse lesquelz[ ] mout, dont, ainsi que Comllons escript, y comptoit Herculés, Theseus et plusieurs aultres chevaliers.

. . . Jason et sa compaignie qui estoint des plus nobles du réaulme de Tessalle et de Grece lesqueulx avoient moult . . . Sicomme dit Guidonis y estoient Herculés et Nestor et Theseus . . . et entrèrent en la nef. Apres print congié de son oncle.

N. Cy arrivent Jason et sa chevalerie ou royaulme de Frigie ou Troies séoit pour luy renvitailler. Et fist tendre tantes et pavillons sur terre pour luy et ses gens reffraichir. Lorce Laomedon qui en ce temps estoit roy de Troies, oyst nouvelle que une nef armée estoit arrivée en sa terre sans son commandement. Pource il fust tresmal content et luy manda par mal talent que incontinent se partist ou autrement il y [perireoit.]

. . . il prindrent port en Frige ou Troye seoit lors. Et pour eulx

refreschir . . . Quant Laumedon sceut que Grecs estoient venuz en sa terre armés, qu'il avoit tant tenue en paix . . . "te mande de par moy . . . que vous yssez . . . que se vous ne vous partez tantost il vous fera honte."

[3] MS: leuure

[4] MS: en

The Iconography of the Sala degli Stucchi in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara*

Charles M. Rosenberg

The Palazzo Schifanoia was built in the late fourteenth century by Alberto d'Este.[1] It is located in the southeastern section of the city of Ferrara, not far from the Renaissance circuit of walls. Although the palace is only about a fifteen-minute walk from the cathedral-castello complex, it was still considered a suburban residence. For example, in December, 1482, when Francesco Gonzaga wrote asking for lodgings for himself and his entourage, he specifically rejected the Schifanoia as too cold and far away.[2]

In the late 1460's, extensive additions to the original structure of the Palace were made by Borso d'Este, Duke of Modena, Reggio, and Ferrara.[3] Borso added a second floor to the single-story structure, which had a cellar, attic, and exterior loggia (Fig. 1). This addition seems to indicate an intention to use the palace more frequently, and to make the structure suitable for winter as well as summer residence, even if Francesco Gonzaga was later to judge the effort unsuccessful.[4]

In the Borsian suite, vestiges of quattrocento decorations survive in three rooms: the Sala degli Stemmi, the Sala degli Stucchi, and the Sala dei Mesi. The first of these rooms has only very fragmentary remains of its original decorations. What does survive indicates that the walls had a dado enriched with a repeating design whose main motif was a series of medallions containing the personal *imprese* of Borso.

The Sala dei Mesi, painted by Francesco del Cossa, Baldassare d'Este, and others, contains one of the most extensive and enigmatic secular fresco cycles of the mid-quattrocento (Fig. 2).[5] Seven of the twelve original major wall areas survive in good condition, and traces of the other five are more or less visible. Each field is divided into three zones. The uppermost zone depicts a Roman god or goddess riding in a triumphal chariot. The deities are each surrounded by various attributes and activities associated with them in the writings of such mythographers as Manilius, Albericus, and Boccaccio. Represented in the middle zone are the twelve zodiacal signs and thirty-six single or paired figures: they are the decans, eastern demigods each of whom was supposed to govern ten degrees of the zodiacal circle. The lowest zone of the fields represents the earthly realm. The individual parts of this zone depict various activities of Borso d'Este, his court, and his subjects in both the city and the country. The overall structure of the frescoes suggests a connection of the ideal heavenly sphere of the gods and the zodiac with the ideal earthly sphere of Borso's domain.

The decorations of the Sala degli Stucchi[6] are significantly different from those of the other two rooms (Fig. 3). Almost all of the wall frescoes have been lost. Explorations in the southern section of the west wall have, however, uncovered the remains of a very elaborate painted design of uncertain date. The sculptural decorations survive seemingly intact. They consist of an elaborate polychrome stucco frieze, about two and a half meters high, and a coffered ceiling carved and

*A version of this paper was read at the Annual Meeting of the College Art Association in Los Angeles, California, on February 3, 1977. Some of the material assembled here also appears in my doctoral dissertation "Art in Ferrara During the Reign of Borso d'Este (1451–71): A Study in Court Patronage," University of Michigan, 1974. The research for this paper was supported by grants from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and the S.U.N.Y. Research Foundation.

[1] The basic chronology of the Palazzo Schifanoia can be found in Gualtiero Medri, "Il Palazzo Estense di Schifanoia dal secolo XIV al secolo XX," *Rivista di Ferrara*, III, 1935, 328–28; Bruno Zevi, *Biagio Rossetti: architetto ferrarese, il primo urbanista moderno europeo*, Turin, 1960, 57–62; and, most recently and accurately, S. Ghironi and F. Baroni, "Note storiche su Palazzo Schifanoia," *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione Provincale Ferrarese di Storia Patria*, ser. III, Vol. XXI, 1975, 97–170. The fundamental biography of Borso d'Este remains Giuseppe Pardi, "Borso d'Este, Duca di Ferrara, Modena e Reggio," *Studi storici*, ed. Amadeo Crivellucci, XV, 1906, 3–58, 134–204, 241–288, 377–416, and XVI, 1907, 113–170.

[2] Archivio Estense, Archivio di Stato, Modena (hereafter MAE), Carteggi principi esteri, Roma, busta 116.

[3] Medri, "Il Palazzo," 324–27, and Zevi, *Biagio Rossetti*, 58–59.

[4] There is evidence that Borso's first stays in the Schifanoia after the renovations were in late October, 1469, and in mid-December, 1470, when furniture and bedding were moved into the Palace. MAE, Casa amministrazione, Guardaroba, *Nota de Roba dela Guardaroba . . . de se dare . . .* (1465–71), fols. 187v and 196v.

[5] The basic discussions of the iconography of the frescoes remain Aby Warburg, "Italienische Kunst und internationale Astrologie im Palazzo Schifanoja zu Ferrara (1912)," *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, Leipzig, 1932, 459–481; Eberhard Ruhmer, *Cosimo Tura–Paintings and Drawings*, London, 1958, 27–31; and *idem*, *Francesco del Cossa*, Munich, 1959, 74–75. The problems of attribution are summarized in Giacomo Bargellesi, *Palazzo Schifanoia; gli affreschi nel "Salone dei mesi" in Ferrara*, Bergamo, 1945, 12–19; and Paolo d'Ancona, *The Schifanoia Months at Ferrara*, Milan, 1954, 101–06.

[6] These decorations have been discussed most with respect to the artists who executed them and not to their curious form and content. See, e.g., Gualtiero Medri, "La scultura a Ferrara," *Atti e Memorie della Deputazione Provincale Ferrarese di Storia Patria*, n.s. XVII, 1957, 52–53.

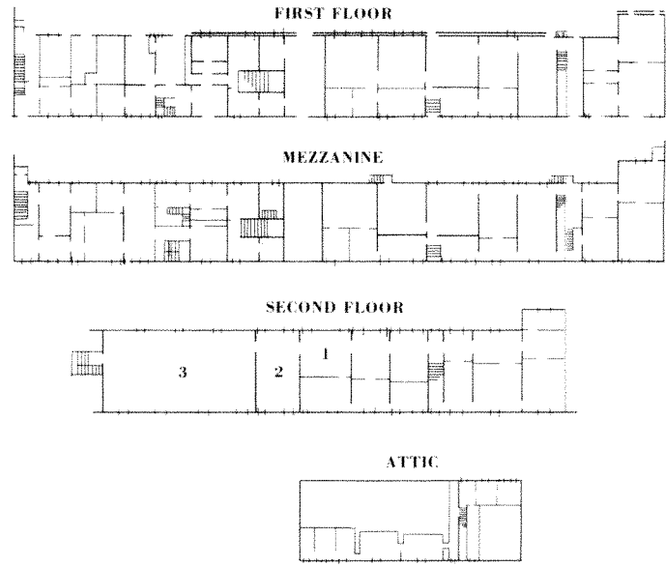
gilded equally elaborately. These decorations were executed by Domenico di Paris and Bongiovanni di Geminiano sometime after April, 1467.[7] The only elements in the ceiling that are neither vegetal nor purely decorative in nature are the medallions and escutcheons with Borsian and Este family *imprese* that appear in the center of each of the large ceiling coffers.

The frieze is much more significant. The overall mood of its decorations is festive, a tone appropriate to a suburban palace. This impression derives from the splendor of the decorations and the lavish use of brilliant colors and gilding. The element most important for an understanding of the iconography of the Sala, however, lies neither in the vegetal nor decorative passages of the frieze but in the figures represented there. On the long walls, set into shallow niches, are seated female figures modeled almost entirely in the round and representing the Virtues. There are six: Faith, Hope, and Charity on the east wall; Fortitude, Temperance, and Prudence on the west (Figs. 4–9). Flanking the niches, winged *putti* blowing trumpets stand either directly on the lower molding or on small vegetal corbels. Other trumpeting *putti* appear standing on the lower moldings of the north and south walls, where the major divisions contain the Este and Borsian emblems. Still more trumpeting *putti* are shown in other parts of the frieze (Fig. 3). The general tone of the decorations suggests a triumphal theme.

All of the figures twist and turn in unfettered movement. Indeed, the medium, color, and poses of the Virtues and *putti* give an impression of real, animate presence.

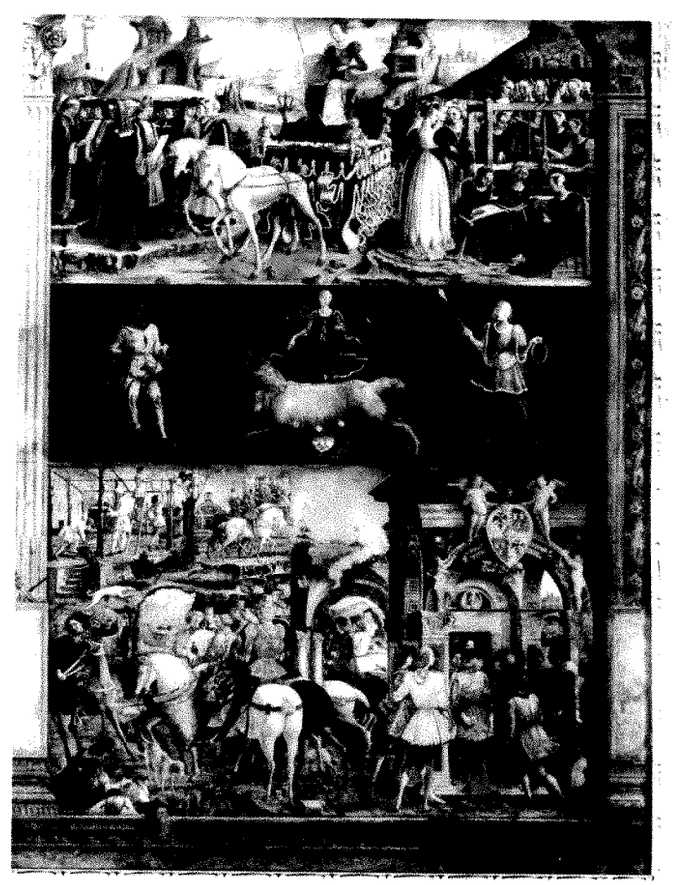
Although there is documentary evidence that a similar sort of decoration may have existed in Borso's private apartments in the ducal palace at the Certosa of Ferrara,[8] surviving examples of polychrome stucco decorations in northern Italy are extremely rare. They belong to a category that includes stucco and glazed and unglazed terra-cotta—all vulnerable materials. The surviving works very probably represent only a small percentage of what was actually produced.[9]

If this assumption is correct, then the most remarkable aspect of the Sala degli Stucchi is not the medium of its decorations but rather their meaning. In particular, some explanation is needed for the triumphal overtones, the selection of the Virtues for the room, and the curious omission of Justice from the series. This omission is extraordinary for two reasons: it is, as far as I know, unique within the tradition of trecento and quattrocento secular Virtue cycles, that is, of cycles that do not appear on tombs or in ecclesiastical settings. Its



1-Sala degli stemmi 2-Sala degli stucchi 3-Sala dei mesi

1 Plans of the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara (drawing: Patrick C. Blackburn)

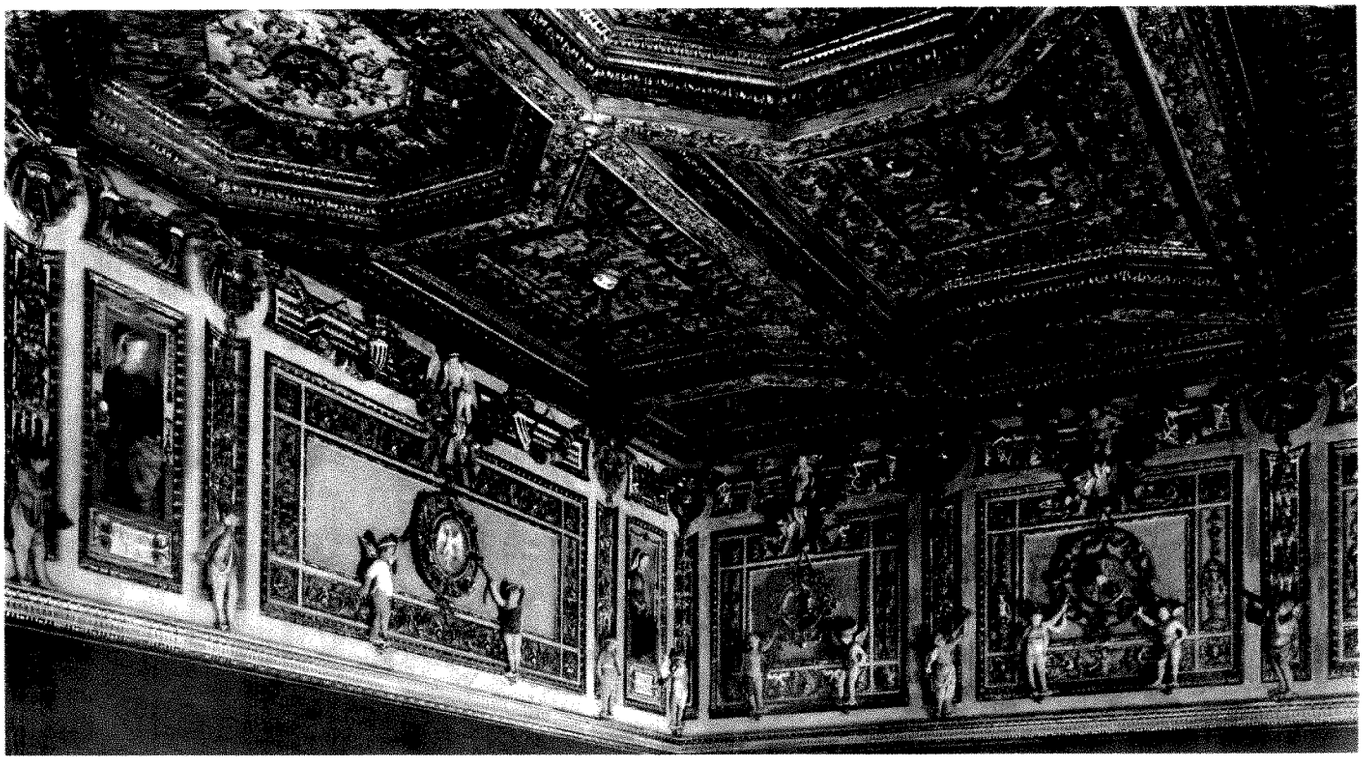


2 Francesco del Cossa, *March*, Sala dei Mesi. Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia (photo: Alinari)

[7] For the existing documentation, see Luigi Napoleone Cittadella, *Notizie amministrative, storiche, artistiche relative a Ferrara ricavate da documenti*, I, Ferrara, 1868, 578 and 704.

[8] Charles M. Rosenberg, "Notes on the Borsian Addition to the Palazzo Schifanoia," *Bollettino annuale dei musei ferraresi*, 1973, 34.

[9] I am indebted to Ulrich Middeldorf for this suggestion.



3 Sala degli Stucchi. Ferrara, Palazzo Schifanoia (photo: Alinari)

omission is, furthermore, directly contradictory to Borso's personal iconography.

Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century secular cycles of Virtues are generally found in two contexts.[10] First, they appear in conjunction with audience halls, courtrooms, tribunals, or other administrative spaces. Familiar examples are Giotto's lost fresco of four civic Virtues done for the Palazzo del Podestà in Florence, Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Allegory of Good and Bad Government* in the Sala della Pace in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, Taddeo di Bartolo's cycle of the *uomini famosi* in the antechamber of the chapel of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, the cycle for the tribunal of the Mercanzia in Florence by Pollaiuolo and Botticelli, the cycle in the Sala Vecchia degli Svizzeri in the Vatican, and the frescoes by Perugino in the Sala dell' Udenzia in the Cambio in Perugia.

Virtues also appear in scenes of triumph. For example, Virtues accompany the triumphal *carri* on the back of Piero della Francesca's portrait of Federico da Montefeltro and his wife, Battista Sforza. A similar triumph adorns the frontispiece of a manuscript entitled *Divi Borsii Estensis Triumphus* . . . , presented to Borso by its author Guasparre Trimbocchi (Fig. 10).[11]

These triumphal depictions of a ruler surrounded by the Virtues derive from the tradition of Roman Imperial triumphs, the Petrarchian *trionfi*, and, more important, from the living example of the festivals and triumphs that typically accompanied important public events in the Renaissance.[12] In the Ferrarese sphere, examples of triumphal entries were provided by the processions in Modena and Reggio held in 1453 to celebrate Borso's investiture as Duke.[13] Although Borso did not actually ride in a chariot in either procession, he was, nonetheless, addressed by allegorical figures in the *carri* as maintainer of the peace, embodiment of *liberalitas*,[14] and possessor of all of the seven Cardinal Virtues.

The symbolism of one of the carts in the Reggio procession is of particular interest. This cart was drawn by

[10] Tomb and chapel decorations have been excluded as irrelevant to this discussion.

[11] Biblioteca Estense, Modena, α M. 7, 21 (Latin 82), fol. 2r.

[12] For a general discussion of 15th-century festivals and triumphs, see Jacob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, II, New York and Evanston, 1858, 401–25, and, more recently, Roy Strong, *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theater of Power*, Boston, 1973, chap. 2, and Giovanni Caradente, *I trionfi nel primo Rinascimento* n.p, 1963.

[13] The text for the entire Reggio procession has been published by Adolfo Levi, *Le poesie latine e italiane di Malatesta Ariosti*, Florence, 1904, 26–36. The Modena procession is described in a letter written by Vittore Pavoni to Constantino de' Lardi. The letter is dated June 25, 1453, and is found in MAE, Cancellaria ducale, Carteggio di referendari, consiglieri, segretari, ecc., busta 2B.

[14] The emphasis on *liberalitas* was probably motivated by Borso's reductions of the salt and milling taxes.

4 *Faith*, Sala degli Stucchi

5 *Hope*, Sala degli Stucchi

6 *Charity*, Sala degli Stucchi

7 *Fortitude*, Sala degli Stucchi

8 *Temperance*, Sala degli Stucchi

9 *Prudence*, Sala degli Stucchi

four horses. Three steps above its base was a platform on which stood an empty throne. Seated below the throne on the second step of the platform was a boy dressed as Justice, with a drawn sword in one hand and a pair of scales at his feet. At the four corners of the platform were four youths dressed as Roman statesmen, Cato, Numa, Regulus, and Cincinnatus, ancient authors and upholders of the law. At the four corners of the base of the cart were boys with banners bearing the ducal arms and the ensign of the *Comune*. Below Justice stood still another boy, this one dressed as an angel, who declared to Borso that Justice, who had been disdained by all the world since the death of the wise Roman emperors, was now in love with the Duke. Justice then invited Borso to fill the seat that had been empty since the death of all the wise rulers of humanity.[15] Borso modestly declined.

The implications of this presentation were twofold. First, it implied that Borso was the equivalent of the ancient lawgivers, exemplars of Justice in the tradition

[15] Levi, *Le poesie*, 29–30.

10 *Borso d'Este in Triumph*, from G. Trimbocchi, *Divi Borsii Estensis Triumphus*. . . . Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α M. 7, 21 (Latin 82), fol. 2r (photo: Orlandini)

of the *uomini famosi*. Second, it suggested that the Duke was qualified to serve as Justice's earthly counterpart or representative.[16]

Such a specific reference to Borso as the representative or embodiment of Justice was by no means unique to the Reggio triumph. The importance of Borso's possession of that princely Virtue was stressed in the ducal investiture ceremony itself, which took place in Ferrara in 1452. In addition to the numerous white banners borne by Borso's entourage in the preliminary procession, three figured banners were also carried. One of these displayed the arms of Justice.[17]

Borso's identification with Justice in both the symbolic and pragmatic senses is still more pervasive. In the early period of his reign, Borso concentrated on major judicial reforms. For example, in 1453, he instituted a *Consiglio di Giustitia*, a group of counselors he empowered to make all but the most important judicial decisions. In 1455, he instructed the *Comune* of Ferrara to form a commission of ten men called the *riformatori* whose principal function would be to rewrite the statutes of the city. In 1456, he also established the office of the *Giudice del Comune*, a chief justice for matters of municipal law.[18]

In the realm of symbolism, the bronze, seated columnar monument that Borso had erected in the main square of Ferrara in front of the Palazzo della Ragione, made a clear and unambiguous reference to his exemplary administration of justice.[19] In addition, sometime between 1452 and 1471, a medal was struck depicting Borso on the obverse and a figure of Justice on the reverse, with an accompanying epigram, *Haec Te Unum*, "you and she are one" (Figs. 11 and 12).

Finally, the fresco of March in the Sala dei Mesi, the first field in that cycle, shows Borso administering justice (Fig. 13). The direct relationship between Borso and Justice is reinforced in this painting by the inclusion of a bust of the Duke in a lunette above the word *Justitia*. Given this strong and consistent emphasis on the Virtue of Justice and the identification of Borso with that quality in his personal iconography, it seems extremely odd that this particular Virtue should be omitted from the cycle in the Sala degli Stucchi.

Before a possible explanation for this omission is offered, one observation concerning the location of the Sala degli Stucchi in the Borsian apartments needs to be made. In the fifteenth century, the main route to the apartments of the *piano nobile* was by means of an exterior staircase on the garden side, a stairway which passed over the ground-floor loggia built by Alberto d'Este.[20] One would have entered the Sala dei Mesi through a doorway in the northeast corner, and have proceeded through the Sala dei Mesi into the Sala degli Stucchi, and then into the apartments proper, beginning with the Sala degli Stemmi. This reconstruction of the mode of entry to the palace is supported by the famous letter of Francesco del Cossa in which he refers to the Sala degli Stucchi as the *antecamera*, presumably to the ducal apartments.[21] Beyond the architectural relationship implied by Cossa's reference, however, little is known about the way these or any other rooms in the palace were used, a point to which I shall return.[22]

Only Eberhard Ruhmer has attempted to explain the omission of Justice from the Sala degli Stucchi cycle by

[16] The concept of the Duke as an embodiment of Justice is not unique. There probably was a cart devoted specifically to the theme of Justice in the Naples triumph of 1443. Nevertheless, the strength of the statement in the Reggio procession and the constant reference to that particular Virtue in the script do seem unusual.

[17] *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1409 sino al 1502 di autori incerti*, ed. Giuseppe Pardi, in Ludovico Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 2nd ed., Bologna, 1928, XXIV, Pt. 7, 35.

[18] As contemporary evidence supporting this interpretation of the Borso monument, see Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *Commentaries*, trans. and ed. Florence A. Gragg and Leona Gabel, *Smith College Studies in History*, XXV, 1939–1940, 181.

[19] For the structure of Borso's administration, see Werner L. Gundersheimer, *Ferrara: Style of a Renaissance Despotism*, Princeton, N.J., 1973, 138–44.

[20] Zevi, *Biagio Rossetti*, 60, and Ghironi and Baroni, "Note storiche," 134–35. As Ghironi and Baroni have also observed, there was a secondary staircase which gave access directly into the ducal apartments from the garden at the extreme eastern end of the palace.

[21] This letter has been published numerous times. The text can conveniently be found in Ruhmer, *Francesco del Cossa*, 48.

[22] As Ghironi and Baroni have observed (p. 144), however, the distribution of the rooms from the Sala degli Stemmi to the east suggests that the smaller rooms in the ducal apartments on the south, with their doorways arranged *en filade*, probably functioned as *guardacamere*.

reference to the Sala dei Mesi frescoes.[23] He suggested that the Virtue missing from the cycle was to be found in the first field of the adjoining Sala dei Mesi, where Borso is indeed shown administering justice. This is an intriguing suggestion, especially since it implies a shift from a depiction of the Virtues as single, symbolic figures to their representation through the actions of the ruler. Certainly there are some continuities of motif that do tie the two rooms together; most notably, the triumphal reference found in the stucco decorations seems to be echoed in the triumphal images of the gods and goddesses in the heavenly zone. Ruhmer's thesis, however, does not account for the difference in media between the two rooms, why the Virtues should be separated in such a manner, and why they appear in the Sala degli Stucchi in the first place.

Given the scale and nature of the decorations in the Sala dei Mesi, there seems little doubt that it was intended to be a major hall of state, used for public ceremonies and celebrations. Although the Sala dei Mesi may well have been appropriate for some official functions because of its size, however, it may have been inappropriate for others for this same reason. In his *Treatise on Architecture*, Filarete describes the ruler's palace in Sforzinda as having an extremely large official *salone*, the great hall, and other smaller official rooms like the Hall of the Counselors.[24] This scheme of a large *salone* for grand public functions and a smaller room for more private audiences or consultation may well have been inspired by the actual arrangement of the public rooms in the Castello in Milan. In his *Diaries*, Cicco Simonetta, the secretary of the Duke, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, records the staging of large official functions in the *sala grande* located over the *sala verde* in the Castello.[25] He also indicates that a much smaller room, the *camerata picola*, was used by the Duke to meet with his counselors.[26] The same sort of distinction between the types of staterooms implied in Filarete's scheme and in the actual layout of the Milanese Castello may have held true for the Palazzo Schifanoia. Because of its smaller size and location, the Sala degli Stucchi might well have functioned as a more intimate official space, one used for appropriate consultative or administrative purposes. The limited number of rooms in the suburban palace might have meant that the Sala degli Stucchi, which was located between the Sala dei Mesi and the smaller rooms of the ducal apartments (Fig. 1), would have served the dual function of both antechamber to the apartments and council room.

11, 12 Medal of Borso d'Este, 1452–1471, obverse and reverse (photos: Medaglieria Civico, Milan)

13 Borso administering justice, detail of Fig. 2

[23] Ruhmer, *Francesco del Cossa*, 74.

[24] Filarete, *Filarete's Treatise on Architecture*, trans. John R. Spencer, New Haven and London, 1965, I, p. 120, by implication.

[25] Francesco Simonetta, *I Diari di Cicco Simonetta*, ed. Alfio Rosario Natale; repr. in *Acta Italica*, I, 1962, 73.

[26] Simonetta, *Diari*, 260. The entry for October 12, 1478, reads, "Essendo . . . congregati in la camerata picola, dove alias se faceva el Consiglio. . . ."

How a room called an *"antecamera"* was normally used is a question difficult to answer. In the fifteenth century, rooms were normally denoted in one of four ways: by the content of their decorations (the *sala dipinta* or *sala verde*), by their size (the *camerata picola*, or *sala grande* or *sala magna*), by their function (the *cucina*, or *cancellaria* or *capella*), or, finally, by their location (the *sala sopra la sala verde* or *camera magna turris de medio*). The term *antecamera* was not used to denote a specific function or size. Instead, it seems simply to describe location, signifying that the room was adjacent to a larger room or suite of rooms.[27]

An *antecamera* could be used in a variety of ways. For example, Cicco Simonetta reported that on July 23, 1473, the Duke of Milan waited for the arrival of a Neapolitan nobleman in an *antisalla (sic)* in the Castello in Pavia. The Duke greeted his guest in this antechamber and then retired with him into the adjacent *camera rossa* for private discussions.[28] In this case, the antechamber was clearly used in much the same way as it would be today, that is, as a waiting room, where an official might meet a visitor whom he would then usher into another, more private room. By contrast, in 1478, Ercole I d'Este received a group of Bolognese ambassadors in an *antecamera*. These men had come to Ferrara to negotiate the engagement of Annibale Bentivoglio to Ercole's illegitimate daughter, Lucrezia. According to the Ferrarese chronicler and courtier Bernardino Zambotti, all of the negotiations concerning this political marriage were carried out in this antechamber.[29] In this case, then, the *antecamera* was used for a prolonged official event.

In undertaking to interpret the use of a particular room like an *antecamera*, it is necessary to consider a wide range of possible functions, allowing the references to the room, its furnishings, decorations, and location in the overall plan of the building to determine the limits of conjecture. The reference to the Sala degli Stucchi in the Cossa letter simply locates the room in relation to the Sala dei Mesi and to the ducal apartments. It makes no statement about its use. Surviving inventories that include the Schifanoia do not illuminate the function of the room, because the Sala is not specifically identified, and very little of the Este furniture is itemized. The court traditionally moved bedding and other portable furnishings from one villa or suburban palace to another as the need arose; few permanent fixtures were required. The decorations of the Sala and its location in the overall plan of the Palace, however, clearly support the identification of the room as a stateroom, rather than a private chamber. Thus, the only extant evidence supports the hypothesis that the Sala degli Stucchi could have been used as a small audience chamber.

If this interpretation of the function of the room is correct, the program of the stucco decorations can be linked to the tradition of representing Virtue cycles in administrative settings. Filarete, in fact, specifically recommends that the decoration of the Hall of the Counselors at Sforzinda include representations of the four civic Virtues. Justice, Temperance, and Prudence should be represented over the doorway, facing the ruler, while Fortitude should be over the ducal throne, facing the counselors.[30]

A general survey of the secular cycles cited above indicates that they were intended generally to communicate two types of messages. Some cycles were meant to be didactic, exhorting the ruler or administrative officials to follow the path of virtue in the execution of their official duties. In the Sala della Pace of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, for example, the allegorical program, including the representations of the Virtues, was meant to encourage the Council of Nine to follow the path of harmony in order to achieve a just communal government. Other cycles were designed to celebrate the ruler and to remind those in attendance that the Virtues represented were embodied in his person and actions. The painted triumphs of Federico da Montefeltro and Borso d'Este illustrate this celebratory function. The scheme of decorations in the Hall of the Counselors in Filarete's Sforzinda seems to combine these two possibilities. The three Virtues facing the duke remind him to apply them in making decisions, while the figure of Fortitude over his throne would suggest to the despot's advisors or supplicants that the ruler himself is the embodiment of this quality.

[27] This, for example, is the way in which Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti characterizes the apartments at Belriguardo. He generally describes them as consisting of an *antecamera, camere* and *servitrice* or *guardacamera*. See Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti, *Art and Life at the Court of Ercole d'Este: The 'De triumphis religionis' of Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti*, ed. Werner L. Gundersheimer, Geneva, 1972, 60. A truly systematic investigation of the terminology and use of various types of public and private rooms in the Renaissance still remains to be done.

[28] Simonetta, *Diari*, 42.

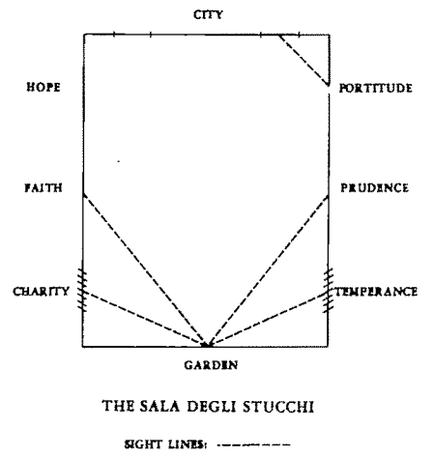
[29] Bernardino Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese*, in L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, Bologna, 1934, XXIV, pt. 7, 47.

[30] Filarete, *Treatise*, 120.

The decorations of the Sala degli Stucchi, with their strong triumphal overtones, also suggest not only the administrative, public function of the room, but also the virtuousness of the duke who ruled there. This scheme, however, makes the absence of the Virtue of Justice, the Virtue associated most ostentatiously with Borso, particularly enigmatic.

The solution to this enigma may lie in the assumption that the Virtue was not absent at all, but was represented in a more direct relationship with the Duke, as it is in the field of March in the adjacent Sala dei Mesi (Fig. 13). Justice may very well have been depicted in a fresco or tapestry behind the ducal throne, in a separate free-standing statue, or on the throne, in addition to being implicit in the person of the Duke himself. The hypothesis that Justice was singled out for special treatment does not seem unreasonable, considering the extraordinary importance which that Virtue had for the Duke's personal iconography. Furthermore, the isolation of a particular Virtue for emphasis was not unique in the history of Renaissance audience hall decorations. In addition to the painted figure of Justice on the wall of the Sala dell'Udenzia del Cambio in Perugia, there is also a separate statue of that Virtue by Benedetto da Majano in a niche behind the *banche* of the council. Similarly, in the Sala dell'Udenzia in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, the only specific representation of Justice is a fifteenth-century statue of the Virtue by Giuliano and Benedetto da Majano, set over the doorway.[31] Finally, as noted above, Filarete suggested that Fortitude be singled out for placement over the throne of the ruler in the Hall of the Counselors, to suggest the particular identification of the despot with that Virtue.[32] In similar fashion, the special treatment of Justice in the scheme of decorations of the Sala degli Stucchi would have suggested the special identification of Borso with a particular Virtue. Thus, in its use and its decorations, this chamber served to emphasize Borso's embodiment of the Virtues and his function as the dispenser of justice, an identification that the Duke specifically encouraged throughout his reign.

State University of New York, Brockport



14 Diagram of the Sala degli Stucchi, indicating the sight lines of the Virtues (drawing: Patrick C. Blackburn)

[31] I am indebted to Iris Cheney for drawing this example to my attention.

[32] Interestingly enough, of the six Virtues depicted in the Sala degli Stucchi, only Fortitude gazes down at the point where Borso most probably would have been seated. Faith, Charity, Temperance, and Prudence gaze down into the room, toward the south wall. They would, therefore, have confronted a supplicant or counselor as he entered the room. Hope, as is traditional, gazes upward (Fig. 14).

Pope Paul III's Additions to Raphael's Logge: His *Imprese* in the Logge*

Bernice F. Davidson

Fifteen years ago I made a thoughtless suggestion in reference to Perino del Vaga's contributions to Raphael's Logge[1] that has since been accepted by a number of scholars and now threatens to harden into firmly established fact.[2] The present article was undertaken as a brief essay to correct that error. But after two years of searching for answers to obvious and reasonable questions, I can offer instead only a series of hypotheses that could eventually prove to be even more misleading than my original supposition: *Caveat emptor*. The arguments presented here may appear both insignificant and tentative but in recent years others too have made statements about the Vatican palace that are simply invalid. These mistakes usually seem minor when viewed in isolation, yet they have led to potentially dangerous fallacies. If, for example, one assumes the presence of doors where none existed, one risks confusing the design and functions of entire suites of rooms. If one accepts as part of the original Logge decorations a fresco that was a later addition or if one displaces the sequence of *basamento* scenes, such errors can result in a misunderstanding of the theological program of the Logge. Any scholar sufficiently foolhardy to write about the Vatican must proceed with extreme caution and humility.[3]

My own initial blunder arose from the misinterpretation of payments made to Perino and assistants in 1546 and 1547 for painting and stucco in the Logge (see Appendix), payments that seemed to imply retouching of the original decoration. At the time I failed to observe that both end walls of the Logge and the window-niche in the west wall of the fifth bay include numerous *imprese* of Paul III (1534-1549), which are in all probability the works for which the payments were made. The phraseology of the payments, however, created unexpected difficulties, and even more surprising and complex problems emerged when I tried to discover what prompted the alterations and what they replaced.

Definitive answers to these questions have not been and may never be found. Many account books that might have offered pertinent evidence are lost, and many payments in extant books are recorded in terms so vague that the work cannot be identified. Surviving drawings and prints as well as early descriptions of the Vatican palace disappoint for similar reasons. Furthermore, popes over the centuries came to power and expired faster than the average sovereign, and, like any new homeowner, each pope tended to feel that his predecessors' ideas of comfort and convenience were unacceptable. As a consequence, the Vatican palace has become an indecipherable palimpsest of constant changes that continue to the present and even today proceed without adequate documentation. Although the additions to the Logge effected by Paul III were relatively minor, both in scope and in artistic interest, their import spreads literally in every direction. Any attempt to understand the reasons for the changes made by Paul demands exploration of these directions, which will be undertaken in the first part of this article. The second part examines the elaborate *imprese* that compose Paul III's decorations in the Logge.

I

Paul III's alterations to the Logge were begun in 1546-47, when it must have seemed that the problems of how to deal with the two ends of the palace façade, left

* Many colleagues and institutions have provided help and advice. I am particularly indebted, as always, to Dr. Fabrizio Mancinelli, who has given much of his valuable time, assisted with photographic problems, and offered useful suggestions. Christoph L. Frommel and John Shearman have both been unfailingly generous in advising me on architectural matters. Others have helped with bibliography and with fruitful discussions, especially Iris Cheney, Nicole Dacos, Milton Lewine, and Kathleen Weil-Garris. I also wish to thank the staffs of the Rare Book Division and the Spencer Collection, New York Public Library; Henry A. Millon and the American Academy in Rome; Wolfgang Lotz and the Biblioteca Hertziana; the Archivio di Stato, Rome; and the Frick Art Reference Library. Anne D. Ferry has made many helpful editorial suggestions.

[1] B. Davidson, "Early Drawings by Perino del Vaga," *Master Drawings*, I, 3, 1963, 6. Throughout the present article "Logge" is capitalized when referring to Raphael's Logge on the third level of the palace. Lowercase "logge" will signify the entire façade of logge or other wings of the logge.

[2] See, e.g., Leopold Dussler, *Raphael*, London-New York, 1971, 91; Nicole Dacos, *Le logge di Raffaello*, Rome, 1977, 141–42.

[3] Most of the arguments presented in the first part of this article are attempts to correct what appear to me to be demonstrable errors made in recent literature, in addition to my own. It seems unnecessary, however, to cite the other perpetrators, whose contributions in each case have been far greater than their mistakes.

unfinished by Bramante, had finally been resolved (Fig. 1).[4] At the south end of the palace on the second level, a corridor led to the Benediction Loggia of Pius II, but above this two-story structure, the third level and the lower portion of the fourth level of the palace logge had been sealed off at the end with a temporary blank wall, as may be seen in Maarten van Heemskerck's drawing of 1534–35 (Fig. 2).[5] Until an acceptable design for St. Peter's had been determined, it was not feasible to build the south block that ultimately would connect palace with basilica. At the opposite end of the palace façade, forming the juncture between the logge and the Belvedere corridor, was a medieval corner tower. This massive north tower had been left partly intact by Bramante while the Belvedere corridor was under construction and until work might be started on a wing extending to the east at right angles from the corner, a project only commenced under Pius IV.

Before his death in October, 1546, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger had presented plans for St. Peter's that at the time apparently satisfied Pope Paul. The architect must also have formulated proposals for finishing the south end of the logge that would relate the palace physically and visually with his new project for the basilica. Whatever Sangallo's intentions for this end of the palace may have been, the plans were abandoned shortly after his death along with his designs for the façade of St. Peter's. At the north end, Sangallo's work on the Belvedere corridor had reached near completion by 1546.[6] The unroofed, three-story corridor, which had partially collapsed in January of 1531 (its ruined condition is visible in Heemskerck's drawing, Fig. 2), was rebuilt and surfaced with a flat terrace. Above the terrace, adjoining the north tower and on the level of Raphael's Logge, Sangallo added one or more rooms for the pope.

With the construction of this apartment opening on the terrace leading to the Belvedere villa, it became desirable to establish suitable access to it from the palace through the north tower and, at the least, to improve the rough appearance of the tower itself. Entrance directly from tower into palace at that level could be made only at two points: through the Sala di Costantino and through Raphael's Logge.[7] It is probable that the heavy tower walls had already been penetrated at these two points, but the nature and date of such openings remain obscure. Originally, the tower housed a staircase,[8] which may have been left in place and may have allowed space for a landing and narrow hall or foyer at each level (Fig. 3).[9]

When the Sala di Costantino was decorated under Clement VII, any existing doors or windows from this room to the Logge and to the adjacent Sala de' Palafrenieri were, in my opinion, sealed, probably to

[4] It is curious that although many scholars have debated the intentions and relative responsibilities of Bramante and Raphael for the design of the upper stories (cf., e.g., Deoclecio Redig de Campos, "Bramante e il Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano," *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, XLIII, 1970–71, 283ff.), no one seems to have studied the more interesting question of what these architects proposed to build at either end of the logge. The following capsule survey necessarily skims over this as well as other great and difficult issues. A listing of the bibliography alone would fill a volume. Recent publications most relevant to the present subject and including ample bibliographies are: James S. Ackerman, *The Cortile del Belvedere*, Vatican City, 1954; Deoclecio Redig de Campos, *I Palazzi Vaticani*, Bologna, 1967; John Shearman, "The Vatican Stanze: Functions and Decoration," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, LVII, 1972. More profound study of the *Mandati* in the Archivio di Stato, Rome, and of contemporary manuscript diaries and letters no doubt would unearth useful material but would require far more time in Europe than I have been able to spend.

[5] The drawing by Heemskerck (Albertina, Inv. 31681), dated by Ackerman (*Belvedere*, 201) to the winter of 1534–35, is the most detailed and generally reliable view of the palace façade that has survived. In other early drawings the two ends of the façade are, maddeningly, blocked by foreground structures, or truncated at the right margin, or are so perfunctorily and inaccurately rendered that they are of dubious value.

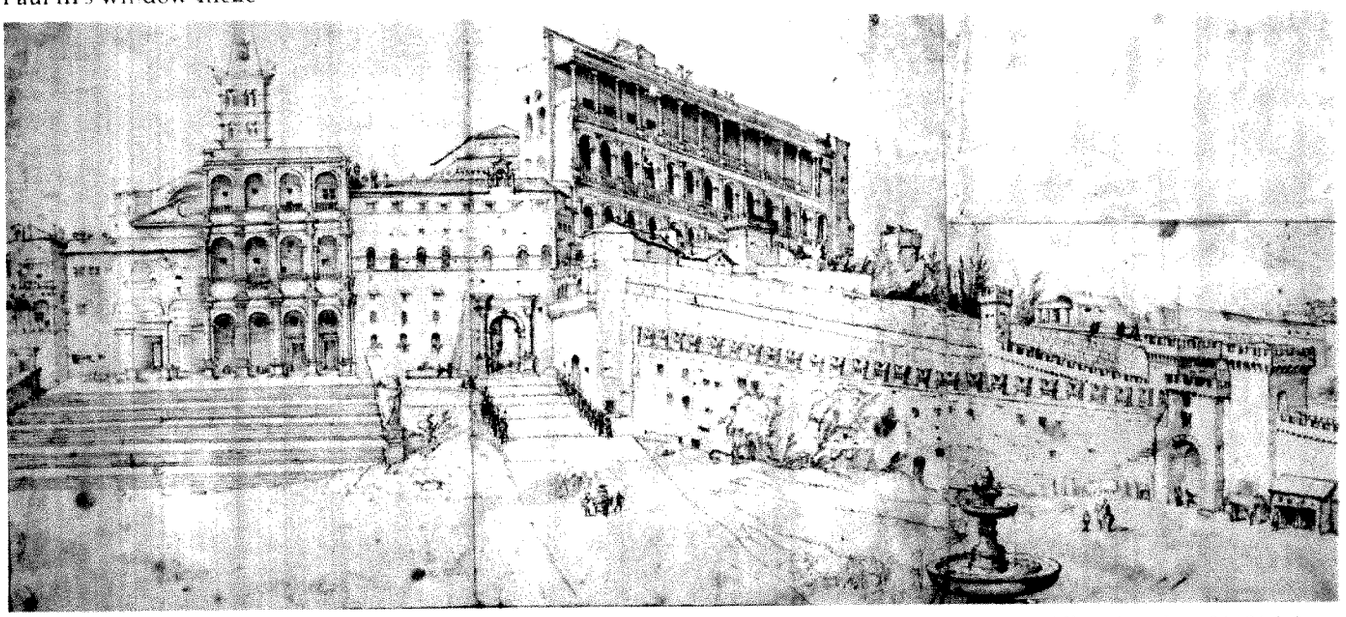
[6] For documents recording the construction, see Ackerman, *Belvedere*, 60ff., 159ff.

[7] The balcony of Leo X running beneath the Stanze windows on the north façade of the palace did provide indirect access. A door opened through the southwest corner of the tower (cf. Shearman, "Stanze," 20) and from its opposite end one might enter the farthest room of the suite, the Stanza dell'Incendio.

[8] The stairs are mentioned by Paris de Grassis, November 9, 1505 (Shearman, "Stanze," 30, n. 23). Visitors are described as going from the "ortum secretum et ascendentes per lumacham idest per scalam orbicularem intrarunt in aulam pontificum qui est inferius . . . et sic per eandem lumacham ascenderunt (in aula alia pontificum)." I am indebted to Christoph Frommel, who, with his customary generosity, provided this transcription from Codex Chigi, L I 17.

[9] The outlines of the north tower appear in Uffizi 287A (Fig. 3), the famous and enigmatic plan drawn—by an architect whose identity is uncertain—before the design of the logge had reached final form (cf. Shearman, "Stanze," 25, n. 5, and Christoph L. Frommel, "Bramantes 'Disegno grandissimo' für den Vaticanpalast," *Kunstchronik*, XXX, 1977, 63–64, where the plan is dated 1505–07). Here the tower seems to measure about four times the size of a loggia bay. Heemskerck's drawing of 1534–35 (Fig. 2), however, shows the tower protruding only slightly eastward from the logge and narrowing irregularly on the north side upward from the level of the third logge. If accurate, the Heemskerck drawing suggests that the tower had been partially demolished and then temporarily sealed off—much the same provisional treatment as had been accorded the south end of the logge. From this evidence, it is impossible to judge how much of the original tower interior and staircase remained.

1 Plan of the third level of the Vatican palace (detail from P. Letarouilly, *Le Vatican et la Basilique de Saint-Pierre de Rome*, Paris, 1882, I, pl. 18). A. Raphael's Logge. B. Belvedere Corridor. C. Sala di Costantino. D. Sala de' Palafrenieri. E. Bramante's *cordonata*. F. Paul III's window-niche

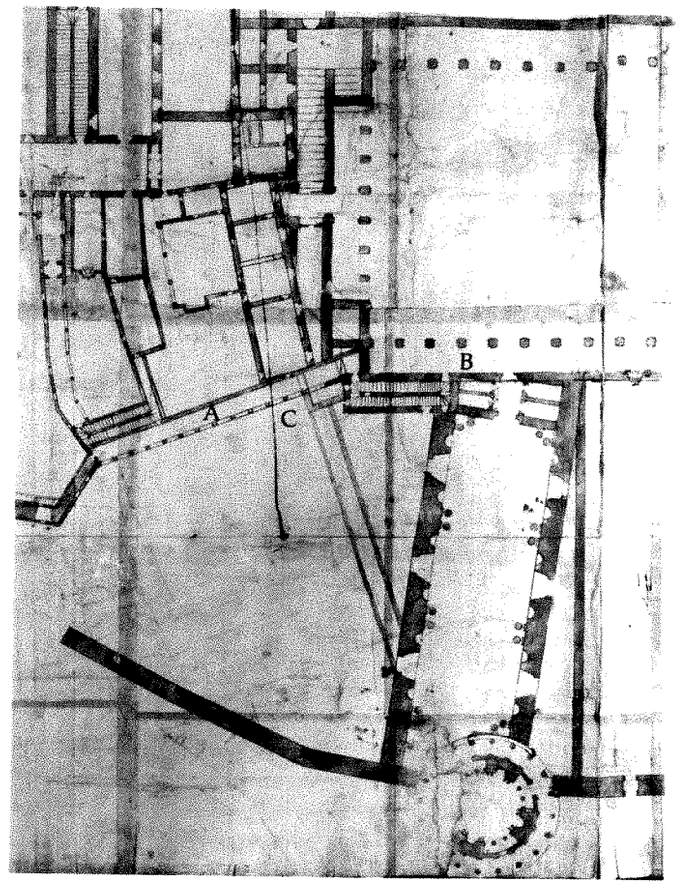


2 Heemskerck, View of the Vatican palace and St. Peter's, looking toward the northwest. Vienna, Albertina, Inv. 31681 (photo: Albertina)

permit maximum wall space for the frescoes.[10] Polidoro da Caravaggio's *basamento* frescoes for the Costantino were carefully designed to enframe both the fireplace and the only door remaining, that from the Stanza d'Eliodoro.[11] At varying later dates, the *basamento* was crudely mangled by the insertion of four additional doors. The unframed, makeshift little door cut through the south wall to the Palafrenieri destroyed one of Polidoro's grisaille caryatids, leaving stranded the fingers of one hand at the left of the door and chopping off a strip from the bronze scene to the right of the door.[12] The door to the east, at right angles to this one, cut through to the twelfth bay of the Logge sometime after the middle of the century, eliminated the *basamento* scene on the Logge side, and demolished another portion of the Costantino *basamento*.[13]

The door at the east end of the north wall, leading from the Sala di Costantino, by way of a small connecting room, to the apartment over the Belvedere corridor, was constructed during the reign of Urban VIII. At an earlier date, Paul IV had a window opened through this wall to the small passage room.[14]

The fourth of these later doorways provides the main entrance (though closed to the public) from the logge to



3 Detail from a plan for the Vatican palace. Florence, Uffizi 287A (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Uffizi). A. Logge. B. Belvedere corridor. C. North tower

[10] This opinion obviously will trouble colleagues who are attempting to analyze the functions of rooms on this level of the palace. But even if the hypothesis proves eventually to be incorrect, it may encourage closer study of evidence from the frescoes and a more serious consideration of alternative access routes. Unfortunately, surviving Vatican plans that include the Sala di Costantino date from too early or too late in the century to offer reliable proof for locating doors of the 1520's. Each of the plans indicates one or more doors that we know from other sources could not have existed during Clement VII's reign, thereby rendering insufficient the evidence regarding doors shown on the plan, unless it is substantiated by other documentation. Slight and indirect support for my hypothesis is offered in a letter from Sebastiano del Piombo to Michelangelo in which he reports that Clement had tried to discourage his attempts to wrest from Raphael's heirs the commission for the Sala dei Pontefici, the room beneath the Sala di Costantino. Not only was the Pontefici described to Sebastiano as "troppo pubblica" and as having too low a vault to afford adequate wall space, but also, because of the doors, "per far unna estoria per ogni fazata, come se doveria far, non si polle . . ." (Vincenzo Golzio, *Raffaello nei documenti*, Vatican City, 1936, 135). Implied comparison with the Sala di Costantino suggests that the latter did have sufficient unbroken wall surface for paintings and that it was less accessible to the public. Dr. Rolf Quednau has completed an as yet unpublished dissertation, "Die Sala di Costantino," Munich, in which, he kindly informs me, he discusses some of these questions, but he seems not to have found solutions. For a photograph showing all four doors added to the Costantino and their unfortunate effects upon the decoration, see Marilyn Perry, " 'Candor Illaesvs': the 'Impresa' of Clement VII and other Medici Devices in the Vatican Stanze," *Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, fig. 16.

[11] In my opinion, the red marble frames on this and, perhaps, on other doors are additions made at some later date. The Costantino frame seems to cover about six inches of the adjacent decoration, with little respect for the figural design.

[12] Judging from injuries to the decoration surrounding the door, it is obvious that its dimensions have been altered more than once. A strip measuring approximately one foot in width on all sides is mounted on wood, and other breaks in the fresco surface reveal that the opening once was substantially even larger. It is possible that a letter of August 17, 1558, from Ascanio Celso to Cardinal Farnese refers to this door, but it may imply a project for a second door. Celso reports that "In la sala di Costantino incontro ale dui fenestre se ne fanno due altre con una porta che tutto risponderà nele camere vechie del papa . . ." (René Ancel, "Le Vatican sous Paul IV," *Revue Bénédictine*, XXV, 1908, 66, n.1).

[13] Bay 12 of the Logge appears—with *basamento* intact and as yet no door—in the volume of watercolor copies after the Logge probably made during the 1550's (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex min. 33, fol. 90r). The codex was ordered for the Fuggers and a second copy was sent to Spain (Giovanni Battista Armerini, *De' veri precetti della pittura* [1587], Hildesheim-New York, 1971, Bk. III, 180). The twelfth bay door as well as the door from the Sala di Costantino to the Palafrenieri are seen in a plan attributed to Mascarino (Accademia di S. Luca, 2482; see Jack Wasserman, *Ottaviano Mascarino and His Drawings in the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca*, Rome, 1966, 150, fig. 125), dating probably after 1578, when Mascarino began work in the palace. The twelfth bay door does not appear in Pirro Ligorio's plan of 1560/61, but this plan is inaccurate in so many details that it cannot be relied upon (Ackerman, *Belvedere*, 221–22, No. 39a, fig. 31).

[14] "Questa mattina . . . s'è dato principio alle Prediche di Palazzo nella sala di Costantino . . . et S. Sta. è stata a una finestra fatta fare da Lei à questo effetto in detta sala che vi si arriva dalle stanze sue" (letter of March 7, 1558, from Cardinal Vitelli to Carafa, Bibl. Vat. Barber. lat. 5711, fol. 210v). This small room, now divided and converted on the Costantino side into an electrical closet, once had decorations made for Paul IV by Pietro Venale (Archivio di Stato, Rome, Cam. I, Giustificazioni di tesoreria, Busta I, No. 13).

the Sala di Costantino. This doorway is furnished at the logge end of the passage through the thick wall with handsomely carved wooden doors bearing the name and *imprese* of Clement VII. The history of this door is difficult to understand. Evidence from seams and repairs in the frescoes of the Costantino wall surrounding the opening suggest that it was formerly farther to the right, in alignment with the sequence of connecting doors through the Stanze. Gregory XIII, who undertook completion of the northeast wing of the logge, probably was responsible for the change; the door was shifted as far as possible to the left, and the passage through the wall was skewed even farther left so that the wooden doors at its end would then center on the first bay of the northeast logge. The frescoes of the passage through the wall include putti riding the dragons that so often appear in Gregory XIII's *imprese*.

If Clement VII's wooden doors actually were made for this entrance (and not moved from another room of the palace, as sometimes happened), then it would appear likely that once the Sala di Costantino frescoes were finished in 1524 and the room put to use, it was decided that a door communicating with the north tower would be convenient, and perhaps one to the Sala de' Palafrenieri as well. It would make little sense, however, to create a grand ceremonial entrance to the Sala di Costantino if it could be approached only from a medieval staircase and a dark, narrow landing. Clement must have intended to create an ample foyer within the tower space, if not the beginning of a new wing with a more commodious staircase, such as the structure later built under Pius IV. But we have no evidence of what alterations Clement may have accomplished within the tower walls.[15]

It is equally uncertain what sort of door, if any, led from the tower into the Logge or what decorations, if any, had been executed at the north end of the Logge before Paul III's alterations of 1546 or 1547. Vasari's classic tale of the triumph of art over nature, recounted in his biography of Giovanni da Udine, offers a tangled compound of hearsay evidence and seeming contradictions. After describing Giovanni's share in the work of Raphael's Logge, he continues:

> E chi non sa, come cosa notissima, che avendo Giovanni *in testa di questa loggia, dove anco non era risoluto il papa che fare vi si dovesse di muraglia* [italics added], dipinto, per accompagnare i veri della loggia, alcuni balaustri, e sopra quelli un tappete; chi non sa, dico, bisognandone un giorno uno in fretta per il papa che andava in Belvedere, che un palafreniero, il quale non sapeva il fatto, corse da lontano per levare uno di detti tappeti dipinti . . . .[16]

From Vasari's description, it would appear that the *trompe-l'oeil* balustrade was painted on the "muraglia" of the tower at the north end of the Logge, where it could be seen from a distance by anyone heading in the direction of the Belvedere. The wooden doors now at this end of the Logge, bearing the arms of Leo X,[17] leave little space at the sides for a painted balustrade draped with fictive hangings (Fig. 4). It is conceivable that this door was moved here as part of Paul III's alterations. On the other hand, it is more likely that Vasari was confused. Even assuming a passage existed to the tower from Raphael's Logge, there was in Leo X's day no direct access from there to the Belvedere corridor except perhaps by descending the tower stairs to the floor below. A door from the Logge could in that period have led only to the tower and its staircase. Until Paul III had the corridor surfaced with a flat terrace, the unroofed vaults of the corridor at the level of Raphael's Logge would not have afforded a safe or convenient avenue to the Belvedere. Vasari, who became acquainted with the palace in Paul's time, may have mistaken the setting of his anecdote: the balustrade may instead have been painted at the north end of the lower logge, also decorated by Giovanni da Udine.[18]

[15] Construction may have been curtailed by the political upheavals that erupted in the fall of 1526 and by the Sack of Rome in the spring of the following year. The wooden doors leading from the tower space (now the first bay of the northeast wing of the logge) to the apartments over the Belvedere corridor bear Clement VII's name, *imprese*, and the date 1526. These doors, however, evidently were not made for their present location and appear to be fragments. The entire outer portion of the paneling—the sides and the top with the roundels of Justice and Faith—is an immovable frame of very inferior workmanship.

[16] Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, Florence, 1881, VI, 554.

[17] For comments on the wooden doors made for Leo X, see Shearman, "Stanze," 20.

[18] In a more satisfactory world, the conclave plans and the payments for sealing off the conclave area on the second level of the palace would provide essential evidence for the structural state of the lower logge. Surviving plans, however, which begin with the election of 1549–1550, are very schematic and also do not differentiate between temporary and permanent walls. The plan of 1549–1550 shows two openings in the north end of the first logge (Franz Ehrle, S. J. and Hermann Egger, *Studi e documenti per la storia del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, V, *Die Conclavepläne*, Vatican City, 1933, fig. II). The payments for sealing the conclave area include one for the passage from the logge to the Belvedere corridor but lack helpful details (Archivio di Stato, Rome, Cam. I, Giustificazioni del tesoreria, Busta II, fasc. 8, fol. 3v). Later conclave plans reveal a perplexing variety of terminations for the north end—including a fountain—all of which were destroyed when the entire end was opened to the Galleria Lapidaria.

4 View of the north end of the Logge (photo: Vatican)

Paul III cared greatly about the Belvedere and devoted considerable thought and expense to enhancing its appearance, especially the gardens and the sculpture court.[19] He must have taken justifiable pride and pleasure in the restoration and improvement of the famous corridor constructed under Julius II, but for so many years left unfinished and in ruins. Naturally, Paul would have wished to display his arms and *imprese* where they would be conspicuous to visitors coming from any direction toward the Belvedere over this convenient and majestic avenue. The north tower became at that point in its puzzling history the crossroads of two splendid approach routes: through the Stanze and through the Logge. As before, under Clement, again no evidence has been discovered regarding Paul's embellishments within the north tower itself or in the adjoining corridor apartment, although here above all he would have planned lavish decorations featuring his arms and *imprese*.[20] It seems probable that Paul began improvements to the external appearance of the tower as well as to the interior. A remarkably incompetent drawing of the palace (Fig. 5), made sometime after the spring of 1536 and before May, 1545,[21] and an equally unreliable print (Fig. 6) after a drawing of 1550 by Hendrick van Cleve[22] both suggest that a window was opened in the east wall of the tower, without which the tower foyer would have been excessively dark. The Van Cleve print also depicts the tower neatly squared off and roofed, in contrast to the ragged, ruined silhouette seen in earlier drawings. Also according to this print, some sort of lean-to addition had been built out from the east face of the tower to the height of the first logge, a structure visible as well in the map by Pinard of 1555. The repairs to the tower, if such evidence may be trusted, would probably have been undertaken during the late 1540's, in conjunction with the alterations to the Logge and the Belvedere corridor.[23]

Of the two approaches from the palace to the Belvedere corridor, the one through the Sala di Costantino offered Paul III little scope for advertising his accomplishments. He did, however, furnish window shutters richly carved with his *imprese* (Fig. 7). The room may have lacked shutters previously, under Clement VII, for they only became desirable in order to secure privacy once the corridor rooms affording a view into the Sala were constructed.

The Logge route to the Belvedere offered the pope

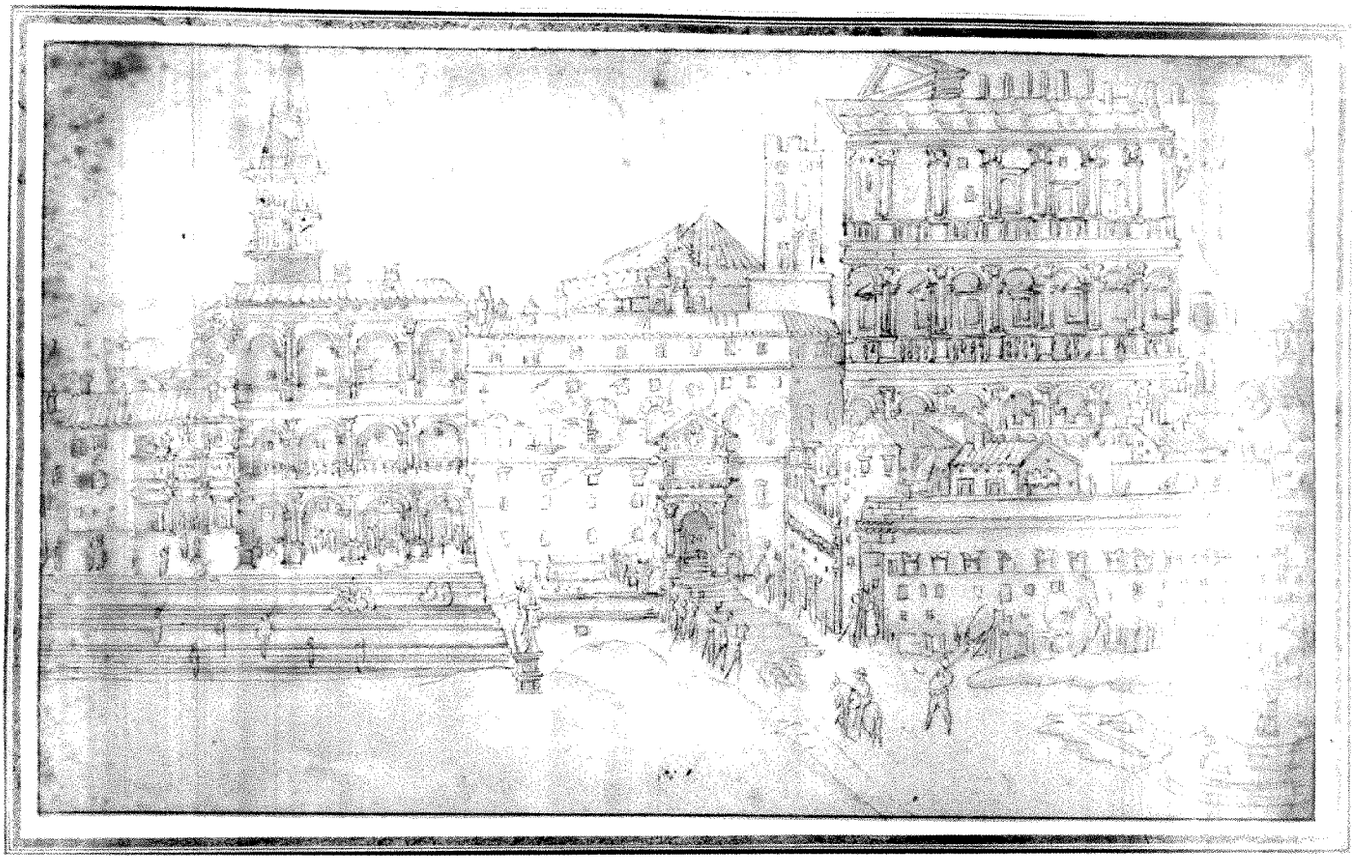
[19] See Ackerman, *Belvedere*, 60ff.; Léon Dorez, *La Cour du pape Paul III*, Paris, 1932, I, 211ff.

[20] No payments for decoration of these rooms appear in surviving account books before Julius III's reign. Structural work seems to have continued until Paul's death (selected, not complete, documents are published by Ackerman, *Belvedere*, 159ff.).

[21] This unpublished drawing by an unidentified Northern artist is in the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum (Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Milton McGreevy through the Westport Fund), Kansas City, Missouri (F68-39, 8 11/16 x 15 1/8", pen, brown ink and wash). I am deeply grateful to Ross E. Taggart, Senior Curator, for his generous and hospitable assistance. The drawing can be dated after March, 1536, when Paul III's portal to the palace was constructed for the visit of Charles V, and before May, 1545, when alterations to the campanile began (see Henry A. Millon and Craig H. Smyth, "Michelangelo and St. Peter's: Observations on the Interior of the Apses, A Model of the Apse Vault, and Related Drawings," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XVI, 1976, 142, n. 11). The draftsman, who unfortunately never learned the rudiments of perspective, tends to flatten structures that should appear at right angles. Despite his general carelessness, he seems obsessively concerned with windows and doors. The drawing is of special interest in providing a better view of the palace court than others of the period.

[22] Another print from the same series by Philip Galle after a drawing by Hendrick van Cleve of the Belvedere seen from the west can be dated 1550 (Ackerman, *Belvedere*, 214). It seems likely that the view of the façade dates from the same year. Van Cleve had returned to Antwerp by 1551.

[23] It seems fairly certain that the tower walls to the west, in the Belvedere court at the juncture of the palace and Belvedere corridor, were left standing until after Sangallo had completed his work on the corridor. The corner where palace and corridor meet is exceedingly awkward and unfinished, as though the tower had been cut away at a later date, after Sangallo's construction, leaving unresolved the wall treatment at the start of the corridor where the tower had stood. This operation may have been undertaken by Pius IV during his restructuring of the *cortile*.



5 Unknown artist, View of the Vatican palace and St. Peter's. Kansas City, Missouri, Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, F66-39 (photo: Nelson Gallery)

6 Philip Galle after Van Cleve, View of the Vatican palace and St. Peter's. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (photo: Frequin)

7 Lower portion of a window shutter. Vatican, Sala di Costantino (photo: Vatican)

more adequate surfaces upon which to emblazon his devices, although some earlier decorations were concealed in the process. For the north end of the Logge, as we have seen, Leo X ordered either the wooden doors that are still *in situ* or the *trompe-l'oeil* balustrade (flanking, possibly, a smaller entrance to the tower), but probably not both the wooden doors and the balustrade.

The state of the south end of the Logge in Leo's time is equally ambiguous. Heemskerck's drawing of 1534–35 (Fig. 2) depicts, as noted earlier, nothing but a blank, unarticulated wall, a condition that persisted throughout Paul III's reign, to judge from the drawing in Kansas City (Fig. 5), Vasari's fresco of 1546 in the Cancelleria, and the print after Hendrick van Cleve's drawing of 1550 (Fig. 6).[24] Peculiarities in the interior construction of the south end of the Logge were discovered during repairs to this wall undertaken in 1951–53. When the panels of fresco decorations with Pauline *imprese* that flanked the marble door frame at this end were carefully removed, it could be seen that the Pauline wall was in effect a screen constructed in front of the earlier wall, which had been built out and thickened toward the center. Preserved on the side walls, in the wedges of space left behind the screen, were strips of the original grotesque decorations commissioned by Leo X.[25] Thus it seems possible that the wall had been strengthened toward the center in order to allow sufficient depth and reinforcement for insertion of the marble door frame, which might eventually have been intended to open onto an addition to the palace joining the south end of the Logge to the basilica.

Nothing remains on the south end wall of any fresco decorations from Leo's period, and unfortunately the page of the Vienna codex that should have pictured this wall is missing. We do not know what may have existed here, apart from the *basamento* monochrome of God with his hand raised in blessing. This composition is known through a drawing in Haarlem that appears to be a copy of a lost original by Penni and from the first print of Pietro Santo Bartoli's series after the *basamenti*, which dates from the second half of the seventeenth century. One presumes, therefore, that Paul III had the *basamento* preserved *in situ* and that when Paul V (1605–1621) had the small wing constructed at the south end of the Logge, he too ordered this fresco kept intact.[26] Late in the seventeenth or early in the eighteenth century, a connecting passage, fitted with wooden doors,[27] was opened to the wing, and the *basamento* must at that time have vanished. Later this doorway was sealed with the ugly cement fill seen today, which forms the recess behind the bust of Raphael by Alessandro d'Este (Fig. 8).

Around the marble door frame, Paul had painted a

[24] Vasari's fresco of 1546 depicts Paul III directing the construction of St. Peter's and includes a view of the south end of the logge that closely resembles Heemskerck's. Windows in the south end to the west of the Logge opened onto Bramante's *cordonata*, and some of the less accurate views of the palace, such as Van Cleve's, give the misleading impression that a window had been constructed in the Logge end wall. Frames for the *cordonata* windows are recorded in account books during the 1540's, and various repairs to the logge roofs, tiles, and masonry also were undertaken during this period (Archivio di Stato, Rome, Cam. I, Giustificazioni di tesoreria, Busta I; Fabbriche 1513).

[25] Deoclecio Redig de Campos, "Dipinti Raffaelleschi tornati in luce nelle logge vaticane," *L'Osservatore romano*, Oct. 31, 1952. 3.

[26] Conceivably, Bartoli made his print from a drawing for or after the monochrome, which, if its dimensions equaled the others, would not have fit within the present marble door frame

[27] A door slightly off center appears in a set of plans from the 1720's (British Library 75.k.2, No. 103) and an opening is indicated in the Letarouilly plan (Fig. 1). But Agostino Taja (*Descrizione del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, Rome, 1750, 175) calls it a "finto portone in testata del primo ingresso," and Giovanni Pietro Chattard (*Nuova descrizione del Vaticano*, Rome, 1766, II, 128) says ambiguously that the door "riferisce da questa parte nell' appartamento, e stanze . . . di Monsignor Segretario de Memoriali."

fictive marble frame inscribed on the lintel PAULUS·III ·PONT·MAX, a design repeated at the north end. Flanking these painted frames at both ends of the Logge were the frescoes with his *imprese*, now removed from the south wall. Above the architrave, a frescoed lunette bordered by stucco panels again displays Pauline motifs. The stucco panels of the intrados over the lunettes at each end date from Leo X's period. The lunette at the north end of the Logge was repainted with the arms of Pius IV to announce that *his* contributions to the logge commenced beyond the doorway (Fig. 4).

The main entrance to Raphael's Logge opened from Bramante's *cordonata* (rebuilt as a stairway in the nineteenth century) through the west wall of the first bay.[28] The marble door frame on the Logge side evidently has undergone some modifications, possibly under Paul III. Strangely, it alone of all the marble pedimented frames of the Logge does not bear the incised inscription LEO·X·PONT·MAX. A marble panel appears to have been inserted between the top of the door frame and the pediment, replacing some earlier panel, to judge from the rather ragged joins at the sides. Perhaps Paul intended to have the record of his own contributions inscribed here, but neither these nor the inscription were completed before his death in 1549.

Apart from the door in the first bay and the door at the north end, there probably were no other doors to the Logge when Paul III died. The present doorway in the ninth bay, which originally contained the *basamento* monochrome of the *Destruction of Korah*, was cut through to the Sala de' Palafrenieri probably during the early 1550's.[29] Since Vasari mentions the subject of the *basamento* in describing the Logge, this monochrome may have survived through the 1540's, when Vasari was most familiar with the papal palace.[30] The other small doorway which leads from the twelfth bay to the Sala di Costantino, was, as we have mentioned, built even later in the century, after the Vienna codex copies were made.

In Leo X's day, however, I believe that another door to the Logge existed, one in the fifth bay that opened

8 View of the south end of the Logge (photo: Vatican)

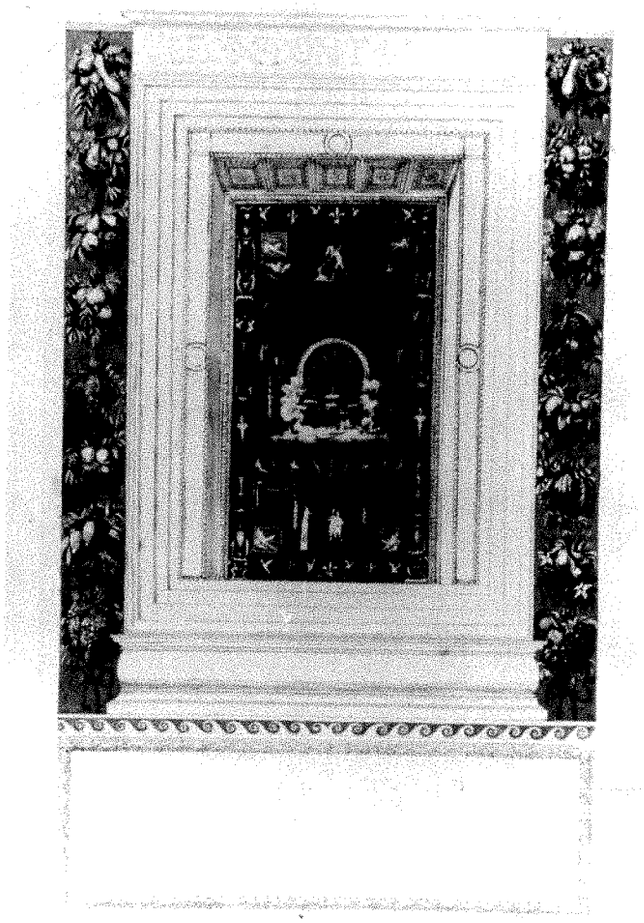
to the corridor at the north end of Bramante's *cordonata* and from there gave access to the Camera de' Paramenti and the pope's private chambers. Although Paul III substituted the window-niche decorated with his *imprese* for this door,[31] traces of its outlines may still be found, notably the vertical breaks visible in the stucco scroll-patterned molding below and to either side of the niche. In addition, the Vienna codex copy of the fifth bay decorations (Fig. 9) shows only a panel of blank wall beneath the niche, where a *basamento* scene

[28] Leo X's wooden doors in the first bay may be the original doors, but they have been partially reconstructed and moved from their previous location at the palace side of the passage through the thick wall (Fig. 10) to the Logge side of the wall and turned about to face the Logge. Because this end of the passage is larger than the other, the doors were framed with crude wooden extensions. The Vienna codex (fol. 2r, Fig. 10), which shows the doors in the earlier position, reveals that the backs once were paneled (as are the doors at the north end), but they have been resurfaced in plain wood. A copy of the door frame (Uffizi 2499A) attributed to G. A. Dosio unfortunately does not reveal any useful information. The wooden doors illustrated in Francisco L. Vega's manuscript of 1745 (Vat. lat. 13751, fol. 3) lack any carving in the top and bottom panels, which raises further questions about the source and condition of the first bay doors. Closely similar doors, unidentified but possibly from the south end of the Logge, are depicted on folio 2 and in an engraving by Volpato (*Loggie di Rafaele nel Vaticano*, Rome, 1772–77, I, pl. 2).

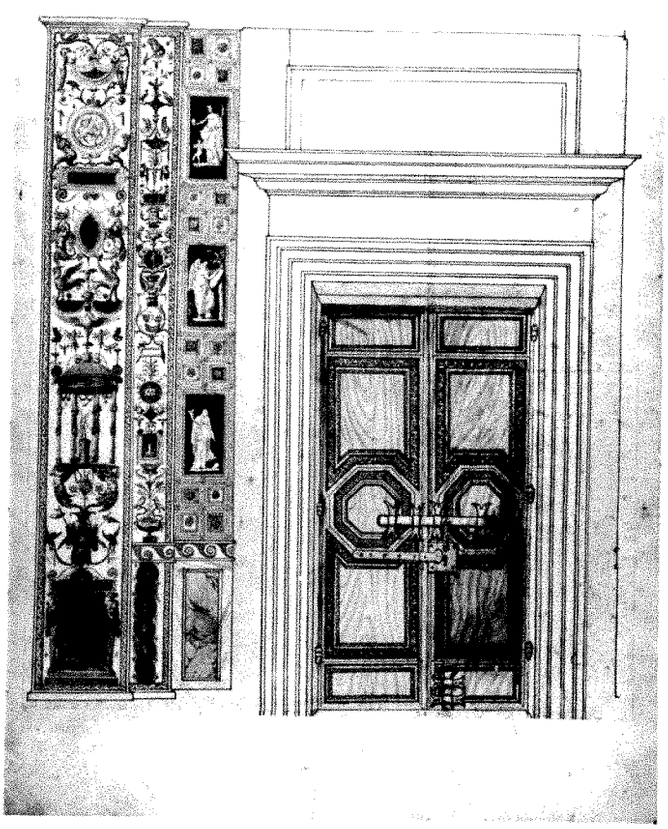
[29] The doorway appears in the Vienna codex, fol. 66r (see also Dacos, *Le logge*, 142). The wooden doors here and in the twelfth bay bear the arms of Pius IX (1846–1878).

[30] Vasari-Milanesi, V, 594 (". . . il fuoco che scendendo dal cielo abbrugia i figliuoli di Levi"). A sketch was made after this *basamento*, or after a study for it, by Girolamo da Carpi (Norman W. Canedy, *The Roman Sketchbook of Girolamo da Carpi*, London, 1976, 67).

[31] Conceivably, the door had already been sealed by Hadrian VI, as one of the twelve leading to the Belvedere that he reportedly closed (*Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato*, ed. E. Albèri, ser. II, Vol. III, Florence, 1846, 14). As I have commented above, however, the Logge at that date could have led to the Belvedere only indirectly, after one had descended to the floor below. The anonymous writer of the report of 1523 must have entered the corridor from that level. It is a futile exercise to speculate where the twelve sealed doors may have been. In a future article, I hope to discuss the three later window-niches of the Logge, which are painted with landscapes.



9 Drawing of the west wall, fifth bay of the Logge. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 33, fol. 34r (photo: Nationalbibliothek)



10 Drawing of the door, first bay of the Logge. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 33, fol. 2r (photo: Nationalbibliothek)

would have been painted if there had not been a door here.[32] The present *basamento* monochrome was added after the Vienna copies were made and in a fresco technique that must have been different and more durable, for today this *basamento* is distinctly more legible than any of the others. The subject, engraved by Bartoli in his series after the *basamenti*, is probably a late sixteenth-century pastiche based on the vault scenes illustrating Genesis 27. No drawings by Raphael or his shop for this composition are known, and in any case Raphael would never have repeated a subject already depicted in the vault. By eliminating the door in the fifth bay, Paul III made the Logge more decisively a corridor, which could be opened on ceremonial occasions by authorized persons with access from the pope's state apartments, the Stanze. The main entrance to the Logge in the first bay could only be unlocked from the Logge side, as may be seen in the Vienna codex copy (Fig. 10).

Further evidence that the window-niche replaced a door in the fifth bay is offered by the payments to Perino that launched this inquiry. The accounts, recording a total of eight payments for work in the Logge, appear in Fabbriche 1511 and 1512 of the Archivio di Stato, Rome (see Appendix). These are duplicate books in which the wording often differs—Fabbriche 1511 being sometimes more detailed—but in which the dates and sums of the parallel entries agree without exception. The site is identified variously in the two account books as the "loggia bella," the "loggia di mezo del Palazzo," and the "loggia di mezo della facciata del Palazzo." There can be little doubt that the documents refer to the middle or second logge of the three rising above the closed ground-floor story of the palace, that is, the logge on the third level decorated by Raphael and his shop.

The two payments of 1546, made in September and in November, describe the work as stucco and painting of the "fenestrone della loggia bella ove era la porta in Palazzo apostolico" or, in Fabbriche 1512, "un volto della loggia," which in the second payment is described as "hor finito." The six payments made in August and September of 1547 are for painting alone, and no location within the Logge is specified.

[32] Because the Vienna copyist also left blank some of the stucco medallions in this bay, the evidence provided by the codex regarding the *basamento* is not wholly reliable.

The first problem is to determine where one could have substituted a "fenestrone" in place of a door to the palace. In my opinion, the two payments of 1546 refer to the window-niche in the fifth bay. Only on the west wall of the Logge could a window or window-niche replace a door to the palace, and, as I have contended, the window-niche with Pauline *imprese* did supplant a door in the fifth bay. The terms "fenestrone" and "un volto" (a surface), both applied to the same piece of work, allude to this window-niche.

An additional problem with the accounts is caused by the omission of any reference to stucco in the payments of 1547, although stucco work is mentioned in the entries of 1546. The window-niche completed in 1546 does have an inner frame of stucco, and a section of stucco scroll molding was filled in beneath it, but much larger and more important stucco decorations frame the fresco lunettes at both ends of the Logge. If the six payments in 1547 refer to the end wall decorations, one must assume that the uniformly vaguer wording in the entries of 1547 simply neglected to mention stucco or that the stucco accounts were entered in some lost book of payments.

The payments of 1546 in Fabbriche 1511 name as executants of the window-niche Pietro Venale, Antonio da Vignone, and a Maestro Guido. The last artist has not been identified. Venale specialized in grotesque decoration, and during the next decades he proceeded to cover dozens of *sgabelli* and acres of Vatican walls with his highly competent if undistinguished works.[33] Antonio da Vignone continued similar activities under Julius III but seems to disappear thereafter. Most of their work has been destroyed or is hidden in areas of the Vatican that are inaccessible to the public. The payments make clear that these men were assistants to Perino del Vaga, who is the only artist named in the less detailed records of 1547. Perino, court painter to Paul III, was the obvious choice for the delicate assignment of tampering with the famous Logge where he had worked as a youth. His success may be measured by the almost total oblivion accorded his intrusions into the Logge. They are so suitable and so discreet that few today realize these frescoes do not form part of the original decorations. Scale, color, and style harmonize perfectly with the surroundings, an achievement that Perino, most faithful surviving graduate of Raphael's shop, would not have found difficult: his Logge frescoes would have been equally appropriate in the Castel S. Angelo, where during those same years he was decorating several rooms for the pope. The stuccoes of the lunettes, however, clearly indicate his awareness of the need for self-effacement. Although the decorative vocabulary of his fresco style may not have changed dramatically over the years, Perino's stucco work had by then advanced far beyond the low-relief style of the Logge to a much more sculptural mode.

The cameo treatment of the window-niche fresco, with its delicate figures painted in white, and with small touches of porphyry red against the black ground, represents a limited departure from the Logge style. Perino may have had in mind Giulio Clovio's cameo miniatures scattered throughout the margins of the Farnese Book of Hours.[34] The wall grotesques of the Logge parallel in function the border decorations of manuscripts, and in such a context the cameo window-niche implied a restrained tribute to the latest, widely applauded, fashion in manuscript illumination.

Together Perino and Paul III achieved a finely sophisticated compromise between respect for their predecessors' achievements and glorification of the present reign. To an exceptional degree, Paul possessed an instinct for manipulating the arts to achieve political or ecclesiastical ends, and he seldom commissioned any art that did not serve a public function. He was able to reconcile overt propaganda with art of the highest standards of quality because his requirements—for artistic enterprises at least—transcended personal ambition and merely current issues: above all else he wished to be pictured as defender of the Church and the Papacy.

The *imprese* decorations in themselves, however, were not Paul's most important legacy to the Logge. More significant was his realization of the role the Logge could play in the master plan for the Vatican palace and Belvedere corridor, a plan whose grand conception might be traced back to Julius II. In Leo X's day the Logge had been—either by design or by circumstance—a secluded private retreat.[35] Paul III's alterations transformed the Logge into one segment of a *via triumphalis* that led from the palace court, up Bramante's *cordonata*, through the Logge, to the Stanze and to the Belvedere. From our viewpoint, jaded by later centuries of spectacular architectural choreography, it requires some effort to comprehend how stupendous this sequence of experiences would have been to Paul's contemporaries. For visitors of the time, however, who were generally more accustomed to cramped medieval alleys and do-

[33] Pietro di Giovenale Mongardini da Imola appears in palace accounts at least until Pius IV's reign. Some surviving decorations have been attributed to him and are illustrated in Jacques Martin, "Un Grand Bâtisseur de la Renaissance: le Cardinal Giovanni Ricci de Montepulciano (?1497–1574)," *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*, LXXXVI, 1974, 264, fig. 5.

[34] See Webster Smith, *The Farnese Hours*, New York, 1976. The frescoed wall of the niche is slightly inclined inward toward the bottom, perhaps to allow more room at the base for displaying a piece of sculpture. Perino may also have borrowed the idea from Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, as a way of reducing surface dirt.

[35] In 1519, Marcantonio Michiel contrasted the second-level logge, described as relatively public, with Raphael's, which were far more splendid "per esser tenuta chiusa et al piacere solum del Papa" (Golzio, *Raffaello*, 104). One cannot be certain from this evidence whether the Logge were intended permanently as the pope's own preserve or happened to be so in 1519 because Leo had not yet decided how to deal with the north end and entrance to the Belvedere corridor on that level.

mestic interiors, the scale, luxury, quality, and spaciousness of the palace must have seemed the ultimate expression of pomp and power. If at the end of their tour, the visitors were invited to see the pope's collection of sculpture, which included some of the most admired examples of Rome's classical heritage, they would have been conducted across the Belvedere corridor, with its panoramic view of the city from one side and of Christendom's holiest temple from the other. These amassed assertions of papal supremacy, descended in direct lineage from the golden age of Augustus, must have impressed even the most skeptical of Paul III's contemporaries.[36]

II

In a period when the fashion for *imprese* was approaching a climax, Paul III achieved something of a record.[37] He accumulated at least five—although purists might have considered only those with mottoes to be true specimens of the art[38]—and employed them copiously throughout the decorations made for him. Their appearance is recorded in descriptions of the many celebrations, entries, and carnivals of his reign, and countless examples have survived, chiefly in frescoes and stuccoes of the Vatican palace and the Castel S. Angelo.

The form—a confection of art and poetry, conundrum and propagandism—suited the highly intelligent, cultivated, and frequently devious mentality of this pope. An *impresa* permitted the conflation, often the equation, of classical and Christian symbolism. It enabled one to imply claims that one might hesitate to proclaim and to deliver orations with a maximum of economy and a minimum of responsibility: interpretation of the message was left to the beholder's imagination and learning. *Imprese* could embody within their diminutive format extremely elaborate ideas expressed in the sparest of hieroglyphs, complicated visual and verbal puns and interplay between the two, and a polite display of erudition. The best *imprese* offered, in addition, the structural satisfactions of a well-designed building, the elegance of an aphorism, and a refinement worthy of the goldsmith. All these qualities appealed enormously to the taste of the times and to Paul III in particular.

The decorations that Paul III commissioned for the two end walls of Raphael's Logge and for the window-niche in the fifth bay consisted almost exclusively of *imprese* and the changes rung upon them, with a few grotesque motifs to span the interstices. The traditional Farnese family devices—lilies and unicorns—make their appearance in various combinations, and one or the other—sometimes both—are incorporated in the three *imprese* repeated throughout the Pauline Logge decorations. Two of Paul's devices were omitted the dolphin and chameleon *impresa*, perhaps because it was not specifically religious in content, and that of the unicorn tamed by a maiden.

Unicorns brandish their horns, however, in other emblems of the Logge. An aquatic mutant of the unicorn, with a long fishy tail, mounted by a cherub who receives a lily and a baton from companion cherubs, crowns the stucco lunette frame at the south end of the Logge (Fig. 11).[39] The oldest of the Farnese *imprese* found in the Logge also concerns unicorns and evidently was a family rather than a personal emblem, as an account of 1538 describing Paul's triumphal return from Nice asserts: "Ci sono duoi Liocorni, che bevendo in un fonte, tuffono in l'acque il Corno per securezza del veleno, denotando che la virtù extingue la fraude,

[36] Paul's success in stamping his claims on the Logge portion of this route may be seen in the account of a dazzled visitor to the Vatican in 1594: "the Pallace is of great circuit and the staires are so easie, that Horses and Mules may goe up to the top of the Mountaine, and with easie ascent and descent beare the Pope's carriage. At the enterance there be three galleries one above the other, whereof the two first were built by Leo the tenth and Paul the third . . . and beyond them is a vast and long gallery of foure hundred seventie and one walking paces . . ." (Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary*, Glasgow, 1907, I, 279).

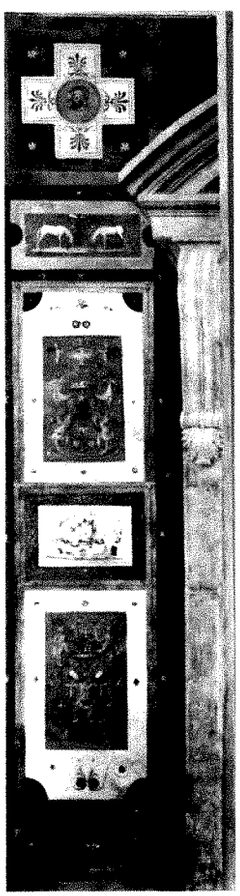
[37] The first part of this article records all evidence known to me having direct bearing upon the subject, while the footnote references are reduced to a minimum because the general bibliography is readily available in abundance. In this second part, the procedure is reversed. The bibliography is not easily retrievable and cuts across many disciplines, so that it seems helpful to provide a more generous offering of references. The text, however, by no means exhausts the contents of the *imprese*, whose delicate allusive spirit I wished to preserve while I attempted to provide the major signposts that would enable those who enjoy these fascinating puzzles to pursue their clues to ever more intricate patterns of thought. General bibliography on *imprese* is too extensive to cite. A useful starting point for background on Italian *imprese* of the period—their origins, definitions, development, and a good bibliography—may be found in: Robert Klein, "La Théorie de l'expression figurée dans les traités italiens sur les imprese, 1555–1612," *La Forme et l'intelligible*, ed. A. Chastel, Paris, 1970, 125ff.

[38] Paolo Giovio (*Ragionamento . . . sopra i motti, e disegni d'arme, e d'amore, che communemente chiamano imprese*, Venice, 1556, 6) prescribes five obligatory ingredients for *imprese*, one of which is a motto. The second of his decrees is that the *impresa* "non sia oscura, di sorte, ch'habbia mestiero della Sibilla per interprete a voler la intendere," advice he himself had not observed in designing the allegorical program for Vasari's frescoes in the Cancelleria.

[39] At some point after the late 18th century, the lily presented to the equestrian cherub, which is still to be seen in G. Volpato's engraving (*Loggie di Rafaele nel Vaticano*, Rome, 1772–77, I, pl. 2), was transformed into the cross he receives today. The same species of marine unicorn cavorts through Luzio's frescoes for Paul III in the "Biblioteca," Castel S. Angelo. From ancient days, the unicorn has inspired extensive and entertaining literature. Three contemporary books on the subject provide a wealth of literary and visual references: Odell Shepard, *The Lore of the Unicorn*, Boston-New York, 1930; Rüdiger R. Beer, *Einhorn*, Munich, 1972; Margaret B. Freeman, *The Unicorn Tapestries*, New York, 1976.

11 Lunette, south end of the Logge (photo: Vatican)

12 Frescoes detached from the south end wall of the Logge (photo: Vatican)



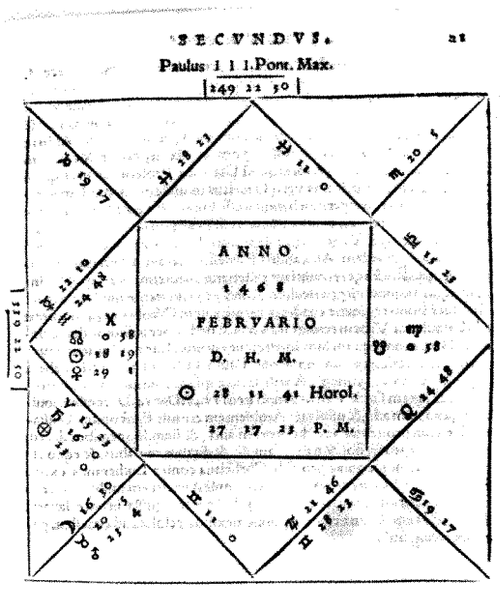
et parturisce la securezza, impresa antica della Eccellentissima Casa Farnesia."[40] The unicorn dipping its horn into the waters or making the sign of the Cross over the waters to purify them, thus permitting fellow beasts to drink safely, appears at both ends of the Logge, in the second fresco panel from the top flanking the door frames: at the north end a single unicorn on each side of the door (Fig. 4), and at the south a pair on each panel (Fig. 12).

Belief in the unicorn's purifying powers and its identification with Christ derived from the *Physiologus*[41] and came to signify both political and religious virtues. In its political sense, the unicorn represented the ruler who makes the state safe for his subjects, an interpre-

[40] Vincenzo Forcella, *Tornei e giostre, ingressi trionfali e feste carnevalesche in Roma sotto Paolo II*, Rome, 1885, 57–58. According to Freeman (*The Unicorn Tapestries* 54), the motif of the unicorn purifying water does not appear in art before the late Middle Ages, and then only rarely.

[41] Beer, *Einhorn*, 52; Freeman, *The Unicorn Tapestries*, 27.

13 Cesati, medal of Pope Paul III. Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art (photo: National Gallery)



14 Horoscope of Paul III, from Gauricus (cf. note 45; photo: Warburg Institute)

tation adopted by Pier Luigi Farnese, with premature optimism, as his personal emblem.[42] By eliminating the other thirsty animals and by depicting poisonous snakes slithering from the waters' depths, Paul III stressed the religious symbolism of the image. The unicorn as Christ and as the Farnese pope, Christ's representative on earth, purifies the Church of heresy, represented by the venomous snakes. An association with Baptism also is implied, and a parallel was found in medieval writings with Moses striking his staff in the bitter waters of Marah to render them potable.[43]

Being the oldest of the three in the Logge, the unicorn *impresa* also is the simplest. The latest *impresa* designed for Paul, apparently just before alterations to the Logge commenced, is the figure of Aquarius. This emblem, marvelously complex in its implications, appears in four variant forms in the Logge and as Ganymede in another work of art commissioned by Paul, a medal dating from the eleventh year of his reign, 1545 (Fig. 13).

Some uncertainty clouds the exact place and time of Paul III's birth, which occurred either in Rome or Canino on February 28, 1468.[44] According to contemporary horoscopes, including one (Fig. 14) prepared by his chief astrologer, Luca Gaurico,[45] Aquarius was the ascendant sign at Paul's birth, a propitious augury

[42] See Annibale Caro, *Lettere familiari*, ed. A. Greco, Florence, 1961, III, 144; Edoardo Martinori, "Medaglie di Paolo III," *Annali della zecca di Roma: Paolo III*, Rome, 1917, 45, No. xxxviii.

[43] Freeman, *The Unicorn Tapestries*, 27. The unicorn's act of exorcism must have been derived from baptismal rites as practiced from the early Middle Ages. The pope, or priest, traces the sign of the Cross over the font and in the water, then dips the Paschal candle into the purified water, praying that the enemy will "not . . . creep into it by stealth, nor taint it by his poison" (Ildefonso Schuster, *The Sacramentary*, trans. A. Levelis-Marke, London, 1924, I, 21; II, 28, 305). The unicorn is often depicted dipping his horn into a font, rather than into a natural body of water, as may be seen, for example, on the ceiling of the Sala di Psyche and the vault of the "Biblioteca," painted for Paul III in the Castel S. Angelo. Baptismal scenes and representations of John the Baptist occasionally include a unicorn in the vicinity.

[44] Confusion concerning Paul's birth date arose in some writers'—and astrologers'—accounts because 1468 was a leap year. The noted physician and astrologer Gerolamo Cardano, who cast Paul's horoscope more than once, pointed out the inaccuracy of stating that Paul was born "at the end of February." See his *Geniturarum XII Exempla*, Basel, 1554, 481ff. (a shorter version was printed earlier in his *Geniturae LXVII* . . . Nuremberg, 1543, No. VI). Cardano and the pope's astrologer, Luca Gaurico (see below), did not admire each other.

[45] Lucas Gauricus, *Tractatus Astrologicus*, Venice, 1552, 21. I am grateful to Jennifer Montagu and the Warburg Institute for supplying the photograph of Gaurico's horoscope. For an account of Gaurico's highly successful career, see Erasmo Percopo, "Luca Gaurico ultimo degli astrologi," *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti*, XVII, 1893–96, Pt. II. Paul relied upon astrologers to determine the favorable moment for most important undertakings, such as consistories, audiences, or voyages (cf. Ludwig von Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, ed. A. Mercati, Rome, 1959, V, 28). Like so many of his contemporaries, the pope believed that astrology combined—rather than conflicted with—religion and astronomy. Copernicus, in fact, presented *De Revolutionibus* to Paul in 1543, although the editors blurred some of the astronomer's more troublesome theories in the dedication (Eugeniusz Rybka, *Four Hundred Years of the Copernican Heritage*, Cracow, 1964, 141). I should like to thank Dr. Janet Hitchcock for her sage admonitions concerning astrology. On her advice, I obtained, through the generous assistance of Neil F. Michelsen, Astro Computing Services, a check on Gaurico's calculations, which prove to be somewhat inaccurate. David Hayes has been extremely helpful, learned, and patient on astrological matters and in translating astrological texts. His explanation of how Gaurico might have interpreted the horoscope to his patron provides a portrait of Paul that in its way is as revealing as Titian's.

from ancient times. A delightful, if not literal, seventeenth-century translation of a classical astrological treatise predicts in part:

> And to his Birth, the World oblig'd shall owe
> *Spheres, Cycles, Orbs*, and turn *new* Skies below.
> Soft, easie Temper's, loving Coin for use,
> Not sordid, but inclin'd to be profuse;
> Not pinch'd, nor yet too swelling in Estate;
> Thus flows the *Urn*, and fixes this for Fate. . . .
> The *Good*, the *Pious*, and the *Just* are born
> When first *Aquarius* pours out his *Urn*.[46]

Paul's adoption of Aquarius as an emblem may have been prompted by its flattering prophesies and by his faith in astrological divination, but, typically, the zodiacal figure was then freighted with layer upon interwoven layer of Christian and classical references. Perhaps the best starting point for an attempt to decipher the more apparent of these allusions is with the medal of 1545, a medal which so pleased the pope that he reissued it in honor of the holy year, which he did not live to celebrate (Fig. 13).[47]

The obverse of the medal portrays the pope in profile. The reverse depicts the Water Bearer in the guise of Ganymede, a gracile naked youth, whose left hand rests on an eagle. From an urn supported on his right shoulder he pours a stream of water over a cluster of lilies. Above is the inscription ΦΕΡΝΗ ΖΗΝΟΣ, and in the exergue is written ΣΥΡΑΙΝΕΙ. The first line, which may be translated as "The gift of Zeus," has long been understood as a pun on the name Farnese.[48] Interpretation of the word play concealed in the second inscription, which in straight terms signifies "He waters well," I owe to the ingenious explication of Dr. Richard Brilliant who recognized a canting pun on "Urania," muse of astronomy—hence associated with Aquarius—and celestial Venus, goddess of divine love—thereby associated as well with Ganymede.[49]

Aquarius had been identified with Ganymede since antiquity, primarily because of their common service as vessel bearers but also through legendary linkage.[50] The eagle, symbol of Jupiter, was thought to fly directly into the sun, soaring in its path over the constellation of Aquarius, consequently believed to be his beloved Ganymede.[51] Even in Greek times, Jupiter's love for Ganymede, which elevated the youth to immortality, often was interpreted as spiritual love and as symbol of the immortality of the soul.[52] In Christian terms, Ganymede/Aquarius's libation of wine or water signified redemption, grace, and innocence: the Sacraments of the

[46] *The Five Books of M. Manilius* . . . ,London, 1697, Bk. IV, 15, 27. For the 1st-century Latin text, see Marcus Manilii, *Astronomicon*, Liber quartus, ed. A. E. Housman, Cambridge, 1937, 34–35. Manilius's analysis of an Aquarian type may not strike us as a mirror likeness of the pope. No doubt equally familiar and pleasing to Paul were the predictions of Firmicus regarding Aquarius: "Whoever has the ascendant in the first degree of Aquarius will be a king—great, famous, long-lived, possessing the entire earth, if Jupiter and Saturn are found in that degree, or if they aspect the ascendant in trine, and if the Moon is well located. The greatest powers are indicated for him over a period of time, but he will die in water" (Firmicus Maternus, *Matheseos Libri VIII*, trans. J. R. Bram, Park Ridge, N. J., 1973, 296). One wonders how Gaurico managed to sweeten the unpalatable conclusion of this otherwise satisfying prognosis or whether in his last years Paul avoided boats and bridges, except under the most auspicious signs.

[47] Martinori, *Annali della zecca*, 42, No. xii. A letter of September 20, 1549, from Annibale Caro praising Alessandro Cesati of the Rome mint, who is generally accepted as author of the Ganymede medal (although the attribution has never to my knowledge received any serious consideration), reports, "Egli è ora a le mani per far le monete de l'Anno Santo" (*Lettere familiari*, II, 86).

[48] The more strictly literal translation would be "Dowry of Zeus," a term chosen no doubt more for its potential for punning than as a commentary on the domestic affairs of Zeus. Iconographic studies of 16th-century medals appear in general to have been arrested in a primitive state of development. The Ganymede medal has been interpreted as referring to Paul's gift to Pier Luigi of the duchies of Parma and Piacenza, a suggestion totally unfounded and beyond credibility for a papal medal, especially for one reissued in celebration of the holy year, after the assassination of Pier Luigi and following the painful consequences to the pope of his brief rule. This eccentric notion seems to have occurred first to Amadio Ronchini ("Il Grechetto," *Atti e memorie delle R. R. Deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie modenesi e parmensi*, II, 1864, 257). For an equally implausible proposal to identify the lilies with the French fleurs-de-lis and the medal as a comment on Paul's political struggles with France, see Philippo Bonanni, *Numismata Pontificum Romanorum*, Rome, 1699, I, 211.

[49] For discussion of the extensive literature on Urania as goddess of celestial love, see Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939, 142ff.

[50] For an excellent dissertation on Ganymede and a bibliography of ancient and Renaissance texts (also involving Aquarius), see Penelope Mayo, "*Amor spiritualis et carnalis:* Aspects of the Myth of Ganymede in Art," New York University, Ph. D. diss., 1967.

[51] *The Myths of Hyginus*, trans. and ed. M. Grant, Lawrence, Kansas, 1960, 203 (II. 16), 218 (II. 29).

[52] See Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, 218ff. An illustration of this theme familiar to Paul and his contemporaries appears in the Chigi vault frescoes of the Farnesina, painted by Peruzzi and composed of astrological figures exemplifying *virtù celeste* and *fama celeste* and including Ganymede who here substitutes for Aquarius (see Fritz Saxl, *La Fede astrologica di Agostino Chigi*, Rome, 1934, 26ff.). Other personifications of immortal, spiritual love were painted for Paul in the Castel S. Angelo: the frieze with the story of Psyche and the overdoor figure of the celestial Venus in the Sala Paolina.

Eucharist and of Baptism are implied.[53] Also suggested in this image, as in the medal's inscription, "Gift of Zeus," is a parallel with Jupiter's vase of balm and virtue which he pours in an act of grace over mankind.[54] One might extend the analogies yet further to include Christ's words to Paul, "This man is to me a chosen vessel," a quotation—VAS ELECTIONIS—that Paul III had inscribed on a medal of the conversion of Paul celebrating his election to the papacy in 1534.[55]

Each component of this exquisitely modeled miniature relief embodies, therefore, many interlocking meanings, but the prevailing theme is that of divine or spiritual love and grace, which the pope both receives and transmits. It is a beautiful image, classically simple in form[56] yet shimmering with such rich allusions that one can never be certain of exhausting its offerings.

In the Logge Aquarius appears four times, each appearance within a different context and suggesting new interpretations of the role already introduced through the Ganymede medal. As a purely zodiacal symbol, Aquarius is found in the stucco lunette frame at the south end of the Logge, to the bottom right of the central panel with the marine unicorn (Fig. 11). The entire stucco frame is composed of constellations, chiefly zodiacal, interspersed with occasional grotesque motifs.[57] Given the prominent position of Aquarius and the celestial relationships of the various groups of figures—sometimes close, sometimes opposite—no doubt their selection and arrangement refer to a specific event of Paul's life, but without additional clues it would be difficult if not impossible to guess what his astrological advisors intended to convey.

A slightly more complex image of Aquarius may be found in the window-niche of the fifth bay (Fig. 16). As in the Ganymede medal, a young man waters—here somewhat athletically—the Farnese lilies.

In the lunette fresco at the south end, reference is specifically made to the baptismal analogy of Aquarius (Fig 11). Against a sapphire blue background and flanked by lofty, white lilies, Aquarius bestrides the globe, pouring over it the purifying waters. Like Saint Paul, Pope Paul III was an energetic proselytizer: "He waters well," as the medal claims. During his reign, evangelical missions, sent as far east as India and Japan and west across the seas into Mexico and South America, baptized the inhabitants by the hundreds of thousands.[58] Aquarius in this Logge lunette dispenses the benefits of conversion, through the Sacrament of Baptism, from one side of the globe to the other.

At the north end of the Logge, as may be seen in the Vienna codex showing the lunette before it was repainted by Pius IV, Aquarius again waters the Farnese lilies (Fig. 15). The complex significance of the lilies, which was present but not stressed in the aforementioned examples, is hinted in the botanical metaphor that takes the place of the globe in this lunette. Beneath Aquarius, the lilies reappear, grown huge and, as above, in trinities, between a palm tree and two cedars of Lebanon. This strange horticultural arrangement derives from an ancient liturgical conflation of biblical sources and from later exegesis, by which arcane process the lily came to represent, among myriad other virtues, justice, righteousness, and the just.

"Iustus germinabit sicut lilium: et florebit in aeternum ante Dominum"; the alleluiatic verse is found in many Masses of the Missale Romanum.[59] When a reference for the verse is cited, Hosea 14: 5–6 is given as the source, but in fact Hosea does not directly refer to

[53] Most of the moralizing texts where these connections are spelled out or implied make very boring reading, but one of the French moralized Ovids on the subject of Aquarius, whom the author associates with Ganymede, appeals in much the same nuanced fashion that Paul's images of these figures do:

C'est li bouteilliers, ce me samble.
Vrais diex et vrais homs tout ensamble,
Qui d'esperituelz delis
Aboivre et repaist ses eslis.
C'est cilz de qui tous biens habonde,
Qui sa grace espant par le monde.

(C. de Boer, "Ovide moralisé," *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, 1936, XXXVII, Bk. 10, ll. 3362ff., 3420ff.) The upper inscription of the medal, in Latin translation "Bene aspergit," may also recall the cleansing rite of sprinkling holy water, *Asperges*, to prepare the soul for Mass.

[54] An example in a medieval manuscript of Christine de Pisan's *Othéa* (illustrated in Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and Their Posterity*, Princeton, 1966, fig. 104) depicts Jupiter seated on a rainbow and sprinkling a vase of balm over supplicant figures below. The multiple strands of this imagery and their applications to Paul's *imprese* of Aquarius and of the lily and rainbow might be pursued in various directions. For those who wish to continue, the Tarocchi card of Jupiter and Jean Seznec (*The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, trans. B. F. Sessions, Princeton, 1972, 199–200) would be useful starting points.

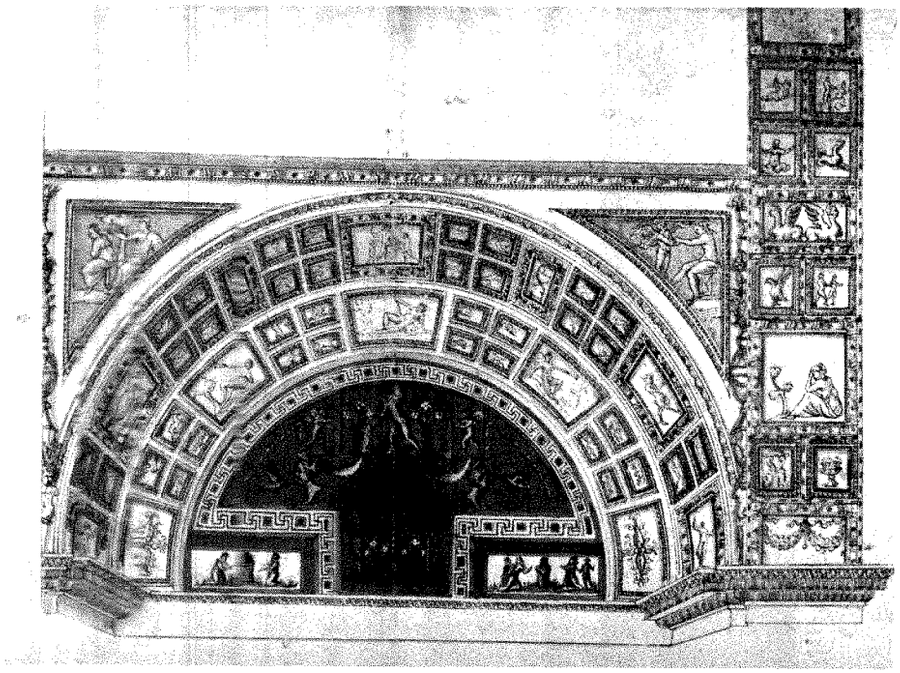
[55] Martinori, *Annali della zecca*, 45, No. xxxvii. In this direction, too, one might legitimately explore more thoroughly the associations with the chalice as a receptacle for papal election ballots—hence a symbol of the chosen one—and other visual and verbal implications of the urn. See also Ute Davitt Asmus, *Corpus quasi vas: Beiträge zur Ikonographie der italienischen Renaissance*, Berlin, 1977.

[56] The artist may have known classical representations of Ganymede, such as the statues then in the collection of Cardinal Andrea della Valle (now in the Uffizi) and Cellini's reconstruction of an antique Ganymede (in the Museo Nazionale, Florence), but his own interpretation of the figure is only vaguely related to surviving examples of the subject.

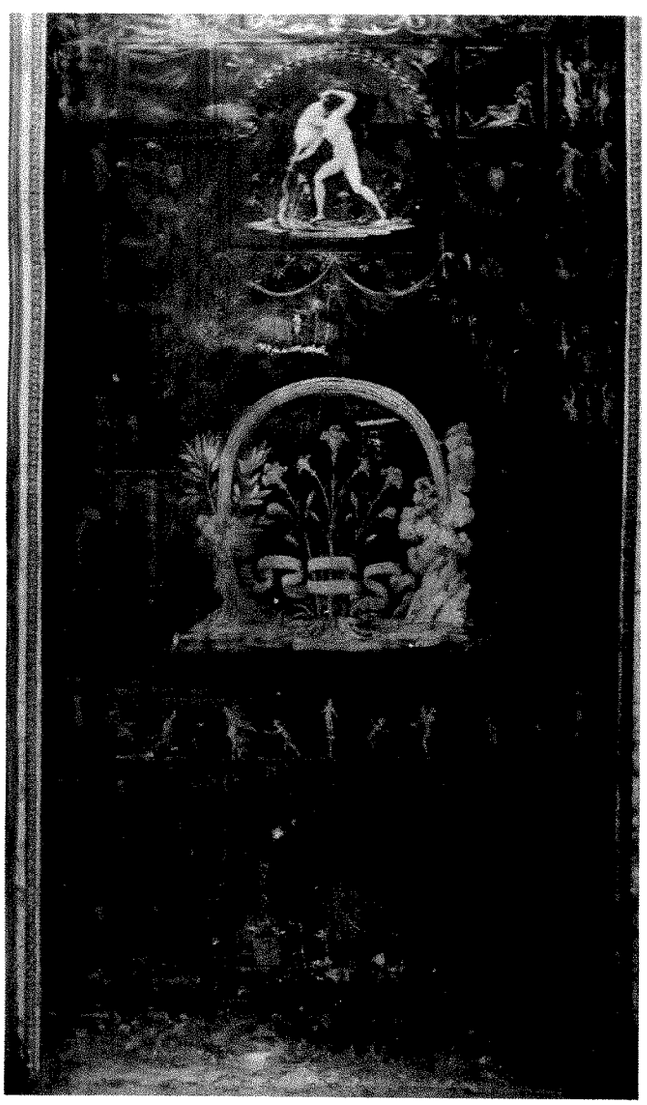
[57] The stucco framing arc at the north end of the Logge (Fig. 4) has been substantially altered since the lunette was copied by the Vienna codex artist (Fig. 15), when it appears to have included a diverse assortment of human and animal figures, too sketchily rendered to be legible.

[58] Pastor, *Storia dei papi*, v, 424ff.

[59] See Masses from the Common of the Saints, for Doctors of the Church, Confessors not a Bishop, Abbots, and Saint Joseph. The same verse is repeated in the writings of several Church Fathers and saints, e.g., Saint Bernard (*Sermones in Cantica*, ed. J. T. Migne, CLXXXIII, 1854, 1011).



15 Drawing of the lunette, north end of the Logge. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. min. 33, fol. 102r (photo: Nationalbibliothek)



16 Window-niche, fifth bay of the Logge (photo: Vatican)

justice or the just when he writes of God's promise: "I will be as the dew unto Israel: he shall grow as the lily, and cast forth his roots as Lebanon." A bridge can be made only by a syllogism. Israel is the nation of the just; Israel will grow as the lily; therefore justice, or the just, shall grow as the lily.[60]

While the liturgy and Hosea provide clues to the association of lilies with the just and with cedars of Lebanon, a third biblical source adds the palm which completes the equation expressed in the lunette. Psalm 92 undoubtedly held deep personal significance for Paul III: it offered timely assurance that the righteous shall triumph even when the wicked seem, as they must have then, to spring as grass; it held forth promise to the elderly pope of a fruitful old age; and it included the happily appropriate line "et exaltabitur sicut unicornis cornu meum." After that obliquely prophetic exaltation of the house of Farnese, the psalm continues: "iustus ut palma florebit ut cedrus Libani multiplicabitur." Lilies, representing the Farnese pope and justice, therefore flourish in the fresco side by side with the palm and cedars of Lebanon.[61]

Again, as in the Ganymede medal, the pictorial elements of the image are deceptively simple, and the chaste design is harmoniously and elegantly composed to fit the space. One has only to remember the heavily accoutered allegories in the Cancelleria, produced at the same date by the team of Giovio and Vasari, to appreciate what exceptionally brilliant talents supplied the ideas and translated them into the images of the

[60] I am deeply grateful to Professor D. Gianfranco Nolli, Ispettore per le Antichità Orientali, Vatican Museums, for supplying this explanation and for his patient and scholarly assistance with translations.

[61] The biblical association of lilies, cedars, and palms with justice is elaborated in moralizing exegeses (see n. 68).

Logge for Paul III.

An equally beautiful and even more intricate *impresa*, closely related in some of its meanings to the Aquarius/Ganymede motifs, was that of the lily and rainbow, Paul's favorite *impresa* (Figs. 7, 9, 12, 16). The lilies grow, again in trinitarian configurations, from a barren plateau. Above them arches a rainbow, springing at one end from a cloud-wreathed tree stump which sprouts green branches, probably laurel, although the numerous examples of the *impresa* vary greatly in their botanical details. The opposite end of the rainbow is plunged in clouds which surmount, in some but not all examples, a rocky peak. Loosely wound about the lilies is a scroll with the motto: ΔΙΚΗΣ ΚΡΙΝΟΝ: Lily of Justice. In several versions of the inscription, the second iota is doubled and the final N is concealed by a loop in the scroll. ΚΡΙΝΟΝ might then be pronounced as ΚΡΪΝΩ, and hence a second meaning may be implied: I judge.[62]

Ruscelli attributed the invention of this *impresa* to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and proclaimed it to be "di maravigliosa vaghezza, e perfettione, e tenuta per una delle belle, che fino à quei tempi fosser vedute."[63] But Annibale Caro, Cardinal Alessandro's own secretary, confessed in a letter to the Cardinal's sister, "non so che misterio vi si ascondesse sotto. Ma così questo giglio azurro, come l'arco baleno si chiama iris. Questa congiunzione de l'uno e de l'altro non veggo che s'abbia a fare con la Giustizia, e fino a ora non ho trovato chi me lodica."[64]

Caro, Ruscelli, and other contemporaries did recognize some of the more obvious implications of the rainbow and the "giglio azurro," as Caro described it. For the flower actually is an iris, as interchangeable with the lily in ancient, Christian, and Farnese iconography as Ganymede was with Aquarius.[65] Both the abovementioned writers saw the equation of iris with Iris, goddess of the rainbow, and Ruscelli understood the rainbow to signify that the pope had brought peace after the recent storms.[66] An unknown commentator on the carnival of 1545, struggling for an explanation of the motto, suggested a pun implied in the "giglio celeste" between Iris and Iuris.[67] Although the pun may well have been intended, the association of the lily with justice is, as we have seen, derived from more sophisticated arguments based on liturgy.

Still further elaborations of the analogy between lilies and justice were available in moralizing exegeses, such as the *Repertorium Morale* and *Reductorii Morale* of Pierre Bersuire. These well-known moralizing encyclopedias, published in many editions, explained the association of lilies (also palms and cedars) with justice in various entries: *Flos, Florere,* and *Justus, Justicia,* as well as *Lilium*.[68] The liturgical references are given, and the lily's whiteness and fragrance are said to signify not only purity, sanctity, and immortality, but the qualities of justice. Its color, moreover, denotes the chastity of prelates; its form is compared to the strengths and virtues of the Church. The lily, in fact, is seen as the exemplum of Christian virtues and of all flowers is the most pleasing to God and the angels. Clearly, it was most pleasing as well to a pope who fortunately could already claim identity with the lily's virtues through the fleurs-de-lis in his family coat-of-arms.[69]

[62] I am most grateful to Dr. Glen W. Bowersock for this explanation and translation. We both suspect that some further word play is concealed here, but it eludes us. Richard Harprath has offered a similar translation of the motto as well as other comments on the *impresa* that in some respects concur with my observations (*Papst Paul III. als Alexander der Grosse*, Berlin-New York, 1978, 23ff.).

[63] Ieronimo Ruscelli, *Le imprese illustri*, Venice, 1566, 45–46.

[64] Caro, *Lettere familiari*, III, 144.

[65] I am much indebted to Frank J. Anderson, Honorary Curator of Rare Books and Manuscripts, The New York Botanical Garden, for affirming that the tree in Paul's *impresa* resembles the laurel more than the olive and for contributing a positive identification of the Farnese "lily" as the *Iris Florentina*, which ranges in color from white to blue, as do those in the *imprese*. Had Mirella Levi D'Ancona's extremely useful book (*The Garden of the Renaissance: Botanical Symbolism in Italian Painting*, Florence, 1977) been published when I began work on this article, I would have been spared much amateur floundering in botanical literature. Almost as much has been written through the ages about the lily as about the unicorn, but much of the bibliography is now available through references in D'Ancona's book. The lily, as a symbol of purity, or the iris, prophesying the sorrows of the Virgin, commonly appears in Annunciation scenes, but unless some tenuous evocation of the new covenant is intended, as contrast to the convenant with Noah before the law, represented by the rainbow, the *impresa* seems to have no connection with Marian iconography.

[66] Paul III used the rainbow alone in a medal with the inscriptions "Foedere tuo deus" and "Dirigentur pedes nostri in viam pacis" (see Bonanni, *Numismata*, I, 209, No. ix).

[67] Forcella, *Tornei . . . sotto Paolo III*, 105.

[68] I would recommend referring to the Antwerp edition of 1609, which is more legible and more available than that of the 1499 and the intervening editions, both in light of typography and in its expansion of many abbreviations used in the earlier texts. I am exceedingly grateful to Dr. Virginia Brown for this advice and for her generous assistance with bibliography and in searching for hidden meanings in the *impresa* motto. On Bersuire, his sources, and editions of his work, see Charles Samaran and Jacques Monfrin, "Pierre Bersuire," *L'Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXXIX, Paris, 1962.

[69] I do not know what connection may have existed between the blue Farnese lilies and the French gold fleurs-de-lis or the red Florentine variety. The Venetian ambassador Antonio Soriano reported in 1535 that "si giudica ancora essere questa famiglia [Farnese] della nazione francese, per insegna dei gigli che porta" (E. Albèri, *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, ser. II, Vol. III, Florence, 1846, 320), but I have found no confirmation of this theory. The pope's colors were "bianco e turchino" (Forcella, *Tornei . . . sotto Paolo III*, 22). In 1546, Paul established the order of the Cavalieri del Giglio, whose members wore a medal displaying on one side the "giglio di colore turchino" (Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, Venice, 1845, XXX, 232). For comments on the earlier form of the Farnese arms with 16 lilies, which eventually were reduced to nine and finally six, see: J.A.F. Orbaan, *Miscellanea della Reale Società Romana di Storia Patria: Documenti sul Barocco in Roma*, Rome, 1920, 373 (an account written in the time of Gregory XIII); Loren W. Partridge, "Divinity and Dynasty at Caprarola: Perfect History in the Room of Farnese Deeds," *Art Bulletin*, LX, 1978, 496 (his article, which discusses some aspects of the lily and rainbow *impresa*, appeared after the present manuscript had been completed).

That the Farnese "giglio celeste" in fact represented the *Iris Florentina* offered no impediment to assimilating the assets of the *Lilium Candidum*. The iris had, as Paul's contemporaries recognized, the additional advantage for the *impresa* of its relation to the rainbow and its divine message, as well as with Iris, messenger of the gods and mother of Eros (Love) who herself was associated in antiquity with justice.[70] The rainbow too was saturated with shaded meanings, not only those of peace, pardon, and reconciliation, which were deduced from the rainbow's occurrence as a natural phenomenon and from God's covenant with Noah following the Deluge. The rainbow also has associations with justice from its emergence at two judgments: the Deluge and the Last Judgment, where the rainbow shines in splendor beneath the throne of the Lord.[71] The rainbow may promise temporal as well as spiritual blessings, as it did to Augustus, with whom Paul tended to identify himself. When Augustus entered Rome after Caesar's death, a rainbow appeared in a clear sky presaging a great destiny,[72] a history Paul adopted as subject for a carnival cart.[73] The rainbow, like Christ and the pope, links Heaven with earth, and like the pope it reflects the glory and justice of Christ, who is the sun of justice, for it is born from the sun's rays.[74] All in all, the rainbow as well as the lily was highly suitable as attribute for a pope.

In Paul's *impresa*, the rainbow springs from and terminates in wreaths of clouds, often in biblical texts the sign of divine presence and of the descent of divine blessings, like the tree stump sending forth green shoots. Whether the tree is an olive, symbol of peace, or, as seems more probable, a laurel, symbol of triumph and immortality, apparently mattered less to executants of the *imprese* than the representation of renewed life from roots that seemed arid and dead. "The Lord makes the dry tree to flourish," "the root of the righteous yieldeth fruit," and they "shall flourish as a branch."[75] The writings of various Church Fathers elaborate such familiar imagery, which is related as well to traditions in classical literature regarding the iris, thought to be a form of lily, and the rainbow, both believed to impart a fragrance to any tree whose roots they touched.[76] The scent of the lily, because it lasted and spread widely, stood for immortal virtue, which, transmitted to the tree stump, miraculously transfigures it with divine life.[77]

If the lily—KPINON—is replete with theological and political connotations, so also is ΔΙΚΗΣ, for *dike* not only represents justice, the imperial virtue that embraces all other virtues, but also the goddess of justice, Dike, daughter of Zeus, enthroned beside him and reverenced by all the gods. Her role was to inform her father of any transgressions of justice so that the wicked might be suitably punished.[78] In addition, this virgin goddess was identified with Virgo—hence with August, Augustus, and imperial rule—and, equally significantly for Paul III's *impresa*, with Astraea and Urania. Frances A. Yates has demonstrated in several publications the importance of Astraea to Renaissance iconology, to the ever-verdant dream of the revival of the Golden Age of Augustus, which saw the birth of the

[70] Hesiod, *Theogony*, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., 1959, ll. 775ff.

[71] See Revelation 4:2–3 (also Ezekiel 1:26–28). In many depictions of the Last Judgment, the lily as a symbol of misericord appears by the right hand of the Lord (or at the left side of the composition), balancing the sword at his left, thereby indicating that God is more disposed toward mercy than to punishment.

[72] The appearance of the rainbow circling the sun above Augustus's head was reported by various Roman writers (e.g., Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History*, trans. F. W. Shipley, Loeb Classical Library, London-New York, 1924, II, LIX; Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 95) and by Jacopo da Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, chap. 6.

[73] Forcella, *Tornei . . . sotto Paolo III*, 73.

[74] One could legitimately pursue from this point the various associations with *Sol justitiae*, a concept that goes back at least to Plato's time: "One says the sun is justice, for the sun alone superintends all things" (*Cratylus*, trans. H. N. Fowler, Loeb Classical Library, London-New York, 1926, 103, l. 413. For bibliography on the subject, see Carla Lord, "Solar Imagery in Filarete's Doors to St. Peter's," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, LXXXVII, 1975, 146ff.

[75] Ezekiel 17:24; Proverbs 11:28, 12:12.

[76] Pliny, *Natural History*, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., 1951, XXI, XVIII, 39. Awareness of such traditions is implied in an account of 1539 of Paul's *impresa*, which the writer describes in suggestive terms: "Lo Arco celeste è *Iris*, et *Iris* è la radice odorata che genera il giglio celestro, qual è l'Arme del Papa. E questa Impresa del Arco vol dir, che Dio promette per mezzo di questa *Iris*, qual è anco *Deorum nuncia*, che non saranno più li guai, e li affanni che son stati per el tempo passato. Inoltre *Iris* è radica odorata, come è stata, la radice del suo Pontificato, senza largitione, senza ambitione, pura, immaculata, e de singulare odore" (Forcella, *Tornei . . . sotto Paolo III*, 81–82).

[77] The lily had from ancient times various other associations with immortality, in part because the lily renews itself annually, and also because of the myth concerning the origins of the lily and the Milky Way, both products of milk from Juno, which spurted toward earth and sky when Jupiter, who wished to immortalize the infant Hercules, put him to suckle at the sleeping goddess's breast. For bibliography on this subject, see Erna Mandowsky, " 'The Origin of the Milky Way' in the National Gallery," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXII, 1938, 88ff.

[78] Hesiod, *Works and Days*, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., 1959, ll. 255ff.

Savior and prophesied Astraea's return to earth bringing justice, peace, and piety.[79]

The unicorn, the lily, the rainbow, palm, cedar, and laurel, Ganymede, Aquarius, Dike, Astraea, and Urania, thus appear together in harmonious counterpoint throughout the Pauline iconography of the Logge, resonating with promises of a Golden Age under Farnese rule and Catholic dominion. Eros mounted on a pedestal above Saint Paul in the fifth bay (Fig. 16), cherubs, birds, sirens, and other attendant figures in the decorations echo their traditional messages of immortal, spiritual love, a love attainable to those who, in the words of Saint Paul, are washed, sanctified, and justified "in the name of the Lord Jesus and by the Spirit of our God."[80]

This evangelical precursor of Paul III is depicted in the window-niche of the fifth bay (Fig. 16), preaching from a podium to two figures, possibly the witnesses in whose mouths every word would be established.[81] One is a soldier, the other appears to hold a portable writing desk, perhaps containing the saint's epistles. In the years 1546–47, when the Logge decorations were executed, Paul III was deeply immersed in guiding the proceedings of the Council of Trent, which reasserted and reaffirmed Catholic doctrine on Baptism, in defined opposition to Protestant tenets. The fifth session, of June 17, 1546, established the validity of infant Baptism—"unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of Heaven"—and the seventh session, of March 3, 1547, defined in detail the Sacrament of Baptism.[82]

In the window-niche of the fifth bay, Saint Paul, the earliest proselytizer of Baptism, is flanked by two antique river gods reclining against urns from which waters flow, as from the urn with which Aquarius, above him, waters the Farnese lilies. Allusions to the Sacrament of Baptism, so central to Catholic faith and so much the pope's concern during those years, and to the eternal love offered those who enter the Church by that Sacrament pervade the imagery of Paul III's decorations in the Logge.

The Frick Collection

Appendix Archivio di Stato, Rome, Camerale I

1546 Fabbriche 1511

September 6 (fol. 97r)
▽6.76 à Mro Pirino pittore per pagar' Mro Pietro et Mro Guido pittori che lavorano di stucco et di pittura il fenestrone della loggia bella ove era la porta in Palazzo appco

November 1 (fol. 98r)
▽7.33 à Mro Pirino pittor' per pagar' Mro Pietro Venale pittor' et Mro Ant.o da Vignone per resto del lavor ch' han fatto di stucco et pittura et spese nel fenestrone della Loggia pta

1547 Fabbriche 1511

August 15 (fol. 107v)
▽6.70 à Mro Pirino pittor' per tante giornate et spese ch' ha fatte far' per depinger' nella loggia di mezo i' palazzo

August 29 (fol. 107v)
▽7.21 à Mro Pirino pittor' per pagare tante giornate et spese nella pittura della loggia del PP

September 10 (fol. 108r)
▽14.17 à Mro Pirino pittore per pagare tante giornate et spese fatte in depinger' la loggia del Palazzo

September 19 (fol. 108r)
▽9.14 à Mro Pirino sopto per pagare tante giornate et spese fatte nella Loggia sopta

September 25 (fol. 108v)
▽18.74 à Mro Pirino del Vaga pittore per pagare tante spese et giornate ch' si son fatte à depingere la loggia di mezo di Palazzo

September 29 (fol. 108v)
▽11.41 à Mro Pirino sopto per pagare tante opere et spese come di sopra

1546 Fabbriche 1512

September [n.d., follows other payments of Sept. 6] (fol. 19r)
▽6.76 à Mro Pirino pittor' per tante opre di stucco et di pittura ch' ha fatte far' in un volto della loggia di mezo del Palazzo

November 1 (fol. 19v)
▽7.33 à Mro Pirino pittor' per pagar' tante opre di pittura et stuccho del volto della loggia de mezo della facciata del Palazzo hor finito

1547 Fabbriche 1512

August 15 (fol. 21v)
▽6.70 à Mro Pirino pittor' per tante giornate et spese che ha fatte fare per dipingere la la (*sic*) loggia di mezo in palazzo

August 29 (fol. 21v)
▽7.21 à Mro Pirino pittor' per tante oper' della pittura della Loggia sopta

September 10 (fol. 21v)
▽14.17 à Mro Pirino pittore per tante oper' di pittura della loggia sopta

September 19 (fol. 21v)
▽9.14 à Mro Pirino sopto per pagar' tante giornate et spese fatte nella loggia sopta

September 25 (fol. 22r)
▽18.74 à Mro Pirino pittor' per tante giornate et spese della pittura fatta nella loggia di mezo della facciata del Palazzo

September 29 (fol. 22r)
▽11.41 al detto p dtto co'to

[79] Frances A. Yates: "Queen Elizabeth as Astraea," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, x, 1947, 27–82; "Charles Quint et l'idée d'empire," *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1960, II, 57–97; *Astraea*, London-Boston, 1975. The goddess of justice seems to have been dear to Cardinal Alessandro as well as to the pope. In Bocchi's volume of symbolic images, Astraea, sword and scales at her feet, presents lilies to the cardinal (Achillis Bocchi, *Symbolicarum Quaestionum de Universo*, Bologna, 1555, 212–13, Symb. CIII), who also had commissioned from Vasari an allegorical painting of Justice which the artist relates to Astraea (Vasari-Milanesi, VIII, 288).

[80] I Corinthians 6:11.

[81] II Corinthians 13:1.

[82] *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, trans. Rev. H. J. Schroeder, O.P., London, 1941, 21, 51. Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Dom E. Graf, O.S.B., London-New York, 1957, II, index.

An Augustinian Interpretation of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling, Part II

Esther Gordon Dotson

The history of the world from the beginning to the end of time, as Saint Augustine set it forth in *The City of God*, has been traced in Part I of this article,* in the Genesis scenes which constitute the spine of the Sistine Chapel Ceiling. They represent the biblical narratives by which Augustine reconstructs the earliest division of the holy from the rebellious angels, the creation of mankind from the lowest element of the physical universe and the special character of the creation by which humanity was made to transcend the populations of the other elements, the corruption of human nature by the sin of Adam and Eve, and the contrasts of good and evil in their early descendants. But through the prophetic intimations Augustine found in the Genesis stories, those same scenes read in reverse order show the divine scheme by which the community of the City of God is redeemed from the consequences of sin: the Incarnation, Baptism, and Sacrifice of Christ, the birth and age of the Church, the Second Coming and the Last Judgment.

7. The Prophets and Sibyls

The Prophets and the Sibyls, too, Augustine considers both in their historical context and as heralds of Christ and the Church. The Sibyls, prophetic women of the pagan world, were of special interest to Renaissance thinkers. Augustine's approving remarks about them were cited to support the belief that although the Jews were preeminently the recipients and guardians of revelation before the coming of Christ, the pagans were also given glimpses of divine truths.[160] Egidio da Viterbo, who is proposed in these articles as a possible formulator of the Augustinian program, saw the Sibyls as channels of an ancient religious wisdom parallel to that preserved in Hebrew scriptures. He believed that God's revelation to the pagans prepared for the unveiling of Christ to the Gentile world and for the rise of Rome as the Jerusalem of the Christian era.[161]

Three groups of sibylline—or rather pseudo-sibylline—oracles were known to the early sixteenth century: the fragments from the so-called *Oracula Sibillina* quoted and discussed in Lactantius's *Divine Institutions* and Augustine's *City of God;* the "Cumaean song" of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue; and the collection of texts, of unknown origin but perhaps medieval, used for an early fifteenth-century painted decoration in the Roman palace of Cardinal Orsini.[162] Lactantius also provided a

* The numeration of text subdivisions, figures, tables, and notes is continued from Part I of this article, which appeared in the June *Art Bulletin*.

A third part is now in preparation, in which the relevance of Egidio da Viterbo's understanding of history and of the relation between man and God is treated in more detail. The proliferation of overlapping symbolic schemes and images in Egidio's writings presents special problems of interpretation if they are applied to a work of visual art like the Sistine Ceiling. Some samples of his imagery are discussed in Parts I and II, and will be placed more fully in the context of Egidio's thought in Part III.

[160] Augustine's chapter on the Sibyls was quoted both in Saint Antonine's *Chronicon* (IV, ix, 14) and in Filippo Barbieri's *Discordantiae Sanctorum Doctorum Hieronymi et Augustini*, Rome, 1481 (Barbieri, fol. 7v–8r) to support their argument that revelation was granted to the pagans; and Barbieri quotes, as well, Augustine's statement in the *Confessions*: "Legi in libris platonis non quidem his verbis: sed hoc idem multiplicibus suaderi potest rationibus. quod in principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud deum. usque ad verbum caro factum est" (Barbieri, fol. 25r; cf. *Confessions*, VII, ix, 13; *Pat. Lat.* 32:740). Antoninus quotes as Augustine's the dictum, "Siquid veri sibilla aut orpheus ceterive gentilium vates aut philosophi de deo dixerint: valet quidem ad paganorum vanitatem revincendam" (Antoninus, *Chronicon*, I, i, and III, ix, 14: cf. *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xlvii, first sentence; *Pat. Lat.* 41:609).

[161] Egidio's extremely involved theory of world history will be discussed in a later study.

[162] The *Oracula Sibillina* are now generally thought to have been a late Hellenistic fabrication, probably from the Alexandrian Jewish community, and to have been further revised to provide Christian prophecies some time before Lactantius's writing. As Emile Mâle observes (*L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen-âge en France*, Paris, 1925, 272), Lactantius seems to have accepted them in good faith as genuine sibylline utterances. He quotes excerpts from them principally in Books I, II, IV, and VII of the *Divinae Institutiones*.

Maurice Hélin ("Un Texte inédit sur l'iconographie des sibylles," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XV, 1936, 349–350) cites two 15th-century manuscripts in Liège and Tongerloo, specifying the location, describing the appearance, and reproducing the texts of the Prophets and Sibyls in the Palazzo Orsini. A letter from Poggio Bracciolini to Roberto da Rimini demonstrates humanist interest in the Orsini Sibyls, and makes it possible to identify the patron as Cardinal Giordano Orsini, who died in 1438. Poggio suggested that a learned man in Rome be commissioned to write a description of the Orsini Sibyls, with their names and oracles (Hélin, 353). This is essentially the nature of the manuscripts Hélin describes, and also of the booklet on the Sibyls inserted in Barbieri's *Discordantiae*.

Wind, 1965, 58–59, note, gives a condensed account of Renaissance ideas on the Sibyls, and of the rather scattered investigations of the subject, but he does not distinguish clearly between the *Oracula Sibillina* and other texts thought to be sibylline. Mâle (pp. 271–76) explains the distinction; but he did not know the manuscripts discussed by Hélin, or the existence of the Orsini decoration: for him Barbieri is the earliest known source of what are here called the Orsini texts as distinct from the *Oracula Sibillina*. Mâle also used only the second edition of Barbieri, and did not know that there were two distinct versions of Barbieri's scheme. Although he recognized irregularities in Erythraea's and Hellespontica's oracles, his discussion does not show clearly which manuscripts follow which version.

list of the ten Sibyls known in antiquity: the Persian, Libyan, and Delphic, the "Cimmerian in Italy" (called Cumaean in some late manuscripts), Erythraean, Samian, Cumaean (or Cumana), Hellespontic, Phrygian, and Tiburtine.[163] Augustine and Lactantius both noted the attribution of some of their excerpts from the *Oracula* to the Erythraean Sibyl, and Augustine cited Virgil's "quotation" from the Cumaean,[164] but otherwise neither made any connection between texts and particular Sibyls. In the Palazzo Orsini, on the other hand, each Sibyl had her own brief oracle. Lactantius's ten Sibyls were supplemented by two more, Europea and Agrippa,[165] and the oracles attributed to them were paired with excerpts from the Old Testament prophets. The first verses of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue were assigned to Sibilla Cumana, but the oracles given the other eleven are not known in any earlier source.

A few Renaissance representations of Sibyls are accompanied by texts from the *Oracula Sibillina*, apparently by way of either Lactantius or Augustine;[166] but most series of Sibyls in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century art, both in Italy and in northern Europe, are supplied with the Orsini oracles.[167] In addition, a booklet of the Sibyls and their prophecies according to the Orsini texts, with woodcut illustrations, was inserted into Filippo Barbieri's *Discordantiae Sanctorum Doctorum Hieronymi et Augustini*, published in 1481 with a dedication to Pope Sixtus IV and several times republished in the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century. With one exception to be discussed below, each Sibyl always has the same text in representations based on the Orsini scheme. When Sibyls are shown with verses from the *Oracula Sibillina*, on the other hand, the association of oracle and name seems to be random.

Michelangelo's Sibyls are unique in having names but no texts. The names of the Prophets are at least potentially a clue to the meaning of their position in the ceiling, since the books of Hebrew prophecy are available, and certain prophecies of each are especially frequently quoted. But the names of the Sibyls can point to

[163] Lactantius, *Divinarum Institutionum Libri VII*, I, vi; *Pat. Lat.* 6:141–44.

[164] *De Civitate Dei*, x, xxvii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:305–06: "Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas." For attributions to Erythraea of selected passages in the *Oracula Sibillina*, see Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, II, xiii, xvii; IV, vi, xv; VII, xix, xx, xxiv; *Pat. Lat.* 6:324, 337, 462, 495, 798, 810–11; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxiii, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:579.

[165] Possibly corruptions of Aegyptia and Erophila, alternate names of two of the standard ten (Hélin, 352–53).

[166] The Siena pavement intarsie (1482–83) include all ten of Lactantius's Sibyls, although Tiburtina is replaced by Albunea (her alternate name); and Cimmeria and Cumaea/Cumana are instead Cumaea and Cumana. Cumana is the designation on the latter's banderole, Cuma the title given below her figure: she is given the first line of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, "ultima cumaei venit iam carminis aetas," the line quoted by Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, x, xvii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:305) and also used in the Orsini oracles. Erythraea has her Orsini oracle, "De excelso celorum . . ." and so does Albunea (Tiburtina): "Nascetur Christus. . . ." The remainder are from Lactantius, as follows:

Delphica: "Ipsum tuum cognosce Deum qui dei filius est" (*Div. Inst.* IV, vi; *Pat. Lat.* 6:462).

Cumaea: "Et mortis fatum finiet trium dierum somno suscepto tunc a mortuis regressus in lucem veniet primum resurrectionis initium ostendens" (*Div. Inst.*, IV, xix; *Pat. Lat.* 6:513).

Persica: "Panibus solum quinque et piscibus duobus hominum millia in foeno quinque saliebit relinquias tollens XII cophinos implebit in spem multorum" (*Div. Inst.* IV, xv; *Pat. Lat.* 6:493 with slight variants).

Samia: "Tu enim stulta iudaea deum tuum non cognovisti lucentem mortalium mentibus sed et spinis coronasti horridumque fel miscuisti" (*Div. Inst.* IV, xviii; *Pat. Lat.* 6:507).

Phrygia: "Solus deus sum et non est deus alius. Tuba de caelo vicem luctuosam emittet / tartareum chaos ostendet dehiscens terra: veniunt ad tribunal dei reges omnes / deus ipse iudicans pios simul et impios tunc demum impios in ignem et tenebras mittet qui autem pietatem tenent iterum vivent" (*Div. Inst.* I, vi; VII, xvi; VII, xx; VII, xxiii; *Pat. Lat.* 6:148, 792, 798, 807).

Hellespontica: "In cibum fel in sitim acetum dederunt hanc inhospitalitatis monstrabunt mensam; templi vero scindetur velum et medio die nox erit tenebrosa tribus horis" (*Div. Inst.* IV, xviii, *Pat. Lat.* 6:507).

Libyca: "Colaphos accipiens tacebit. Dabit in verbera innocens dorsum. In manus iniquas veniet. Dabunt deo alapas manibus incestis. Miserabilis et ignominiosus, miserabilibus spem praebabit" (*Div. Inst.* IV, xviii, xvi; *Pat. Lat.* 6:506, 498). Samia's and Hellespontica's oracles and parts of Libyca's and Phrygia's occur also in Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxiii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:579 and 581).

Lactantius's ten Sibyls appear also in the relief series of the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini. Their texts are all from Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* IV, xviii-xix; *Pat. Lat.* 6:506, 507, 513), possibly by way of Saint Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxiii, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:579), although the translations of Lactantius's Greek texts seem to differ slightly from Augustine's. As Steinmann pointed out (II, 388, n.), their assignment to different named Sibyls corresponds neither to the Siena series nor to Syrlin (see below), nor does it match the mid-16th century *Promptuarium Iconicum*, although texts from Lactantius (and many of the same texts) occur in all of these.

Most other sets have fewer Sibyls. The nine in the Choir of Ulm Cathedral, by Jörg Syrlin, 1469–1474, have a different set of oracles, mostly also from Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* IV, xviii, xix; VII, xvii; *Pat. Lat.* 6:506, 507, 513, 796). A fragment assigned to Hellespontica is identified by Mâle as from Sozomenes, *Historia ecclesiastica*, II; he identifies Samia's, not entirely convincingly, as a variant on a phrase of the "Erythraean letter" (see below, n. 167); and "Cimeria" [*sic*] is given the third line of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue.

The Sibyls in Perugino's frescoes, Sala dell'Udienza, Collegio del Cambio, Perugia, 1497–1500, display fragments of words and phrases, traceable to Lactantius's quotations from the *Oracula* (*Div. Inst.* IV, xiii, IV, xv; *Pat. Lat.* 6:486, 492, 494) and showing no agreement with the Siena pavement, the Tempio Malatestiano, or the Ulm choir stalls. Of Pintoricchio's four Sibyls in S. Maria del Popolo (1508–09), "Cimeria" has an oracle from Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxiii, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:579), ultimately from the *Oracula*; the others have Orsini texts.

A revised edition of Barbieri's *Discordantiae*, published in Oppenheim (Koebel), ca.1500–1510, of course has the Orsini texts on the explanatory page for each Sibyl, and a phrase from the Orsini texts on the banderole in each woodcut, but it also supplies a second oracle for Delphica, Persica, and Libyca. These added oracles are all from Lactantius, and coincide with those assigned to the same Sibyls in the Siena pavement series, although with slight variations in wording.

Apart from this last example, the foregoing sampling (which is representative although not exhaustive) shows no agreement on what oracles belong to which Sibyls except where the Orsini texts appear.

no specific prophecies unless the Orsini texts are used.

Barbieri's *Discordantiae . . . Hieronymi et Augustini* would have been a convenient reference for these texts. Given its thesis, the foreshadowings of Christian doctrine in pagan philosophers and poets, supported by quotations from Augustine's *City of God* and other authorities as well as by the Orsini oracles, its several reprintings, and perhaps also its original dedication to Julius II's uncle Sixtus IV, it seems reasonable to suppose that it would have been of interest and available to Egidio.[168] Egidio often refers to sibylline oracles, to the Cumaean Sibyl, and to Virgil's "song of Cumae,"

[167] In the following list of oracles assigned to the twelve Orsini Sibyls, obvious misprints and minor variants have been corrected, but no attempt has been made to determine whether bizarre phrases represent corruptions of originally comprehensible language or the expected obscurity of sibylline utterance:

Persica: "Ecce bestia conculcaberis et gignetur dominus in orbem terrarum: et gremium (or *germen*) virginis erit salus gentium: et pedes eius in valitudine hominum."

Libyca: "Ecce veniet dies et illuminabit dominus condensa tenebrarum et solventur nexus synagoge et desinent labia hominum et videbunt regem viventium tenebit illum in gremio virgo domina gentium: et regnabit in misericordia: et uterus matris eius erit statua (or *statera*) cunctorum."

Delphica: "Nascetur propheta absque matris coitu ex virgine eius."

Emeria alias Chimica Sibylla Cimmeria in Lactantius; Cumaea in some MSS of Lactantius): "Sedens super sedem stratam nutrit puerum dan ei ad comedendum lac proprium" (or "ius proprium id est lac de coelo missum" or "vis proprium id est lac de coelo missum").

Erythraea: "De excelso coelorum habitaculo prospexit deus humiles suos et nascetur in diebus novissimis de virgine hebrea filius in cunabulis terrae."

Samia: "Ecce veniet dives et nascetur de paupercula, et bestiae terrarum adorabunt eum, et dicent, laudate eum in atriis (or *astris*) coelorum."

Cumana or Cumaea: "Ultima cumei venit iam carminis etas / Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo / Iam redit et virgo redeunt saturnia regna / Iam nova progenies celo dimittitur alto / Tu modo nascenti puero: quo ferrea primum / Desinet: et toto surget gens aurea mundo / Casta fave lucina tuus iam regnat appollo."

Hellespontica: "Ihesus Christus nascetur de casta."

Phrygia: "Flagellabit deus potentes terrae et olimpi excelsus veniet et firmabitur consilium in coelo et annunciabitur virgo in vallibus desertorum.'

Europea: "Veniet ille: et transibit montes et colles et latices silvarum olimpi: regnabit in paupertate et dominabitur in silentio et egredietur de utero virginis.

Tiburtina: "Nascetur Christus in bethlehem et annunciabitur in nazareth regente tauro pacifico fundatore quietis. O felix ille mater cuius ubera illum lactabunt.

Agrippa: "Invisibile verbum palpabitur et germinabit ut radix et siccabitur ut folium et non apparebit venustas eius et circumdabitur alvus materna et flebit deus leticia sempiterna et ab hominibus conculcabitur et nascetur ex matre ut deus et conversabitur ut peccator."

These are the oracles in the Liège and Tongerloo MSS which record the Orsini Palace paintings; they appear in Barbieri's first edition, 1481, and in the reprint of his *Discordantiae*, ca. 1490. In his second edition, also dated 1481, Barbieri gives Erythraea a fragment of what he calls "a letter this Sibyl wrote to the Greeks": "In ultima autem aetate humiliabitur deus et humanabitur proles divina, iungetur humanitati divinitas. Iacebit in feno agnus et officio puellari educabitur deus et homo. Signa praecedunt apud appellas. Mulier vetustissima puerum praevium concipiet. Boetes orbis mirabitur ducatum praestabit ad ortum." In this and subsequent editions where Erythraea has the excerpt from the "Erythraean letter," her original oracle is transferred to Hellespontica. More extended quotations from the "Erythraean letter" occur in Barbieri's introductory text (first and subsequent editions), in Antoninus's *Chronicon* (III, ix, 14, a shorter excerpt than in Barbieri's text), and (longest of all) in two manuscripts cited by Mâle (p. 277): Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 78 and Bibl.Nat. lat. 536. A phrase from it, "educabitur deus et homo," appears on the scroll of a Sibyl by Giovanni Pisano for Siena Cathedral. Its origin is as obscure as that of the Orsini oracles.

The original Orsini texts, assigned to the appropriate Sibyls, appear in the Florentine engraved series, both in fine and in broad manner (ca. 1470 and ca. 1480: A. Hind, *Early Italian Engravings*, London, 1938, I, 155–57, III, pls. 244–255), paraphrased but recognizable; in the Siena pavement, 1482–83 (Tiburtina/Albunea and Erythraea only); in Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 243; in Pinturicchio's Sibyls for the Borgia Apartments, Vatican, 1492–94, and for the Baglioni Chapel, S. Maria Maggiore, Spello, 1501.

The version found in Barbieri's second edition occurs in all later editions of Barbieri except the one he himself supervised (ca. 1490), and in Filippino Lippi's four Sibyls on the ceiling of the Caraffa Chapel, S. Maria sopra Minerva, 1488ff. Ghirlandaio's unnamed Sibyls in the Sassetti Chapel, S. Trinita, Florence, ca. 1482–85, have Barbieri texts, one of them a phrase from the "Erythraean letter." Pinturicchio's Erythraea at S. Maria del Popolo, 1507–08, has an oracle from the "Erythraean letter," his Persica from the Orsini Persica, his Delphica from the Orsini Agrippa; and his Cimmeria has a fragment from Lactantius.

Both the original Orsini oracles and the Barbieri variant occur in the French examples cited by Mâle. The Hours of Louis de Laval (Mâle, 273, 282–88), before 1489, follow an eclectic scheme, combining Orsini oracles (but with Phrygia and Tiburtina interchanged), supplementary phrases from Lactantius, and the Sozomenes oracle for Hellespontica as at Ulm: in this revision the Sibyls are so arranged that their oracles present the life of Christ from the Nativity through the Resurrection.

[168] The earliest known edition of Filippo Barbieri's *Discordantiae Sanctorum Doctorum Hieronymi et Augustini* bears the colophon "Impressum Ro. An dni MCCCC LXXXI. Sedente Sixto iiii Pont. Max. An. eius Undecimo Die prima Mensis Decembris. Foeliciter." Barbieri lists 16 disagreements between the two Church Fathers, but disposes of all but the last in a few lines. The last is his principal subject: "Sextodecimo discordant. Quoniam Hieronimus in epistola ad Paulinum reprobat a poetis de Christo quicquam esse praedictum. Sed Augu. XVIII de ci dei c.xlvii contrarium sentit." The reference is to Augustine's remark that "if it ever came to our knowledge that any foreigner . . . not . . . in the canon of holy Scripture has written any prophecy about Christ, he can be quoted by us by way of surplus" (*De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xlvii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:609). Citations from Christian and pagan sources, including additional references to Augustine, support the view that prophecies of Christ were to be found among the pagans. The woodcuts with the representations and names of the twelve Sibyls, and with the Orsini texts for their oracles, were inserted into this section, which ends with passages attributed to non-Christian contemporaries of Jesus, discussing or describing him. The next section is the famous *Cento* of Proba, a patchwork of lines from Virgil applied to the Genesis narratives from the Creation of Light through the story of Noah, to the later history of the Jews (a few lines only), and to the Incarnation, ministry, death, and Resurrection of Christ and his commission to the Apostles. The remaining materials, constituting a minor section of the whole booklet, do not bear on the question of valid prophecy among the Gentiles: "Commentaries on the Athanasian Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Angelic Salutation, the Te Deum Laudamus, and the Gloria in Excelsis Deo, excerpted from the writings of St. Thomas Aquinus," and "Solutions to theological questions through the art of grammar, by the theologian Donatus."

The second edition, with the same colophon of December 1, 1481, contains a preface addressed to Sixtus IV by the printer, Joannes Philippus de Lignamine (from which the foregoing descriptions of

but he never speaks of the contributions of the other individual Sibyls.[169] In order to differentiate their prophecies, he would have had to depend on a work like Barbieri's, or on the Orsini Palace decorations themselves—or perhaps on the most available of all the descendants of the Orsini scheme, the paired Prophets and Sibyls of the Borgia Apartments.[170]

Only the second edition of Barbieri's work includes texts from the Hebrew Prophets, paired with sibylline oracles as they apparently were in the Orsini paintings. Nevertheless, in testing whether texts associated with the Prophets and Sibyls of the Sistine Ceiling can be related to the proposed interpretation of its central scenes, both the Orsini/Barbieri texts for the Prophets and those singled out by Augustine have been considered. As for the sibylline texts, although all include some reference to the Virgin Birth, or at least to a mother and child, it is their other prophecies which generally differentiate one from another and which may therefore be relevant to the choice and placement of Michelangelo's Sibyls. Since they are prophetic figures, their words should apply to the figurative meanings of the central scenes, as types of the divine redemptive scheme. Augustine's and Barbieri's quotations from Prophets and Sibyls have in some cases been supplemented, in the discussion that follows, by traditional or authoritative or contemporary characterizations of their prophecies and by analysis of visual clues.

Jonah, the Prophet one sees immediately on entering the chapel, above the altar and looking up into the light, has a traditional meaning consonant with his prominence. His story is a 'sign' of the Resurrection, as explained in Matthew 12:39 and echoed by Saint Augustine: "for why was he taken into the whale's belly, and given back on the third day, except to signify that Christ would come back from the depths of hell on the third day?"[171] Augustine expands this parallelism in one of his treatises in epistle form; and in the same treatise he also relates Christ's Resurrection to that of believers at the end of time. "Christ, as it is written of him, 'rising from the dead, dies no more, and death has no more dominion over him.' The same also is promised to those who shall rise at the end of the age [or, at the end of the world: *in fine saeculi*] and shall reign with him eternally."[172]

Besides Resurrection, Jonah has another important meaning for Augustine.

> In that he built himself a booth (*tabernaculum*) and sat over against the city of Nineveh to see what would become of it, the prophet . . . prefigured the people of Israel after the flesh. For he was displeased at the salvation of the Ninevites, and they [i.e., the people of Israel] at the redemption and liberation of the Gentiles. . . . Therefore the shadow of the gourd vine over his head represented the promises of the Old Testament, or even those gifts that were, as the Apostle says, shadows of what was to come (Col. 2:17). . . . But the worm that came in the morning and gnawed the gourd vine so that it withered, is again Christ. By his mouth, as the gospel was promulgated, all those things that had earlier flourished for a time among the Israelites, like an exclusive (*umbratili*) token, became empty and shrivelled. And

contents are quoted); an expanded introduction with several added quotations from Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, XXIII, and Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, I, VI; and new woodcut pages of the Sibyls and their oracles alternating with woodcuts of twelve Prophets accompanied by excerpts from their prophecies. There follow woodcuts of the Man of Sorrows, John the Baptist, "Maria Virgo" (with a representation of the Adoration of the Child by Mary and Joseph), and "Plato philosophus." The inscription under the representation of Plato reads: "Plato dicit. In principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud deum et deus erat verbum. usque ibi et verbum caro factum est, etc." [*sic*]. The pages after the woodcuts have not been reset, with the consequence that the last word of the oracle of the last Sibyl (Agrippa) reappears on the text page after "Plato philosophus."

Subsequent editions omit the Prophets; several of them omit the Commentaries and Donatus; only one omits Proba's *Cento:*

ca. 1482, Rome, Georg Herold and Sixtus Riessinger, with text and sibylline oracles similar to the preceding.

ca. 1490, Naples, Francesco del Tuppo, combined with the *Libellus de Animorum Immortalitate: Divina Providentia: Mundi Gubernatione: et Praedestinatione: atque Reprobatione*. The title continues: *Cui Adiungitur Opusculum de His in Quibus Augustinus et Hieronymus Dissentire Videntur in Divinis Litteris*. The texts are those of the first edition, somewhat rearranged; Proba, the Commentaries, and Donatus are omitted.

ca. 1500–1510, Venetiis, per Bernardinum Benalium. I have been unable to consult this edition, but the descriptive title is identical with that of the following.

ca. 1500–1510, Oppenheim, Jacob Koebel. This is a slightly rearranged version of the second edition of 1481. The woodcuts and oracles of the Sibyls are inserted almost as a separate booklet in the middle of the work (and this section sometimes appears alone), and some additional oracles are assigned to some Sibyls as described above, n. 166. Proba's *Cento* is included, with a preface signed by Jacobus Koebelius, but not the Commentaries or Donatus.

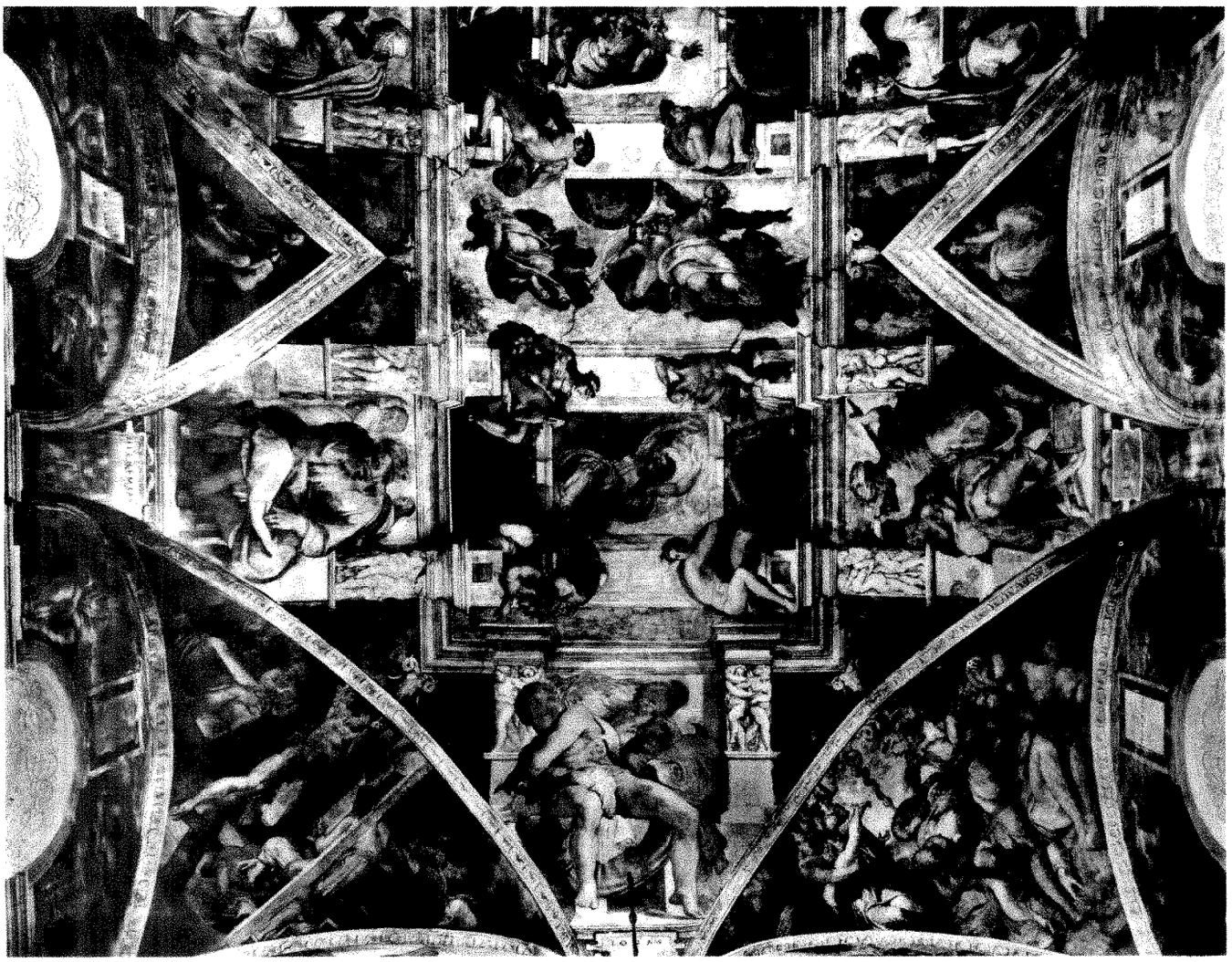
All references below are to the second edition.

[169] There are a great many references to Sibyls in general, and to Prophets and Sibyls in the *Sententiae* (fol. 20r, 38r, 39r, 194r, 196v, 203r, 208r, etc.). In the *Historia*, however, most references to sibylline prophecy are to Cumaea and the passage in Virgil's Fourth Eclogue (fols. 6v–7r, 11r, 14v, 25r, 30r, 36v, 50r–51r, 68v, 105r, 153v, 163r–163v, 178v, 170 bis r–170 bis v, 282r–282v, 288r, 306r). Egidio refers to the Cumaean Sibyl's prophecy also in the *Libellus*, fols. 25r–v, 27r, 71v. Cf. also O'Malley, 1968, 31, 51, 55.

[170] The Sibyls of the Borgia Apartments and their oracles are those of the Orsini paintings; but a different selection of Prophets appears, and where the Prophets are the same, the citations are different in all but two cases. The exceptions are Micah, paired with Tiburtina as in Barbieri, with the same texts as there; and Ezekiel, given the same text as in Barbieri, but paired with Cimmeria rather than with Erithraea.

[171] *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, XXX, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:587.

[172] *Epistolae*, CII: *Sex Quaestiones contra Paganos expositae*, 34–35, 3; *Pat. Lat.* 33:382–384, 371.



12 Michelangelo, Sistine Ceiling, altar end with the *Separation of Light from Darkness* and the *Creation of Life in the Waters* (photo: Alinari)

> now that people having lost the Jerusalemite kingdom and the priesthood and the sacrifice—all of which were a shadow (*umbra*) of what was to come—suffer in captive exile from the great heat of tribulation, like Jonah, as it is written, from the heat of the sun, and grieve deeply. And yet the salvation of the nations and of penitents is given preference over their grief and the shadow they valued.[173]

The tension between the Jews and the Gentiles, and between the Jewish people and the Church, which according to Saint Augustine's account in *The City of God* is to be resolved only at the end of time,[174] is an important theme suggested by the Prophet Jonah. Perhaps more important for his position in the scheme of the Sistine Ceiling, the withering of the shade of the gourd vine represents the salvation of the nations, the promised reality replacing the "shadow of what was to come."

In that the whale appears behind Jonah, the Prophet stands for the Resurrection of Christ and for the final resurrection of believers. In that the gourd vine is shown in the background, and the light from above beats down on Jonah, he stands for the realization of what had been foreshadowed in the Old Testament promises and in the institutions of the Jewish people; and thus he sums up the basic premise of the whole Ceiling with its antiphonal balances of prefiguration and fulfillment.

The other Prophet at the altar end, and the Sibyl

[173] *Epistolae*, CII, 34; *Pat. Lat.* 33:384. The same play on *umbra*, *umbracula*, *umbratilis* occurs in Egidio, *Historia*, fols. 70r–v, to contrast the old "Syon" with the new, and the *tabernaculum* with the immediate presence of God.

[174] *De Civitate Dei*, XVII, xi; *Pat. Lat.* 41:544. Cf. O'Malley, 1968, 82–84 on Egidio's opinion.

across from him, also have meanings related to the end of time. From Jeremiah, Augustine quotes a passage that he identifies as "without doubt, a prophecy of the Jerusalem above."

> Behold the days are coming, says the Lord, when I shall ratify a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah. It will not be in the terms of the covenant that I drew up for their fathers at the time when I took them by the hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt, for they did not keep to my covenant, and I have abandoned them, says the Lord. Now this is the covenant that I establish for the house of Israel after those days, says the Lord. I will establish it by putting my laws in their minds; and I shall write them in their hearts, and I shall look on them. And I shall become their God; and they will become my people (Jeremiah 31:31–33).[175]

Saint Augustine identifies Jeremiah as very especially the Prophet of a restored Jerusalem and thus of the heavenly Jerusalem, the goal of the earthly pilgrimage: "For in that after seventy years, according to Jeremiah's prophecy, they [the Jewish people] would return from captivity and restore the temple, what Christian believer will not understand that after the times have come full circle—which run their course in the repetition of a sevenfold number of days—we, the Church of God, are to return to that heavenly Jerusalem from the pilgrimage of this age?"[176] Barbieri gives Jeremiah a prophecy of the Messianic rule, which Augustine also quotes as characteristic of his message: "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, and I will raise up to David a just branch, and a king shall reign and shall be wise: and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth. In those days shall Judah be saved, and Israel shall dwell confidently" (Jeremiah 23:5–6a).[177]

Finally, a reference not quoted in either *The City of God* or Barbieri is invoked by the word *Alef*, the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, on the scroll at Jeremiah's side. The letters of the Hebrew alphabet preface the verses of each of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, in which the Prophet mourns over the destruction of Jerusalem:[178] "The Lord hath accomplished his wrath, he hath poured out his fierce anger; and he hath kindled a fire in Sion, and it hath devoured the foundations thereof" (Lamentations 4:11). "Convert us, O Lord, to thee and we shall be converted; renew our days as from the beginning. But thou hast utterly rejected us: thou art exceedingly angry against us" (Lamentations 5:21–22). Although he does not cite the Book of Lamentations in this connection, Augustine singles out the destruction of the world by fire and its subsequent renewal among the salient events at the end of time.[179] The melancholy of Jeremiah's shadowed face and of his brooding posture suggests that the despair of the final destruction before the ultimate renewal is his primary meaning at this position in the Ceiling.

The prophecy of the Libyan Sibyl, as quoted by Barbieri, includes an oracle applicable to the last day: "Behold the day shall come, and the Lord shall lighten the thick darkness, and the bonds of the synagogue shall part, and the lips of men shall be silent: and they shall see the king of the living. . . ."[180] Her oracle is paired with the quotation from Jeremiah 23 cited above. This is the only instance in which a pair on the Sistine Ceiling coincides with one of Barbieri's pairs.

The fulfillment of the promises foreshadowed in the Hebrew experience and the Hebrew Scriptures is associated with Jeremiah and Libyca as well as with Jonah. Jeremiah contrasts the Old and New Covenants; Libyca speaks of the parting of the "bonds of the synagogue" with the coming of day and light. Both Prophet and Sibyl also prophesy the Messianic rule, the new Jerusalem of the people of God, although Jeremiah still mourns over the destruction of the earthly city, which must precede the new Jerusalem. The contrast of light and darkness in the oracle of the Libyan Sibyl accords strikingly with the first scene of Creation in both its literal and its allegorical meaning.

In traditional Christian interpretations, Daniel is

[175] Quoted *De Civitate Dei*, XVII, iii, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:525–26; referred to at *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxxiii, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:592.

[176] *Contra Faustum*, XII, xxxvi; *Pat. Lat.* 42:273; cf. also *Enarrationes*, Psalm 65 (lxx.64), 1; *Pat. Lat.* 36:772, and Psalm 148, *Pat. Lat.* 37:1917–18.

[177] *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxxiii, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:592; Barbieri, fol. 12v.

[178] Verse *aleph* of the fourth Lamentation appears in Egidio's *Libellus* to refer to the decline of the Church after its first golden age: " 'How is your gold become dim?' By these words [Jeremiah] intimated that religion had been rejected and defiled, and the gold [of the divine teaching] had degenerated into iron" (fol. 26r). It is quoted again at fol. 43v. Egidio believed that the period of decline was coming to an end, and that the renewal of the gold of divine teaching taking place in his own time heralded the coming of the kingdom, the final golden age. The same fourth Lamentation goes on to mourn the destruction of Jerusalem by the fire of God's anger because of its lapse from the true gold.

[179] *De Civitate Dei*, XX, xxx, 5; *Pat. Lat.* 41:708; cf. below, p. 425.

[180] Barbieri, fol. 12r. See above, n. 167 for the full text.

preeminently the Prophet of the last events before the end of the world. The synoptic gospels quote him for signs of the last days, especially the coming of the Son of Man "in a cloud," to be preceded by the appearance of false Christs and by wars and persecutions, and followed by the Judgment.[181] Egidio da Viterbo urges the Pope to recognize the signs of the final age, given in "Daniel and other ancient writers."[182]

Similarly, among Augustine's examples of the Prophets' references to Christ and the Church, in Book XVIII of *The City of God*, he quotes from Daniel only the prophecy of the Son of Man appearing in glory: "I saw a vision of the night, and behold, there was one coming with the clouds of heaven like a son of man; and he came to the ancient of days and was brought forward in His presence. And to him was given sovereignty, honor and kingship; and all peoples, tribes and languages will serve him. His power is an eternal power which will not pass away, and his kingdom will not be destroyed" (Daniel 7:13–14).[183] In Book XX, devoted entirely to the prophecies about the end of the world in Old and New Testaments, Daniel is the most important Old Testament source for the sequence of final events. "The last persecution, which is to be inflicted by Antichrist," says Augustine, is foretold both in the Apocalypse and by Daniel. The Antichrist is the last king of the fourth beast in Daniel 7:23–27, who

> will surpass in wickedness all who preceded him. He . . . will speak insulting words against the Most High; and he will harass the saints of the Most High and will conceive the notion of changing times and laws. And power will be given into his hand for a time and times and half a time. Then a court will sit, and they will take away his sovereignty, to be destroyed and finally brought to nothing. Then the kingdom . . . will be given to the saints of the Most High. His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom. . . .

Finally, Augustine finds in Daniel a prophecy of the Resurrection before the Last Judgment.[184]

Barbieri also has a quotation from Daniel that points to the coming of the divine kingdom at the end of time: the vision of the 'stone cut without hands' which destroyed the image of gold and silver, brass and iron and clay.[185] The Prophet himself interpreted the image as the succession of kingdoms that would finally be totally destroyed by the eternal kingdom established by God himself (Daniel 2:31–45).

The oracle attributed to the Persian Sibyl sounds an echo to Daniel's prophecies of a beast and of a glorious advent. "Behold, O beast, thou shalt be trampled, and the Lord shall be brought forth in the circle of the earth. . . ."[186]

The central scene that corresponds most closely to the prophecies of a divine ruler in Daniel and in the oracle of the Persian Sibyl is the *Creation of Sun and Moon*, interpreted above as a type of the appearance of the Son of Man in glory, the Lord "brought forth" to be given the eternal kingship. The reign of Antichrist will precede that appearance and will be the final trial of the saints before the Resurrection. Daniel and Persica, seated below the sea which symbolizes the trials of the present age, look forward to the final trial symbolized by the beast which, in the Book of Revelation, arises from the sea (Revelation 13:1). And both prophesy the triumphant appearance of the Lord, symbolized in the next scene of the redemption sequence.

The position of Daniel and Persica may have a further significance related to Saint Augustine's thought. Dan-

[181] E.g., Matthew 24:15, Mark 13:14; Matthew 24:30, Mark 13:26, Luke 21:27.

[182] Egidio, *Historia*, fols. 308v–309r: "search the scriptures . . . and the signs I have given, in the holy scriptures both in the new law and in the old, in Daniel and other ancient writers—these search out, these read, of these take note; and when you see those things appearing that are written, then lift up your head; recognize the things that are predicted, await those things that now you read as to come: if those things which happened to the fathers were (as the Apostle thought) a shadow, and as it were the painted image of things to come, what is involved is that now Jerusalem is to be recovered."

[183] *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxxiv, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:593. The quotation is introduced by the words "De potestate eius et gloria sic locutus est" (in some MSS, "De potestate eius et Ecclesiae sic locutus est," and in some "De potestate eius et Ecclesia sic locutus est"). Cf. also Augustine's extensive discussion of Daniel's prophecies in the letter on the end of the world written to Hesychus (*Epistolae*, CXCIX; *Pat. Lat.* 33:904–925, esp. iv, 13, col. 909; vii, 19, col. 911; ix, 28, col. 915).

[184] *De Civitate Dei*, xx, xiii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:678; *De Civitate Dei*, xx, xxiii, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:695; *De Civitate Dei*, xx, xxiii, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:696, quoting Daniel 12:1–3.

[185] Barbieri, fol. 17v.

[186] *Ibid.*, fol. 11r. For the full text, cf. above, n. 167. The place of the image of the beast in Egidio da Viterbo's scheme of sacred history will be discussed in Part III of this study. It should perhaps be noted here that Egidio believed a new Crusade against the Moslem occupation of Jerusalem was an essential prelude to the imminent coming of the divine kingdom, and in the *Historia* (fol. 325r) he speaks of the pope as called "to overthrow the Beast of Mohammed" *(ad sternendam Maumethis Bestiam)*.

iel was an exile in a Babylon ruled by a Persian king. Such a reference would be reinforced by Augustine's parallel between the fifth day of Creation, the calling forth of life in the waters, and the fifth age in his historical scheme, the Babylonian exile. In that age, he says, there were "great whales, that is those great men who were able to conquer the floods of the world . . . for they were not corrupted by any terror to the worship of idols."[187] Clearly Daniel, who underwent severe trials and terrors for his refusal to reverence idols, was one of those "great whales" of the Babylonian captivity.

The Babylonian exile, in turn, was frequently in Saint Augustine a figure of the Church's pilgrimage in the world, during the time from Pentecost to the end of the age,[188] and several of his references make Daniel especially the Prophet of the age of the Church. He interprets one of Daniel's prophecies to refer to the diaspora of the Jewish people and their loss of temple, priesthood, and sacrifice after the time of Christ.[189] He presents Daniel as an ideal example for relationships within the Church, for Daniel prayed for the sins of the people and, in humility, for his own as well.[190] In the Book of Ezekiel, the references to Noah, Daniel, and Job as instances of righteous men in a sinful land become for Augustine a figure of the Church in the world: Noah stands for the leaders of the Church, Daniel for the contemplatives, and Job for the laity. Daniel, says Augustine, was called a "man of fervent longings" (*vir desideriorum*).[191] On all counts, Daniel is appropriately placed in the time of the Church's pilgrimage, but in expectation of its end, with a vision of the coming of Christ in glory.

In the ceiling, the play of light and shadow seems more emphatic for the figures of Daniel and Persica than for any other Prophet and Sibyl. Daniel's writing hand and book, Persica's face, and the attendants of both are darkly shadowed. Is this a metaphor for the obscure oracles of their revelations, and for the inscrutable mysteries, as Jesus warned, of the times and seasons of his coming? Or does the darkness correspond to the repeated references in Egidio da Viterbo's *Historia* to the dark ages into which the Church declined after its golden beginnings? Egidio believes that in the sixth age after the Incarnation (an age beginning about the time of Charlemagne's successors), the Church entered a twilight period. He quotes the verse, 'And there was darkness from the sixth to the ninth hour' (Matthew 27:45) as prophetic of those ages when even the Church's leaders sank into vice and self-seeking, before the dawn of the tenth age which, he believes, is to usher in the Kingdom in his own time. Although even in that dark time the light of God continued to shine through some inspired leaders, for the most part "men gave their backs to the Sun and turned to darkness and night," and "religion slipped into old age."[192] The back of the Persian Sibyl, in the bay just before the prefiguration of the coming of the Son of Man, is turned to the source of light at the altar end; her darkened profile shows the face of an ancient hag.

For the Cumaean Sibyl and Ezekiel, the sibylline text and scriptural citations seem relatively unambiguous. Virgil's Fourth Eclogue is the passage that Augustine, Egidio, Barbieri—and most representations in art—associate with Cumaea: "Now is come the last age of the song of Cumae; the great line of the centuries begins anew. Now the Virgin returns, the reign of Saturn returns; now a new generation descends from heaven on high. Only do thou, pure Lucina, smile on the birth of the child, under whom the iron brood shall first cease, and a golden race spring up throughout the world. Thine own Apollo now is king!"[193] Egidio uses "golden race" to describe the Church at its beginnings; it will be applicable again in the age to come when Christ's kingdom will be perfected. In the *Historia* he uses the term "golden age" for both. The fact that both the Sibyl and the poet associated with this prophecy were linked to Rome and its rulers seemed to him a special indication of the role providentially prepared for Rome and its pontiffs in bringing about the new and final golden age. Cumaea is very especially the Sibyl of the Catholic Church and its great mission.[194]

Barbieri gives Ezekiel the prophecy of the closed gate

[187] *De Genesi Contra Mani.*, I, xxiii, 39; *Pat. Lat.* 34:192.

[188] Cf. above, p. 410 and n. 176. This is the burden of *Contra Faustum*, XII, xxxvi (*Pat. Lat.* 42:272–73), which includes the passage on Jeremiah as Prophet of the return.

[189] *Contra Faustum*, XII, xliv; *Pat. Lat.* 42:278.

[190] *De Civitate Dei*, XIX, xv; *Pat. Lat.* 41:643; cf. also *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione*, II, x, 13; *Pat. Lat.* 44:159; *De Urbis Excidio*, i; *Pat. Lat.* 40:717.

[191] *Enarrationes*, Psalm 133 (lxx.132), 5; *Pat. Lat.* 37: 1731. The reference is to Ezekiel 14:14. Antoninus repeats this summary of the Church's people, and this interpretation of Daniel, in the discourse on the Church that serves as the introduction to Part III of his *Summa Theologiae* (Antoninus, *Summa*, Pars III, Prologus, 6).

[192] Egidio, *Historia*, fols. 64v, 62v, 56r. Cf. also fol. 52r: "in hanc aetatem tamquam in canitiem senescentis ecclesiae descendens"; fol. 59r: "superiora saecula vocant matutina: sequentia vesperi . . . periit matutina illa lux: et heu nos miseros prope extincta est"; fol. 85r (speaking of exceptionally holy individuals in the dark age of the Church): "quorum sanctitas fecit, uti intelligamus: nullam esse unquam aetatem: nullum tempus: tam a Deo alienum: . . . neque ullam esse noctem: quin aliquis e caelo lumen hauriat: nec omnes in tenebris iacere patiatur."

[193] *De Civitate Dei*, X, xxvii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:305. Augustine quotes only the first line of the Fourth Eclogue; Barbieri, fol. 17r quotes the seven lines translated here. Cf. n. 166 for the appearance of excerpts from this passage in non-Orsini series.

[194] Egidio, *Historia*, fols. 36v, 306r. Egidio's development of this theme will be discussed more fully in Part III.

(Ezekiel 44:2–3): "And the Lord said to me: This gate shall be shut: it shall not be opened; and no man shall pass through it; because the Lord the God of Israel hath entered in by it: and it shall be shut for the prince. The prince himself shall sit in it, to eat bread before the Lord; he shall enter in by the way of the porch of the gate, and shall go out by the same way."[195] The passage is usually interpreted as a prophecy of the Virgin's conception by the Holy Spirit. Hartt points out the appropriateness, and the iconographic tradition, of this theme at the entrance to the sanctuary which is figuratively the womb of Mary-Ecclesia.[196] The passage introduces Ezekiel's prophecy of a purified temple, filled with the glory of the Lord. The birth of the Church may therefore have a triple expression on the Sistine Ceiling, in the *Creation of Eve*, in the Cumaean Sibyl's song about the rise of "a golden race throughout the world," and in Ezekiel's prophecy of the gate to the sanctuary.

Saint Augustine's two quotations from Ezekiel in Book XVIII of *The City of God* are both promises of "one shepherd, my servant David" to rule over the cleansed and united people of God.[197] These are seen as prophecies of the unity of the Church and of its dependence on Christ, and correspond therefore to the allegorical meaning of the *Creation of Eve*. But the prophecy of a shepherd is traditionally carried still further in time and points to the pope as the shepherd of the Church—especially here in the papal chapel, above the frescoes in which Moses and Christ prepare the pope's role, and the early popes line the walls. This prophecy, then, like that of Cumaea, may also be related to Egidio's conviction that the pope's leadership will bring the new golden age for a united Church.

For like the *Creation of Eve-Ecclesia*, Ezekiel and Cumaea are not only placed within the time sequence from the Incarnation through the Last Judgment; they also mark the central bay of the whole Ceiling. Their references to the one shepherd and to a golden age, therefore, count not only as historical references to Christ's founding of the Church, but also as a governing theme of the whole, a link between the divine scheme in history and the institutions of Church and Papacy as they should ideally be.

That Ezekiel and Cumaea are the most powerfully energetic among the Prophets and Sibyls may be intended to characterize the ideal Church. Edgar Wind suggests that the appearance of Cumaea as an ancient giantess with swollen breasts identifies her as Mother Church, an identification that is to be associated with the prophecy Barbieri attributes to the Cimmerian Sibyl who is also located in Italy, and who is called Cumaean in some texts of Lactantius: "She nourishes a boy, giving for his consumption her own liquid, that is, milk sent from heaven."[198] Both the prophecies of Cumana and of Cimmeria fit the position of this figure. When Egidio writes Cumaea, he means Virgil's Sibyl; yet this figure's looks suggest the prophecy of Cimmeria. Egidio's writings abound in puns and conflations, and the confusion of names may have provided an opportunity for a double reference here.

Isaiah is quoted frequently by Saint Augustine, and for many different subjects, for as he states in characterizing his prophecies, Isaiah "made many more prophecies than the others about Christ and the Church . . . but because I am determined to keep my books within bounds I shall quote here only one of many passages [relating to Christ]."[199] This passage is the description of the suffering Servant of God (Isaiah 52:13–53:12), 'wounded for our wickedness . . . as a sheep led to slaughter, . . . led to death because of the iniquities of my people.' Barbieri has the same prophecy, extending over two pages and illustrated by an image of the Man of Sorrows as well as of Isaiah.[200] The prophecy from Isaiah that Augustine applies to the Church is the assurance of rescue 'from the reproach of your widowhood.'[201] Isaiah is therefore appropriately placed beside the *Sacrifice of Noah*, in which a sheep is led to slaughter, prefiguring the sacrificial death of the Church's Bridegroom.

For Erythraea the situation is somewhat confused, for her oracle was changed between the first and the second printing of Barbieri's book, and both texts appear in painted representations.[202] Both the first and second texts of Barbieri for Erythraea are primarily nativity oracles. The second appears again as part of a longer prophecy quoted in his explanatory text, "a letter which she [*haec sibilla Erithea*] wrote to the Greeks about Christ." The "letter" covers nearly everything: the Incarnation, the Presentation of the Infant Jesus in the Temple, the Calling of the Twelve Apostles, Jesus' rejection and sacrificial death, his Resurrection, a final battle with the dragon, an apocalyptic beast, the Res-

[195] Barbieri, fol. 15v.

[196] Hartt, 1950, 189.

[197] *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxxiv, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:593.

[198] Wind, 1965, 68–70; cf. Barbieri, fol. 14r; and n. 167, above. It is worth noting that Ezekiel, with the prophecy of the closed gate, is paired with Cimmeria and "milk from Heaven to feed on" in the Borgia Apartments.

[199] *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxix, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:585–86. Augustine quotes the last three verses of Isaiah 52 and all of Isaiah 53.

[200] Barbieri, fols. 22v–23r. Under the woodcut labeled *Isaias propheta*, Barbieri quotes Isaiah 53:2–5a (adding *etc.*); and under the woodcut of *Christ as Man of Sorrows* on the facing page, Isaiah 53:5b–8a (again adding *etc.*).

[201] *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxix, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:586.

[202] See n. 167.

urrection of the Dead, and the Last Judgment. The first oracle is too specialized for the position Erythraea occupies; the second is not specialized enough to give her any particular significance in the scheme. Yet the Sibyl whom Lactantius and Renaissance writers called the "most famous"[203] of all the Sibyls and to whom Augustine devoted his chapter in *The City of God* could hardly be omitted. The solution may lie in the oracle of the suffering and sacrifice of Christ that Augustine quoted in his chapter on Erythraea without attributing it to her. In the quotations of that chapter of *The City of God* in a sixteenth-century edition of Barbieri, the passage has acquired a heading identifying it as an oracle of the Erythraean Sibyl.

> Hereafter he will come into the wicked hands of unbelievers; and they will deal God blows with their polluted hands and spit their poisoned spittle from their unclean mouths; but he in his simplicity will offer his holy back to their strokes. And he will be silent as he receives the blows, so that no one may know that he comes as the Word, or whence he comes, so that he may speak to those in the underworld and be crowned with a crown of thorns. While for his food they have given him gall, and vinegar for his thirst; this is the table of inhospitality they will display. For you yourself in your foolishness have not recognized your God when he mocked the minds of mortals; no, you even crowned him with thorns, and mixed for him the repulsive gall. . . .[204]

Lactantius remarks on the similarity of this oracle to the passages concerning the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 53.[205] Augustine, a few paragraphs before his quotation of the same oracle, makes the Erythraean Sibyl Isaiah's contemporary.[206] Although no one oracle is evoked unambiguously by Erythraea's name, her pairing with Isaiah might bring to mind the oracle that echoes Isaiah. The decision may have been simpler: since the Erythraean Sibyl is the one with whom Augustine and Lactantius associate specific oracles, their superior authority could be substituted for that of Barbieri.

The enigmatic capital letter Q displayed in the upper left corner of the large book that Erythraea scans may be a subtle device to point to the right selection from her prophecies. So far as I can determine, it is not the initial letter of any of the oracles attributed to her anywhere, or of any sentence in them. It is, however, the initial letter of Isaiah 53 (*Quis credidit auditui nostro. . . ?*), which Lactantius compared with the sibylline passage quoted above. Perhaps it is meant to suggest that the prophecy of the Passion attributed to Erythraea was inspired by her contemporary, the Prophet Isaiah.

The Delphic Sibyl has only one oracle in Barbieri and in related representations: "A prophet will be born without his mother's coition, from a virgin."[207] A prophecy of the Virgin Birth is appropriate next to the prefiguration of the Incarnation, of Christ's assuming flesh from the people of Israel. But the role of Joel is more perplexing. Saint Augustine says of him:

> All the prophecies of Joel demand much explanatory comment to throw light on the points which are connected with Christ and his Church. However, there is one passage which I shall not pass over. . . . 'It will happen,' says Joel, 'after this that I shall pour out my spirit over all mortals: and your sons and daughters will prophesy; your old men will dream dreams and your young men will see visions. Indeed at that time I shall pour out my spirit on my servants and my maidservants (*ancillas*)' (Joel 2:28–29).

Barbieri's citation is from the same passage.[208] The Apostles, as Augustine remarks, quoted this prophecy to explain their experience at Pentecost: they are the "servants of God" referred to. But what does it have to do with the Incarnation? The last word in the quotation may supply a clue. *Ancilla* is the word Mary applied to herself when the Holy Spirit was poured out over her at the Annunciation:[209] "And the Angel said, the holy Spirit shall come upon thee and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee. . . . And Mary said, Behold the handmaiden (*ancilla*) of the Lord" (Luke 1:35–38).

Delphica's resemblance to Michelangelo's painted and sculptured Madonnas of a few years earlier is sometimes noted as confirmation of the chronological order of his execution of the Ceiling, from entrance to altar

[203] Lactantius (*Div. Inst.*, I, vi; *Pat. Lat.* 6:146) says of her, "celebrior inter caeteres ac nobilior habetur"; Barbieri calls her "nobilissima" (fol. 15r) and quotes Lactantius's remark (fol. 28r).

[204] *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxiii, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:580–81. The passage is quoted in Barbieri, *Opuscula*, Oppenheim; Koebel, ca. 1500–10, fol. d iiii v, under the heading: "Vaticinia sibylle Erythree sive ut aliis placet Cumee de passione et resurrectione christi post Lactantium et Augustinum loco quo supra." There follows, as *caput* xix, Augustine's explanation that he was putting together passages separated in Lactantius, and the text quoted in *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxiii, 2, with headings inserted to explain the references to the Passion: "De Captione Domini," "De Alaphisatione," "De Consputione," etc. The passages quoted together by Augustine occur in Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, IV, xviii (the entire oracle quoted above, in four parts alternating with comparable quotations from Isaiah) and IV, xix; *Pat. Lat.* 6:506–07, 511, 513.

[205] Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, IV, xviii; *Pat. Lat.* 6:506.

[206] Kings of Judah referred to in the Book of Isaiah are Achaz and Ezechias (Isaiah 36–38). Augustine mentions both (*De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxii; *Pat. Lat.* 41:578), and continues, "It was at this time, according to some accounts, that the Erythraean sibyl made her predictions" (*De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxiii, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:479).

[207] Barbieri, fol. 13r: cf. above, n. 167 for the Latin text.

[208] *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxx, 3; *Pat. Lat.* 41:587; Barbieri, fol. 14v.

[209] Cf. *Enarrationes*, Psalm 102 (1xx.101), Enarratio, Sermo 1, 1: "Attende ancillam illam castam, et virginem, et matrem: ibi enim accepit [Christus] paupertatem nostram ubi servi forma indutus est. . . ." (*Pat. Lat.* 37:1294).

end. But the similarity is iconographic as well as stylistic: Michelangelo's Madonnas are similar in facial type, dress, even in pose—and in the suggestion of prophetic inspiration. The Child is absent; but the Delphic Sibyl's gesture of putting aside the book she has been reading, her half-shrinking withdrawal from the direction in which she turns her eyes, seem quite possibly Michelangelo's version of the familiar Annunciate theme. Whether or not by conscious association, her pose is the most circulary enclosing of all Michelangelo's Sibyl figures, and reminds us that in the familiar words of the *Te Deum*, Christ's self-humbling appears most fully in that he "did not abhor the Virgin's womb." Even the juxtaposition of the Word and the ear of the Delphic Sibyl is an echo, in the heroic vocabulary of the early sixteenth century, of the common fifteenth-century symbolism of the divine impregnation. Here in a special sense is the fulfillment of the promise recorded in Joel, 'I shall pour out my Spirit on . . . my maidservant.'

Zechariah takes his place at the end of the series representing man's fall and at the beginning of the scheme of redemption. Such a position is implied when Augustine characterizes him in *The City of God* by his prophecies of rescue from "the depths of human misery," and his call to rejoice in the approach of a king who "comes as a poor man, mounted on a donkey," but who will reign from sea to sea.[210] Elsewhere Augustine cities the vision of the high priest Jesus (i.e., Joshua, Zechariah 3), whom of course he takes as a prefiguration of the Christ, "the true high priest," "in filthy garments; but when he had conquered the devil, who stood to accuse him, his filthy garments were taken away and he was clothed in honor and glory; thus the body of Jesus Christ which is the Church, when at the end of time the adversary is conquered through the judgment, will be received from the mourning apparel of its pilgrimage into the glory of eternal salvation."[211] Augustine also describes Zechariah several times as the prophet who exhorts the people to return and restore the temple and Jerusalem. The temple, he says, stands for the Lord's body, of which Jesus said, 'Destroy this temple and I will raise it again in three days'; and it stands, as well, for "the more complete body of Christ, the holy Church herself." "Therefore that each person becomes a living stone, fitting for a great structure, is the spiritual understanding of the renewal of the temple, from the old ruin which it became in Adam, the restoration of a new people in the image of the new Man, the heavenly Man."[212] The return to Jerusalem, as has been shown, is one of Saint Augustine's favorite figures for the pilgrimage to the heavenly Jerusalem.

> Therefore [Haggai and Zechariah] signified for us in a mystery the future life, where we will praise God after the captivity of the present life; where will be renewed that great city Jerusalem, from which we pilgrims came and toward which we sigh, captive still under the weight and burden of our mortal body; but if we still groan in our pilgrimage, we shall rejoice in our fatherland. . . . We look forward. . .; Haggai and Zechariah . . . sing our future liberation.[213]

Augustine finds in Zechariah most of the main themes of the scheme of interpretation that this study proposes for the Sistine Ceiling: the ruin inherited from Adam leading to the "depths of human misery"; a king who comes in humility and who conquers the Devil; the example of Christ to be followed by the Church, the complete Body of Christ; the Church's pilgrimage; the Last Judgment and the final joyous liberation, "the glory of eternal salvation." Even a summary of the conflict between Jew and Gentile and a promise of its final resolution are discerned by Augustine in Zechariah's prophecy.[214] This Prophet is not only a turning point, but a fitting Prophet for the entrance to the Chapel.

A demonstration that one of the Prophets, at least, can be read as prophesying every aspect of the doctrine of Redemption may unfortunately raise doubts as to the method itself. It may be argued with considerable truth that almost any item of Christian doctrine, almost any event of Christian sacred history can be found in almost any Prophet if one searches diligently and construes visions and prophetic language imaginatively. An Augustinian understanding of history is only to be expected to emerge from Augustine's favorite quotations of the Prophets. Even though each Prophet can be shown to have made prophecies related to the proposed figurative meanings of the scenes near which he is placed, the relationship may still seem to be accidental, and no more a confirmation of the program than any other set of Prophets in whose writings one might find apparently appropriate texts.

The objection is unanswerable. The richness and range of each Prophet's book make it impossible to prove this or any other interpretation of the ceiling by citations of their texts. At most, the consonance of Augustine's quotations with the Augustinian scheme of history suggested for the Ceiling helps elucidate its meanings. More conclusive may be the correlation of the proposed figurative reading of the central scenes with a more limited aspect of the Prophets' identities—their names. Origen and Saint Jerome provide translations of the Hebrew names in the Bible, and Augustine declares that these "undoubtedly are of no small power and aid in solving the riddles of Scripture."[215] Augustine and Egidio both give great weight to the meaning

[210] *De Civitate Dei*, xviii, xxxv, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:593–94.

[211] *Contra Faustum*, xii xxxvi; *Pat. Lat.* 42:273.

[212] *Enarrationes*, Psalm 112 (1xx.111); *Pat. Lat.* 37:1467.

[213] *Enarrationes*, Psalm 149, 4; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1940; also Psalm 148, Sermo, *Pat. Lat.* 37:1917.

[214] *De Civitate Dei*, xx, xxx, 2–3, *Pat. Lat.* 41:705–07; cf. below, p. 425.

[215] *De Doctrina Christiana*, ii, xvi, 23; *Pat. Lat.* 34:47.

of names and to coincidences of names in determining historical and prophetic significance.[216]

The translations proposed by Saint Jerome do appear to relate the Prophets to the prophetic meaning of the central scenes.[217] Joel, interpreted as "beginning" *(incipiens)*, indicates that the prophetic meaning of the ceiling is to be read beginning at the entrance end; or that the Incarnation is a beginning of the new redemptive covenant—or both. If the secondary interpretation offered for Joel is also used, *est dei*, he announces that the plan—or the person?—begun is of God. Isaiah, "salvation of the Lord" *(salus Domini)*, sees the divine deliverance brought about by the Sacrifice of Christ, the central action in the scheme of salvation. Ezekiel's prophecy of one shepherd, applied to Christ as head of the Church, is strongly reinforced by the message of his name, "the sovereignty or power of the Lord" *(imperium Domini vel robur Domini)*. *Robur Domini* also means "oak of the Lord": since the oak is the family emblem of Pope Julius II, Ezekiel's name links the authority of Christ as head of the Church, and the central bay of the ceiling, with the Church's earthly head, the Pope.[218] Daniel, "God has judged me" or "the judgment of God" *(judicavit me Deus vel judicium Dei)*, may refer to the coming of the divine judge in Daniel's vision of the Son of Man, or to the sitting of the court that will take away the sovereignty of the Antichrist, or more generally to the approach of the Last Judgment. Jeremiah, "the most high of the Lord" *(excelsus Domini)*, can be referred to the exaltation of Christ as ultimate ruler.

The name of Jonah, whose 'sign' points to the Resurrection, is interpreted as *columba*, "dove," the symbol in turn of the Holy Spirit. Augustine, as shown above, sees the Holy Spirit not only as the principle of life in the Church on earth, but as the giver of life at the final Resurrection of believers. Egidio is still more explicit: "That divine love in the form of a dove is sent, then, to transport us to heaven."[219]

Zechariah's name, "memory of the Lord," or "mindful of the Lord" *(memoria Domini vel memor Domini)*, as well as the range of Christian doctrine Augustine finds in his prophecies, make him a fitting introduction to the whole scheme. For Augustine, the eternal foreknowledge of God can be understood, although imperfectly, through the analogy of human memory. The memory of the Lord may be thought of as his providential grasp of all that has happened and will happen in time, as the unity of all time in the divine mind.[220] In the Scriptures, the memory of God is most frequently invoked for fulfillment of his promises to his people, and for the divine mercy they embody. Perhaps the most familiar of such passages, and one regularly used in the liturgy, is the song of the Prophet's namesake, Zechariah, father of John the Baptist (Luke 1:68–79): "As he spoke by the mouth of the holy prophets who are from the beginning . . . to perform mercy to our forefathers; and to remember his holy testament." Whether or not the song of Zechariah is intended to be recalled, its messages are congruent with the spirit of the whole scheme: prophecy fulfilled, God's remembrance of his covenant, and the salvation of the people. The final image of the song evokes the vision, high above the altar, of the divine light from which all the figures of the Ceiling are illumined and into which the

[216] E.g. Egidio, *Libellus*, fol. 56v, where the Hebrew meaning of Simon, son of Onias, the high priest who rebuilt the temple at Jerusalem (Ecclesiasticus 50:1) is applied to Julius II. In his attempt to interpret the names in the genealogy of Christ on the lunette tablets, Wind claims the Renaissance method was to find a biblical verse in which the word or words meant by the Hebrew name occur (Wind, 1944, 226). This may have been one method, but it was not Egidio's, or Augustine's. Both simply apply the meaning of the name directly to the person or situation under discussion. Thus, "Simon is usually interpreted as 'obedient.' What is it to obey God but to follow Peter, to whom, as the Lord said, neither flesh nor blood revealed divine things but the Father in heaven?" Egidio goes on to say that Julius's devotion has not been to flesh and blood—i.e., not to sons or nephews—but to the Church. "The sacred author calls you son of Onias, which name Jerome and Origen interpret as 'trouble of the Lord.' Could the sacred prophecy point more clearly to your situation? For who, raised to that high office, has ever suffered more commotions, calamities, exiles, and adverse events than you?" (Egidio, *Libellus*, fol. 56v). Egidio's conflation of Simon, son of Onias, and Simon Peter is also noteworthy.

For Augustine's similar applications of the meanings of names, cf., for example, *Enarrationes*, Psalm 18 (1xx.17), 1, Psalm 34 (1xx.33), Sermo I, Psalm 52 (1xx.51); *Pat. Lat.* 36:148, 300, 601–603.

In the following sections on the meaning of the Prophets' and ancestors' names, no attempt has been made to apply biblical verses that contain the words to either Prophets or ancestors, although in some cases the Vulgate text has been consulted for common meanings or associations of Jerome's Latin translations of the Hebrew names.

[217] Saint Jerome, *Liber de Nominibus Hebraicis; Pat. Lat.* 23:771ff. The editor has inserted Origen's interpretations after Saint Jerome's (*Pat. Lat.* 23:1203ff.). Cf. also Saint Jerome, *Epistola LIII ad Paulinum, De Studio Scripturarum; Pat. Lat.* 22:546–47, where typological and philological interpretations are combined; and *Commentarium in Joelem Prophetam; Pat. Lat.* 25:947–48, where the meanings of the Prophets' names are given. The meanings of the names according to Saint Jerome have been inserted in the diagram of the Ceiling, Table. 2.

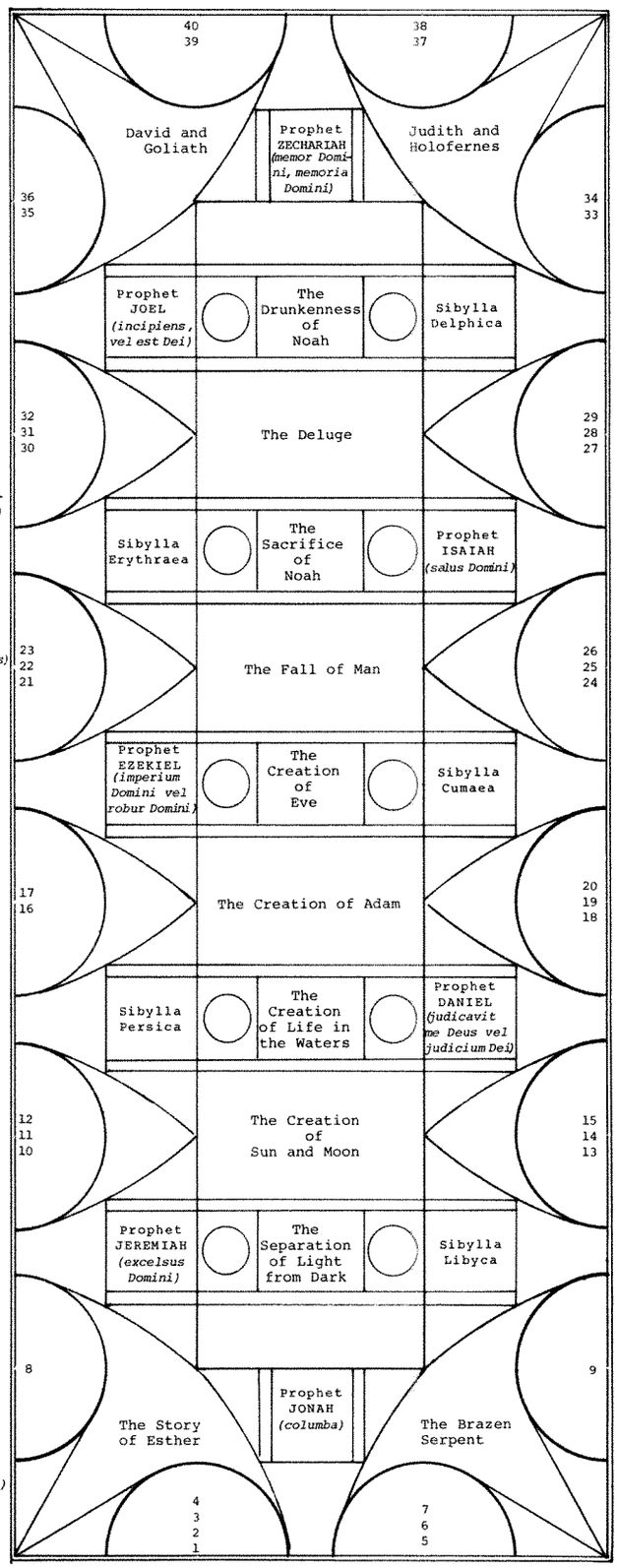
[218] This association, which Hartt seems to have overlooked, reinforces his convincing argument that the Ceiling is full of references to Julius's emblem. Such references are very characteristic of Egidio da Viterbo: cf. above, p. 253 in June issue and n. 156.

[219] Egidio, *Sententiae*, fol. 190r; and cf. above, p. 243.

[220] *Confessions*, XI, xxviii, 38 – xxxi, 41; *Pat. Lat.* 32:824–26. Cf. also Saint Antoninus's explanation of *memoria dei* (*Summa*, Pars. I, II, 9, iii): "Tercio exponitur versus ille sic. Justus erit in memoria eterna i.e. dei eterni. . . . Recordatur autem deus electi sui primo predestinando. Secundo iustificando. Tercio glorificando. Et sic non timebit ab auditione mala. quam audient reprobi in fine: quibus dicetur. Ite maledicti in ignem eternum. etc. Math. XXV" The memory of God is therefore the divine foreknowledge of the elect and the plan by which they are justified and will be glorified, the plan of redemption known to God from the beginning of time and to be fulfilled at the end of time.

Table 2. The Hebrew Names: Prophets and Ancestors

40 JOSEPH (apposuit, apponens)
39 JACOB (supplantator)
36 ELIUD (deus meus iste)
35 ACHIM (frater meus iste)
32 ELIACHIM (Dei resurrectio vel Deus resuscitabit)
31 ABIUD (pater meus iste vel pater meus est)
30 ZOROBABEL (ipse magister Babylonis, i.e. confusionis)
23 ACHAZ (apprehende)
22 JOATHAM (consummatus, perfectus)
21 OZIAS (apprehendens Dominum vel fortitudo eius)
17 ABIAS (pater Dominus)
16 ROBOAM (latitudo populi)
12 OBED (serviens)
11 BOOZ (in fortitudine)
10 SALMON (sensus, sensibilis)
8 AMINADAB (populus meus voluntarius)
(destroyed lunette)
4 JUDAS (confitens, glorificans)
3 JACOB (supplantator)
2 ISAAC (risus sive gaudium)
1 ABRAHAM (pater videns populum)



MATHAN 38 (donatus)
ELEAZAR 37 (Deus meus adjutor)
SADOC 34 (justus)
AZOR 33 (adjutus)
SALATHIEL 29 (petitio mea Deus)
JECHONIAS 28 (praeparans sive praeparatio Dei)
JOSIAS 27 (Domini salus, sive fortitudo Domini)
AMON 26 (fidelis vel onustus)
MANASSES 25 (obliviosus, abjectus)
EZECHIAS 24 (confortavit Dominus vel fortitudo Domini)
JORAM 20 (qui est excelsus vel sublimabitur)
JOSAPHAT 19 (Dominus judicabit)
ASA 18 (attollens)
SALOMON 15 (pacificus)
DAVID 14 (desiderabilis vel fortis manu)
JESSE 13 (incensum)
NAASON 9 (serpens eorum)
(destroyed lunette)
ARAM 7 (excelsus)
ESRON 6 (atrium eorum)
PHARES 5 (dividit)

pilgrim generations emerge from shadowy depths: "The Orient, from on high, hath visited us, to enlighten them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death: to direct our feet into the way of peace."[221]

8. The Ancestor Names

The names of the ancestors of Christ in the line of Joseph, from the first chapter of Matthew, are inscribed on tablets in the lunettes just below the Ceiling and just above the windows. They are not evenly distributed in the lunettes, however, and their arrangement suggests that they are to be related not to the "generations" in the lunettes and the interpenetrating vaults above them, but to the narrative scenes at the center of the Ceiling.[222] If so, they, like the names of the Prophets, may be intended to have a prophetic meaning.[223]

The forty names from Matthew 1:1–16 follow each other in the order Matthew gives them, beginning with those originally on the altar wall. An even distribution would give two or three names in each of the sixteen lunettes. But one of the destroyed tablets had four names, and two tablets have only one each. The four last, and one other just short of the middle of the ceiling, have two names, and the rest three. The tablets must be read in pairs to preserve the biblical order, first the two on the altar wall, and then those of each bay in turn, with the two on the entrance wall at the end. For the first ten lunettes, however, the south tablet must be read first and then the north; for the last six the north tablet must be read first, and then the south. Neither the break in the direction of reading nor the distribution of the names on the tablets correlates either with the biblical division of the names into three groups of fourteen generations each[224] or with the number of figures in the adjacent family groups. The distribution and directions of reading are inexplicable if the names are intended to be applied to the families.

The distribution of names, however, determines which names occur in which bays, and thus under which scenes of the central series or of the corner pendentives. The direction in which the tablets are read in a given bay determines which corner pendentive an ancestor name accompanies, at the beginning and end of the whole sequence. It may therefore be useful to test whether a relationship exists between the names in the lunettes and the scenes above them, with special attention to the corner pendentives.

Most of the names under the pendentives at the entrance end could be applied without difficulty to either Judith's victory over Holofernes or David's over Goliath, as references to divine help given to the just in the struggle with the Devil: "God my helper" and "given"; "helped" and "the just or the justified"; "a supplantor or overthrower," and "he appointed." But the combination of names on the side wall below David and Goliath, "he is my brother," and "he is my God," bears no relationship to Judith; on the other hand, the names seem highly applicable to David as a type of Christ. The south-north reading of the tablets in each bay may therefore have given way to the north-south reading in order to produce this arrangement of the names under Judith and David.

This hypothesis requires that the names at the other end, and their arrangement, relate to the pendentives above them; otherwise, the north-south order might have been used throughout. Under the *Brazen Serpent*, on the side wall, is the single name meaning "their serpent" or "the serpent is theirs," which strongly suggests a relationship to the pendentive. The three names originally on the altar wall under this pendentive can also be linked to its arrangement and subject. *Dividit atrium eorum excelsus* reads as a perfectly good Latin sentence: "the most high divides their court." And indeed a striking division is made by Moses' staff and the Brazen Serpent, between those who look up and are healed, and those who turn away and seem to be pushed into darkness. The resemblance of that arrangement to a Last Judgment has already been noted. Christ,

[221] In Egidio's *Historia*, fol. 57v, a reference to Zechariah's *Oriens ab alto* introduces an extended discussion of Christ as the Sun, touching on the Church as the moon and the Apostles as the stars, on the theological traditions of the pagan world and the Hebrew prophecies of the Sun of Righteousness, the heavenly Adam in contrast with the earthly, the "Vatican Syon" and the final triumph of the light.

[222] As already mentioned, Wind's sample demonstrations of connections between the meaning of the Hebrew names and the figures in the lunettes (to which he assigns allegorical significance) have been challenged as involving inaccurate and irrelevant citations (Wind, 1944, 225–231; Hartt, 1950, 203, n. 161; cf. Hartt's alternative proposal, 1950, 201–213; Wind's reply and criticism of Hartt—Wind, 1951—and Hartt, 1951, in response). Hartt attempts to connect the meanings of the names both with the narrative scenes and with individual figures in the lunettes and interpenetrating vaults. If the more general meaning suggested above, pp. 228–30, explains the character and basic differences of the families in the interpenetrating vaults and the lunettes, then it is not probable that they also represent individual ancestors. On the other hand, I agree with Hartt that the juxtaposition of the name interpreted as *serpens eorum* with the representation of the Brazen Serpent strongly suggests a connection of the names with the scenes above. Many of Hartt's proposals for making such connections seem to me reasonable, although, like Wind, I am doubtful that the Hebraists of Julius's circle would depend on Rabanus Maurus for suitable associations. Hartt's explanations offer rich and often persuasive possibilities but, like his explanation of prophetic meanings in the central scenes, they seem to me to lack the clear organization suggested by the visual arrangement.

[223] Cf. above, n. 216 for Saint Jerome's lists of Latin equivalents for the Hebrew names. The appropriate meanings are shown on the diagram, Table 2.

[224] Tolnay (p. 87) suggests that the shift in direction at the bay with the scene of the Flood reflects the Babylonian captivity in which Jechonias and Salathiel were born. But this cannot be so, for Josias is also on the tablet that marks the shift in direction, and he belongs to the 14 generations before the captivity: the break in Matthew 1:11–12 comes with the person of Jechonias, last of the 14 before the captivity, first of the 14 after.

whom the Brazen Serpent symbolizes, divides between those who look to him and those who turn away. Augustine explains that "the serpent is death"; the serpents that bit the Israelites, he says, are the sins deriving from the mortality of the flesh, and the Brazen Serpent stands for Christ in the Crucifixion. "The bite *(morsus)* of the serpent is lethal, the death *(mors)* of the Lord is vital. . . ."[225] Thus "the serpent is theirs," under the figures writhing from the bites of the serpents that pursue them, and turning away from the Brazen Serpent, would seem to confirm that they are tormented by their sins and are going to the second and eternal death, just as those figures looking to the crucified Christ are destined to eternal life. Christ divides the two groups.

The especially uneven grouping of the names that accompany the Haman spandrel may be related to the arrangement of the stories from Esther. If the meaning of Naason, inscribed under the *Brazen Serpent*, identifies the figures immediately above as condemned sinners, the meaning of Aminadab—"my willing people" for Saint Jerome, "a desirable people, well-beloved of my father" for Origen—can be seen as a contrasting designation of the Church as personified by Esther, who appears immediately above at the banquet with her royal spouse. Below the violent figure of Haman crucified at Ahasuerus's command were names interpreted as "father seeing the people" or "most high father," "laughter," "supplantor," "glorifying." The combination calls to mind such passages as Psalm 2, where God is spoken of as laughing at those who would challenge his rule and that of his anointed. Psalm 2 was regularly interpreted both as signifying God's continuing judgment of earthly rulers and as a vision of the future destruction of godless kingdoms, which are to be replaced by the eternal rule of Christ. On the verse, "He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh at them. . .," Augustine writes "What this context signifies is that power which God gives to his saints of reading the future, of contemplating Christ's name and that kingdom of his which is to extend to the last man on earth and make all nations his own. By their vision they realize the futility of wicked men's schemes. Now this power which unveils to them the future, constitutes God's laughter and derision."

Psalm 2 concludes, "When his wrath shall be kindled in a short time, Blessed are all they that trust in him." Saint Augustine explains, "When the vengeance laid up for sinners and the ungodly bursts forth, not only will it spare those who trust in the Lord; it will even serve to erect and establish for them a royal throne on high. . . . The phrase *in brevi*, within a short time, signifies, I think, that it will blaze of a sudden upon sinners, who imagine it hidden in the far-distant future."[226]

Haman, as a persecutor of the people of God, who wished to wear a royal robe and crown, and to have all the people bow down to him, is just such a self-glorifying supplantor as God has in derision and takes vengeance on in the Psalm. This image evokes for Augustine a vision of the entry of the blessed into the Kingdom of Heaven, symbolically associated with the secondary images in the pendentive, the banquet of Esther and Ahasuerus from which Haman is expelled, and the invitation to Mardochai to enter the palace and receive royal honors.

The correspondences already noted, especially the contrast of "the serpent is theirs" and "my willing people," and the position of the two names meaning "he is my brother, he is my God" under David, suffice to explain both the irregularities in the distribution of the names and the necessity of reversing, at some point between the two ends, the order in which the names are to be read in each bay.[227] The bay at which the south-north reading becomes north-south would not affect these correspondences, and would bear on possible relationships of remaining names to the central scenes only as the two sides of the latter have different meanings.

This is most clearly the case with the *Creation of Sun and Moon;* and the contrasting realms symbolized in the main panel are in fact reflected in the ancestor names. On the side of the sun and moon are the types of Christ: Solomon, the *rex pacificus*, and David. The latter's name is interpreted in two ways in Saint Jerome's list, as "strong of hand" and as "desirable." David is "strong of hand" in his conquest of Goliath, says Augustine. *Desiderabilis* is an adjective applied to the Bridegroom in the Song of Solomon (5:16). These two metaphors occur together in Psalm 19 (lxx.18), which both Augustine and Egidio considered especially prophetic.[228] Here the sun, still another figure for Christ, is a 'strong man' (a Giant who conquers the giant Satan, says Egidio) and a bridegroom. For Egidio, the nineteenth Psalm of the "divine Sun" prophesies the penultimate age of historical time. The names meaning "peaceable," "desirable," and "strong of hand"

[225] *In Joannis Evangelium*, XII, xi; *Pat. Lat.* 35:1490; also *De Trinitate*, III, x, 20; *Pat. Lat.* 42:880. One of Origen's translations of Aram is Logos, the Word. If the three names on the altar wall are read, "The Logos divides their court," the suggestion of Christ in the Last Judgment is striking.

[226] *Enarrationes*, Psalm 2, Enarratio, 3, 11; *Pat. Lat.* 36:70, 72.

[227] The same relationship of names to scenes could have been preserved without the shift in direction of reading if, for example, David had been interchanged with Judith. In that case, however, the two deliverances with a hero would have been on the same side of the chapel. The principle of both transverse and longitudinal alternation of male and female, worked out in the arrangement of Prophets and Sibyls, would not have been preserved in the arrangement of the pendentives.

[228] *Enarrationes*, Psalm 19 (lxx.18), Enarratio II, Sermo, 2, 6; *Pat. Lat.* 36:157, 160–61; Egidio, *Sententiae*, fol. 139r, *Historia*, fol. 174 bis v et seq. Egidio on Psalm 19 will be discussed more fully in Part III of this study.

belong to Christ the Sun coming in triumph and as the Bridegroom.

Below the other side, where the Church's partial vision while she is still in the world is symbolized by the "posterior" view of God, appear the names that mean "serving" and the appropriate virtue of "fortitude." *Sensus* and *sensibilis*, translating the third name on the tablet, are important words in Egidio's vocabulary. As a Platonist, he stresses the contrast of sense and intellect, the perception of the sensible as against the spiritual world. His frequent image for the realm of the sensible, the dark and shadowy forest, is perhaps intended by the trees that identify the earth in this panel, far below the heavens. *Sensibilia* are mere shadows of the transcendent incorporeal essences. The Son was sent to the sensible world in the Incarnation; he will be revealed in his true radiance only after this life, beyond the world of sense.[229] These are associations appropriate to the side that subsists on faith in the incarnate Christ while enduring the last dark age of the Church, waiting for the coming of Christ in glory when the Church will see him face to face.

Most of the remaining names present such a wide range of possible interpretations as to be useless in confirming that they are an intended commentary on the central scenes, or even a key for the learned viewer. Yet each bay has at least one or two names that could point to the figurative interpretation proposed for it; and the one remaining irregularity of distribution seems intended to reinforce the symbolic meaning in a central scene.

Attollens, "raising on high," and *excelsus* or *sublimatur*, "he who is lofty," or "he is lifted up," the meanings of the names below the *Creation of Adam*, are compatible with its possible interpretation as an image of Christ's Resurrection. On the other side, "Father, Lord" *(pater Dominus)* can be associated with the gift of the Holy Spirit to the early Christians through such a verse as Saint Paul's: 'God has sent the Spirit of his son into your hearts, crying Abba, Father' (Galatians 4:6). *Latitudo* occurs a number of times in the Vulgate Psalms[230] in the context of a rescue resulting in freedom. *Latitudo populi* might mean liberation of the people or expansion of the people, perhaps of the people of the Church. The names on the south side, the side of the figure of Adam, appear to be more applicable to the Church, those on the side of the Creator to Christ. In the bays closer to the entrance, however, the relevance of the names seems to have nothing to do with differences between one side and the other. The shift in direction of reading could therefore occur anywhere between the *Creation of Adam* and the pendentive bay at the entrance end.

The tablets below the *Temptation and Expulsion* have at least one name pointing to the Crucifixion, the proposed figurative reading. *Consummatus*, variously rendered 'finished,' 'perfected,' 'fulfilled,' in the English translations, is used four times in the Gospel of John in connection with the death of Christ. In Saint Luke's Gospel, it is applied by Jesus ahead of time to his death. It is used by Saint Paul to explain the meaning of the Crucifixion, in a sermon delivered at Antioch, and twice by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews in a similar context. The word *consummatus*, or the phrase *consummatum est*, almost invariably refers to the Crucifixion. One of the few exceptions is Saint Paul's anticipation of his own death and may be thought of as indicating his emulation of Christ.[231] The names that accompany *consummatus* are affected by the remaining irregularity in the arrangement of names: the north lunette in the previous bay has two rather than three names. The position of that exception makes possible the symmetrical framing of a reference to the Crucifixion by two names denoting the appropriate action of "laying hold" (on the Cross). On the other side, also below the *Temptation and Expulsion*, are names that mean "the Lord has strengthened, or firmness—resolution—of the Lord," "faithful or burdened," and "forgetful or forsaken." Their fit is too loose to constitute any proof of intention, but they are adaptable without difficulty to the subject of the Crucifixion.

The association of "preparing" or "preparation" with John the Baptist may point to the typological meaning of the *Deluge* as the Baptism of Christ. The other names on the tablets below this scene have relatively adaptable meanings again, except for Zorobabel, whose name Saint Jerome interprets as "master of Babylon, that is, of confusion." Augustine explains that Babylon, meaning confusion, is the city of the Devil, in contrast with the City of God.[232] *Magister Babylonis*, then, is the Devil. If one is determined to relate all the names to the figurative meanings of the scenes, one can fall back on Christ's temptation by the Devil after his Baptism, balanced against the account of John the Baptist before Christ's Baptism, connoted by *praeparatio* on the other side.

This kind of effort may, of course, be misplaced. It is hardly probable that every name in a fixed list, with a fixed order, could correspond both in meaning and in position to the principal events of the Incarnation and the history of the Church. What can be demonstrated is that the direction in which the names are to be read is shifted at a given point, and the names are distributed irregularly, for no discernible purpose except to bring certain names into relationship with certain pendentive or central narratives; and that when they are so

[229] Egidio, *Sententiae*, fols. 24r, 33v, 34r, 187r, 207r, etc. Cf. also *Historia*, fol. 176 bis v. In one of Jerome's lists, Salmon is *umbra virtutis*.

[230] Psalm 17:20, 117:5.

[231] John 17:4, 19:28 (twice), 19:30; Luke 18:31; Acts 13:29; Hebrews 2:10, 5:9; 2 Timothy 4:7.

[232] *De Civitate Dei*, XVII, xvi, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 41:550.

arranged, the correlation between their meaning and the figurative reading of the scenes is considerably greater than could happen by chance. Egidio da Viterbo's conviction that every word in the Old Testament, especially in the original Hebrew, is a revelation of the Logos[233] could not help but be reinforced by the discovery of such correspondences in the Hebrew names of the ancestors of the incarnate Word.

9. The Gold Medallions

Above each of the ten Prophets and Sibyls along the sides of the Chapel, with one exception, is a condensed narrative on an illusionistically painted gold medallion supported by a pair of *ignudi*. The scene in the medallion above Persica is missing, presumably obliterated.

Vasari's identification of the scenes as subjects "taken from the Book of Kings"[234] is only approximately correct. The medallion over the Libyan Sibyl, universally recognized as the *Sacrifice of Abraham*, represents a much earlier biblical era. Steinmann proposed subjects for the remaining medallions, accepted by most subsequent writers, from the Books of Samuel and Kings, the four Books of Kings in the Vulgate Bible.[235] But Edgar Wind demonstrates convincingly that three medallions have stories from the Maccabean era: *Heliodorus Driven from the Temple* (2 Maccabees 13:23ff), the *Defeat of Nicanor* (1 Maccabees 7:43ff and 2 Maccabees 15:1ff), and *Alexander Reverencing the High Priest*. The last of the three is not scriptural, but an anecdote from Josephus, interpolated by Malermi in his vernacular Bible, at the beginning of 1 Maccabees where Alexander's career and pride of conquest are recorded.[236] The three medallions bear a striking resemblance to the woodcuts illustrating these three scenes in the edition of 1493 of Malermi's Bible.[237]

Wind also published a detail from Cunego's eighteenth-century engraving of the Ceiling, which shows a pair of naked lovers in the medallion above the Persian Sibyl. This scene was obliterated as indecent, he suggests, after its original reason for being was forgotten.[238] He does not supply an identification, but another Maccabean story is at least possible: Antiochus's introduction of prostitutes into the Temple. The engraving appears to show a woman seducing a man; and this would agree with 2 Maccabees 6:4: "For the temple was full of the riot and revellings of the Gentiles, and of men lying with lewd women. And women thrust themselves of their own accord (*mulieres se ultro ingerebant*) into the holy places, and brought in things that were not lawful." The probable identifications for the ten medallions are given in Table 3.

Wind proposes that the ten scenes stand for the Ten Commandments, principally, it seems, because there are ten. Indeed, the Law is the primary meaning of the number ten in Augustine's numerology. The only other recent scholar to consider the gold medallions in detail, Rudolf Kuhn, accepts Wind's basic hypothesis and cites as confirming evidence the instruction to Solomon to place the tablets of the Law in the Ark of the Convenant, between the cherubim (2 Chronicles 5:10).[239] Kuhn identifies the *ignudi* with the pairs of cherubim described in the Temple of Solomon, as has been noted above.

Most of Wind's identifications of scenes with commandments are too obvious to require comment: the destruction of the idol with the command against the worship of graven images; the murder of Abner with the commandment against murder; the naked lovers with the prohibition against adultery;[240] the death of Absalom who attempted to usurp his father's kingship with the commandment to honor father and mother. In three cases, however, the arguments seem forced, and in two of these the identifications need correction.

Wind makes the *Death of Nicanor* stand for the commandment against taking the Lord's name in vain, because Nicanor "raised his hand in a blasphemous oath against the temple of Jerusalem."[241] Wind cites only the account at 1 Maccabees 7; but in another reference to the same incident at 2 Maccabees 15, we are told: "Nicanor . . . proposed to set upon Judas Maccabaeus with all violence on the sabbath day . . . the Jews that were constrained to follow him said . . . the living Lord himself in heaven . . . commanded the sabbath day to be kept. Then he said: And I am mighty upon the earth, and I command you to take arms, and to do the king's business." As Kuhn points out, Nicanor's sin is profanation of the Sabbath.[242]

The accounts of Alexander's encounter with the high priest suggest not the command to honor the Sabbath, as Wind proposes,[243] but the commandment not to take the name of God in vain. For both Petrus Comestor, who relays the story from Josephus, and Saint Antoninus, who quotes it from Comestor, make it quite clear that Alexander knelt not to the high priest himself, but to do reverence to the name of God written on his vestments: "Alexander . . . descended from his horse and

[233] O'Malley, 1968, 67ff., "Scripture and the Cabala."

[234] Vasari/Barocchi, I 43. Vasari calls them "contrafatte di bronzo e d'oro," perhaps associating them with familiar gilt-bronze sculptures like Ghiberti's Baptistery Doors. Since gold highlights appear on backgrounds as well as figures, the medallions resemble the entirely gilded scenes of the East Doors—and in fact could represent solid gold.

[235] Steinmann, II, 261–272.

[236] Wind, 1960, 313.

[237] *Ibid.*, 313, 316, 317 and figs. 17–22.

[238] *Ibid.*, 320–21 and fig. 28.

[239] Kuhn, 57, 58.

[240] The commandment against adultery was understood as a prohibition against fornication in general: cf. the notes to Exodus 20:14 of both Nicholas of Lyra and Hugh of St. Cher.

[241] Wind, 1960, 316.

[242] Kuhn, 62.

[243] Wind, 1960, 320.

Table 3. The Gold Medallions

South Medallion	*Central Scene*	*North Medallion*
Commandment X: Thou shalt not covet Joram thrown from his chariot on Naboth's vineyard to requite Ahab's murder of Naboth whose vineyard he coveted. (3 Kings 21, 4 Kings 9:23–26)	Drunkenness of Noah	**Commandment VI: Thou shalt not kill** Abner murdered by Joab in the gate. (2 Kings 3:26ff.)
Commandment II: Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven thing nor the likeness of any thing...Thou shalt not adore them.... Jehu destroying the image of Baal (4 Kings 10:21) or another scene involving an idol. (e.g., 1 Macc. 1:54, 1 Macc. 2:16; 1 Macc. 4:41–43)	Sacrifice of Noah	**Commandment VIII: Thou shalt not steal.** Heliodorus driven from the Temple, where he had seized the treasures kept in trust for the people. (2 Maccabees 3:23ff.)
Commandment IV: Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day. Nicanor defeated and killed when he attacked Jerusalem on the Sabbath day. (2 Maccabees 15:1ff; also at 1 Maccabees 7:43ff.)	Creation of Eve	**Commandment III: Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.** Alexander the Great adoring the Name of God written on the vestments of the High Priest of Jerusalem (Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica; Pat. Lat.* 198:1496–97).
Commandment VII: Thou shalt not commit adultery. Prostitution introduced into the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes (?). (2 Maccabees 6:4)	Calling Forth of Life in the Waters	**Commandment V: Honor thy father and thy mother.** Death of Absalom during his revolt against his father, King David. (2 Kings 3:25ff.)
Commandment IX: Thou shalt not bear false witness. Elijah caught up to Heaven in a chariot of fire, to return and bear witness against Antichrist. (4 Kings 2:11; Revelation 11:3)	Separation of Light from Darkness	**Commandment I: Thou shalt not have strange gods before me....** Abraham preparing to sacrifice his son Isaac at God's command. (Genesis 22:9ff.)

approached him alone, and adored the Name and venerated the pontiff (*pontificem*)."[244]

Elijah carried to Heaven in a chariot is identified by Wind with the command against false witness: ". . . (cf. MS Eton 177, fol. 6b, where this commandment is illustrated by the chariot of Elijah). It was customary to identify Elijah and Enoch with the 'two witnesses' of Revelation xi:3, because on the Day of Judgment, as announced in Malachi iv:5 and Jude 10–16, they are to testify against those who 'speak evil of those things which they know not . . ., having men's person in admiration because of advantage.' "[245]

The texts do not say precisely this, and they were not so interpreted. The two witnesses of Revelation 11:3 testify against the Beast, generally identified with Antichrist and cast down before the Last Judgment. Saint Antoninus's summary of the significance of Elijah is clear: "There appeared a fiery chariot with fiery horses: into which Elijah mounted and was taken up into heaven, i.e. into the terrestrial paradise where he remains alive with Enoch *until the time of Antichrist, against whom he will descend to preach.*"[246] Elijah is thus the witness against the supreme false witness, the false claimant to the role of Messiah.

The corrected scheme is set forth in Table 3. As Wind notes, the suggested apportionment of scenes to commandments requires the latter to be numbered in Origen's fashion. Saint Augustine argued that the command to have no gods before God and the prohibition against graven images are the same commandment; but that the sin of coveting a neighbor's wife is essentially different from that of coveting a neighbor's goods. He therefore conflated the first two and divided the commandment against coveting into two. His numbering, approved by Saint Thomas and other authorities, was the one in general use. Wind explains the scheme he finds in the medallions as an instance of the Renaissance revival of Origen's writings and opinions.[247]

Even apart from the revival of Origen, however, the numbering of the commandments was not a matter of doctrinal orthodoxy. Hugh of St. Cher summarized both views in his notes to Exodus 20. He remarked that both Origen and Augustine "spoke truly in accordance with their different viewpoints," although he himself preferred Augustine's interpretation.[248] Nicholas of Lyra, whose biblical commentaries were still frequently invoked in the sixteenth century, pointed out that Origen's scheme accords with the Hebrew reading of the Ten Commandments.[249] Egidio da Viterbo stressed the need not only to study the Old Testament in the Hebrew tongue, but to absorb Hebrew biblical scholarship, and he praised Nicholas of Lyra as a pioneer Hebraist.[250] In his exegesis of the Psalms, Egidio used the numbering of the Hebrew Bible, not of the Septuagint and Vulgate. Augustine's ignorance of Hebrew was perhaps Egidio's only reproach against him.[251] Use of the Hebrew numeration of the commandments would not be surprising in this context.

The Law is an appropriate theme to frame the whole cycle of Fall and Redemption in the Ceiling. In addition, several of the medallions seem also to be related to individual Genesis scenes. Wind points out the relevance of *Alexander Reverencing the High Priest* to the typological meaning of the *Creation of Eve:* for him this medallion represents the Church Triumphant, and the battle of Judas Maccabaeus on the other side stands for the Church Militant.[252] In both, at any rate, the sacred institutions are revered and protected; and the identification of the Temple of Jerusalem with the Church, basic to other aspects of the Ceiling and the Chapel, is underlined by the designation of the high priest as *pontifex* in the standard accounts of Alexander's act of reverence. The submission of the secular power to the ecclesiastical is a longstanding theme of papal politics. On a more fundamental level, the Church and its head are again at the center of the whole scheme, for the great High Priest is Christ himself (e.g., Hebrews 5:10, 7:26, 8:1).

The *Expulsion of Heliodorus* and the *Destruction of the Idol,* flanking the *Sacrifice of Noah—Sacrifice of Christ,* may represent the cleansing of the temple, by casting out both robbers and idols, to make it fit for the true sacrifice. The medallions flanking the *Creation of Life in the Waters*—or the sea of the world through which the Church's pilgrimage takes it—embody the vices that Egidio da Viterbo stresses in his account of the dark period of the Church after its first heroic ages. These vices are the overweening presumption of Absalom and the lust of the adulterous couple. Egidio sees in the legendary Pope Joan the beginnings of the darkness that set in at the sixth age after the Incarnation: "Now first the papal light was put out . . . when a woman invaded the throne . . . a woman, the second of the popes of this age, began the corruption of all . . . there were here no virtue, no learning, no values of good arts, but only lust, only wickedness of body and

[244] Antoninus, *Chronicon,* IV, ii, 8, quoted from Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica, Liber Esther, cap.* iv, *De Alexandro; Pat. Lat.* 198:1496–97.

[245] Wind, 1960, 321.

[246] Antoninus, *Chronicon,* III, iii, 1 (emphasis added). The same statement is made in the treatise *De Antichristo* attributed to Augustine (*Opera,* Basel, Amerbach, 1506, x, fol. 307r): "Enoch . . . et Helias . . . contra impium antichristum fideles dei divinis armis praemunient et instruunt eos" (*Pat. Lat.* 40:1134).

[247] Wind, 1960, 323–26.

[248] Hugh of St. Cher, *Postilla,* note to Exodus 20.

[249] Nicholas of Lyra, *Postilla,* note to Exodus 20.

[250] Egidio, *Historia,* fol. 195r.

[251] O'Malley, 1968, 59.

[252] Wind, 1960, 323.

mind."[253] His other severest condemnations are directed against such popes as John XIII who died in adultery and Sylvester II who trafficked with the Devil for honors, and against Berengarius who "aspired to greater knowledge than is fitting" and who "tempted by the hope of glory" fell into grave impiety and heresy.[254]

Wind speaks of the "'moral' logic" of the "antithetical grouping" of these two pairs of medallions. "Pride, the most overbearing of vices (Absalom), appears opposite to Lust, the most indulgent (adulterous pair); Sacrilege, which defiles the holy (Heliodorus), opposite to Idolatry, which honors the profane (Baal)."[255] The structure of antitheses that controls the whole scheme may be embodied in the pairs of medallions as well.

There is a kind of symmetry also in the scenes chosen to represent murder and covetousness in the bay nearest the entrance. In both the story of the rival captains Joab and Abner, and the story of Ahab and Naboth of which Joram's casting down is the ultimate requital, covetousness and envy lead to murder. Is it perhaps implied that this is the nature of the world into which Christ was born, so that his Crucifixion was predictable? The two sites, the gate where Joab was murdered and the vineyard where Joram's body was thrown down (the latter, as we have seen, identified as a symbol of the nation of Israel in which Christ took flesh), are appropriate to Christ's entrance into the Incarnation.

10. The Events of the End of Time

The medallions that flank the *Separation of Light and Dark*, the prefiguration of the Last Judgment, have a different level of significance than the other eight medallion narratives. The Books of Kings and of the Maccabees are spoken of by commentators as useful examples of the battles and trials of the people of Israel, comparable to the historical trials and temptations of the Church, but with no profound doctrinal implications. The Sacrifice of Abraham and the Chariot of Elijah, however, are in some sense above and beyond history.[256] The former is literally a declaration of Abraham's absolute faith and obedience, in return for which he received God's promise to bless all humanity through his descendants. Figuratively, it is one of the most common types of Christ's sacrificial death; and Isaac, who carried the wood of the sacrifice, stands for Christ in this image. Furthermore, Augustine believes that Abraham's willingness to sacrifice the son through

[253] Egidio, *Historia*, fols. 64v–65r. The passage almost echoes the suggestion of female presumption in invading sacred places, found in the verses on temple prostitutes quoted above, p. 421, from 2 Maccabees 6:4.

[254] Egidio, *Historia*, fols. 74v, 80v, 92r ff.

[255] Wind, 1960, 323.

[256] Cf. Saint Jerome on the Books of Kings (*Epistola LIII ad Paulinum; Pat. Lat.* 22:546): "If you consider history, the words are plain; if you perceive the hidden sense in the words, the paucity of the Church and the wars of heretics against the Church are recounted." Similarly Augustine explains that the Books of the Maccabees "are regarded as canonical by the Church (though not by Jews) because of . . . the amazing sufferings endured by some of the martyrs who, before Christ's coming in his human body, contended even unto death for the cause of God's Law, and held firm under the most appalling agonies" (*De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, xxxvi; *Pat. Lat.* 41:596). Cf. also Rabanus Maurus, *Commentaria in Libros Paralipomenon*, IV, xiii; *Pat. Lat.* 109:486.

The distinction between exemplary narratives and the expression of the mysteries of redemption is basic to Kuhn's rejection (pp. 58ff., 149–151) of Wind's matching of commandments and scenes. Although he accepts the general notion that the medallions stand for the Ten Commandments, Kuhn wishes the two over the altar bay to stand not for commandments but for the death of Christ (*Sacrifice of Abraham*) and his Resurrection (*Chariot of Elijah*), and thus for the redemptive scheme itself. He has other objections to Wind's scheme: it introduces a non-biblical subject (*Alexander and the High Priest*) on the same level as the biblical scenes; it assumes a non-biblical order of arrangement for the commandments in their distribution on the Ceiling; it uses Origen's rather than Augustine's numbering of the commandments; and it identifies in some cases an obedience to God's command, in others a disobedience, and in still others a retribution for disobedience, as the expressions of the commandments.

The almost contemporary Stanza d'Eliodoro, however, also combines well-attested non-biblical histories with biblical scenes, in another set of exemplary narratives. Wind (1960, 322) finds precedent for arranging the commandments out of order in Saint Antonine's rearrangement of the commandments to fit them into Latin hexameters. The fact that Augustine's numbering has not been used is addressed above (p. 423). The combination of fulfillments, transgressions, and punishments of transgression of the commandments, although not neat, corresponds to the variety of scenes we see. In order to make each narrative represent a punishment for transgression, Kuhn is forced to deny the visual character of the scenes and the emphasis of the biblical sources on which they are based, to ignore Wind's discovery of naked lovers in Cunego's engraving of the medallion above Persica, and to advance the (surely unorthodox) view that the Ten Commandments are really only eight, with two sub-commandments. Thus the medallion above Cumaea is re-identified as *David before Nathan* despite details like the horse, the attendants, and the priestly vestments, which are inappropriate to the biblical account of that scene and precisely suitable to the accounts of Alexander and the High Priest. The scene is then made to stand for two commandments, the "stronger" command against adultery and the subordinate command contained in it, against coveting a neighbor's wife.

Even the most "hidden" meanings proposed in this article for the central scenes have been confirmed, not contradicted, by the visual character of the scenes. A demand for theoretical neatness should not justify using only eight elements in a group of ten to represent the Ten Commandments, interpreting a scene representing an idol as not referring to the sin of idolatry, or a scene of a murder as unrelated to the sin of murder, and adopting a scheme in which the medallion now missing must represent the command to honor father and mother, although in the 18th century it still contained a representation of naked lovers.

Because the medallions next to the altar wall have more profound doctrinal significance than the others, Kuhn wishes to set them apart and to eliminate them from the allegory of the Ten Commandments. Yet their higher symbolic level need not disqualify them from also representing commandments; it can instead reflect their position relative to the historical scheme of salvation. The other medallions can be related to stages in the history of Christ and the Church; at the altar bay history is consummated and transcended.

whom he had been promised descendants indicates his faith in the Resurrection.[257] The account of Elijah's ascent in the chariot of fire, Saint Augustine points out, gives "good reason for the belief that he is still alive": he thus literally transcends history, he has eternal life. And he is to return before the Last Judgment.[258]

Both subjects have a place in the context of the end of time, Elijah because he will reappear, and the Sacrifice of Isaac as a type of the Crucifixion, to which there is generally a reference in the Last Judgment. But both Elijah and the Crucifixion have another connotation, in Augustine's pondering about Jews and Gentiles within the City of God; and the story of Isaac is itself important for the problem of their historical roles. As mentioned above, the distinction between Ishmael and Isaac, the son according to the natural order of things and the son of the promise, is cited by Saint Paul to illustrate the difference between the Old and New Covenant, the earthly and heavenly Jerusalem. The point is developed by Augustine to explain why God's covenant with Abraham and his descendants is inherited by Gentiles as well as Jews.[259] As for Elijah's role, Augustine quotes Malachi's prophecy: 'See, I shall send you Elijah the Tishbite, before the great and splendid Day of the Lord, and he will turn the heart of the father to the son. . . .' This is believed to mean "that in the final period before the judgment this great and wonderful prophet Elijah will expound the Law to the Jews, and that through his activity the Jews are destined to believe in our Christ . . . he will explain in a spiritual sense the Law which the Jews now take in the material sense . . . and so in their thought God's heart will be turned towards the Son when they themselves have their hearts turned by conversion. . . ."[260] Searching for further light on the paradoxical relationships of Jews and Gentiles, he finds in Zechariah a historical summary: the Gentile enslavers of the Jews in ancient times "became themselves the spoil of the Israelites . . . for their good" when the Apostles' preaching converted them. But Zechariah also prophesies,

> 'When that day comes, I shall seek to remove all the nations that come against Jerusalem. And I shall pour out over the house of David and over the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace and mercy. Then they will look at me because they have gloated over me; and they will mourn for him as if for one very dear, and they will grieve as men grieve for an only son' (Zechariah 12:1–10). . . . For on that day [Augustine concludes], even the Jews will certainly repent . . . those Jews who are to receive 'the spirit of grace and mercy.' They will repent that they gloated over Christ in his suffering. . . . It is true that a translation from the Hebrew gives 'they will look on me whom they pierced'; and this yields a more explicit description of the crucified Christ. . . . By joining together both translations [from the Septuagint and from the Hebrew], by reading 'pierced' as well as 'gloated' . . . we recognize here in greater detail the reality of the Lord's passion.[261]

The Jews are to be converted in the last day, then, by contemplating the Passion and Crucifixion of Christ. It seems at least possible that the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, a prefiguration of the Crucifixion in which the 'son of the promise' stands for Christ, and which involves the grief of a father for an only son, is here paired with Elijah whose preaching is to convert the Jews, to call up the complex of ideas associated with the final reconciling of Jew and Gentile within the Church.

The return of Elijah and the conversion of the Jews are paired, as two of the eight "events" of the end of the world, in Augustine's summary of what the Scriptures have foretold. "And so in that judgment, or in connection with that judgment, we have learned that these events are to come about. [1] Elijah the Tishbite will come; [2] Jews will accept the faith; [3] Antichrist will persecute; [4] Christ will judge; [5] the dead will rise again; [6] the good and the evil will be separated; [7] the earth will be destroyed in the flames and [8] then will be renewed."[262] The symbolic references, implicit and explicit, in the figures and narratives above the altar can be read as a remarkably complete representation of these events, organized in pairs that reflect the structure of Augustine's prose. If the first two are intimated in the two medallions of this bay, the third and fourth may be associated with the pendentives. Haman, a type of the Devil who persecuted the chosen people and who wished them to bow down to him, in these respects prefigures Antichrist; and he is shown crucified, as a reverse type of Christ. The other pendentive shows the Brazen Serpent, a recognized type of Christ, in a Last Judgment configuration. Jonah, at the end of the central axis, prophesies the Resurrection; and light and dark—good and evil—are separated in the scene above him. Jeremiah laments the destructive fire of God's anger, praying for conversion and renewal "as from the beginning."

[257] *De Civitate Dei*, xxi, xxxii, 1; *Pat. Lat.* 41:510–11. Cf. Hebrews 11:17–19.

[258] *De Civitate Dei*, xx, xxix; *Pat. Lat.* 41:703–04.

[259] *De Civitate Dei*, xv, ii; xvi, xxvi, 2; xvi, xxxi; *Pat. Lat.* 41:439, 505, 510.

[260] *De Civitate Dei*, xx, xxix; *Pat. Lat.* 41:704.

[261] *De Civitate Dei*, xx, xxx, 3; *Pat. Lat.* 41:706–07.

[262] The pairing of events is more obvious in the Latin: "In illo itaque iudicio vel circa illud iudicium has res didicimus esse venturas, [1] Heliam Thesbiten, [2] fidem Iudaeorum, [3] Antichristum persecuturum, [4] Christum iudicaturum, [5] mortuorum resurrectionem, [6] bonorum malorumque diremptionem, [7] mundi conflagrationem [8] eiusdemque renovationem" (*De Civitate Dei*, xx, xxx, 5; *Pat. Lat.* 41:708).

If the pattern of Saint Augustine's list holds, then the Libyan Sibyl should give some indication of the renewal that is to follow the destruction of the world. Her oracle is indeed a hopeful one: "Behold the day will come and the Lord will lighten the thick darkness, and the bonds of the synagogue will be loosened and the lips of men will be silent: and they will see the king of the living. A virgin, queen of the nations, will hold him in her lap. And he will reign in mercy, and the womb of his mother will be the model of all."[263] Libyca's face is turned up to the light, in contrast to Jeremiah's head which is bent down and shadowed. She is the only Sibyl who is not completely dressed, and a green robe lies along the back of her throne. Egidio da Viterbo associates the putting on of immortality with the evergreen laurel into which Daphne was transformed, and concludes: "Therefore we must desire to be changed into a laurel, that is, as the Apostle puts it, that this mortal should put on immortality, that we should attain life, fearing no winters but flourishing in perpetual greenness."[264] An even more striking image of renewal, however, is the reintroduction in this bay of a radiant and youthful Sibyl.

As one moves from entrance end to altar end in the figurative reading of the Ceiling, the Sibyls have aged progressively. The Delphic Sibyl is the youngest, a maiden like the Virgin Annunciate. Erythraea is a beautiful mature woman; Cumaea is ancient but vigorous; Persica is a withered hag and is losing her vision. But Libyca's youth and beauty and energy have been renewed.

11. Mary-Ecclesia and the Meaning of the Sistine Chapel

Sibyls, sometimes paired with Prophets, had become a frequent motive in Renaissance art in the decades before the Sistine Ceiling was painted, expressing the doctrine that God revealed himself and his purposes to both Jews and Gentiles before the coming of Christ. Wind may be correct in thinking that Sibyls and Prophets also stood symbolically for the Church from the Gentiles and the Church from the Jews.[265] The relation of Jew and Gentile in the divine purpose is a theme that recurs at various points throughout the Ceiling.

Still more pervasive in the Sistine Ceiling, however, is the theme of Christ and the Church as *Sponsus* and *sponsa*, Bridegroom and bride. The *Creation of Eve*, image of the Church as the bride of Christ, is at the center of the entire scheme. In the pendentives, the deliverances through a hero who is a type of Christ are balanced against deliverances through a heroine who is a type of the Church. The introduction of prophetic women as well as men is consistent with this pattern. In fact, women are remarkably prominent in all parts of the Ceiling, including the generations along its sides. Among the families on pilgrimage in the interpenetrating vaults, the women are almost the only visible figures in the compartments between the *Creation of Eve* and the altar wall—that is, in the figurative reading, from the beginning to the end of the age of the Church. Even the *putti*-caryatids that flank the thrones are, astonishingly, mixed pairs, a *putto* and a *putta* together supporting the cornice above the Prophets.[266] This is another indication of the universality of the scheme of salvation. For as Augustine explains,

> The Lord Jesus Christ, who came to free mankind, among whom both males and females are concerned in salvation, despised neither males, since he became male, nor females, since he was born of a female. With this agrees the great mystery, that because through a woman death came upon us, life should be born to us through a woman, so that from the nature of both, that is, feminine and masculine, the devil should be conquered and crucified, because he rejoiced in the overthrow of both.[267]

The direct reference here is to Mary; but Augustine repeatedly treats Mary as a symbol and personification of the Church.[268]

If the female figures in the Ceiling stand for the bride of Christ, the Church herself, this may be one clue to the choice of the five Sibyls shown, among the ten or twelve available. Wind sees the geographical names as representing the range of the Sibyls' mission to the nations.[269] More important, they stand for the range of the mission of the Church, as it was seen in the early sixteenth century. The geographical expansion of the Church was a major theme of the sermon preached by Egidio da Viterbo before Pope Julius II on December 21, 1507, a theme appropriate to the solemn celebration of the Portuguese landing in India. This was the sermon later expanded into the *Libellus de Aurea Aetate*. The expansion of the Church remained one of the basic preoccupations voiced in the *Historia XX Saeculorum*. Four of the Sibyls of the Sistine Ceiling correspond to regions Egidio mentions in hailing the spread of Christianity through the voyages of discovery, and in urging a crusade to reclaim Moslem lands. Libya, Erythraea, and Persia are mentioned specifically; and he speaks of the reconquest of Greece from the Turks as especially

[263] Barbieri, fol. 12r: cf. above, n. 167.

[264] Egidio, *Sententiae*, fol. 58v.

[265] Wind, 1965, 57.

[266] I owe this observation to Creighton Gilbert. In some cases sex is not possible to determine because of the figures' positions, but where the sexes of both *putti* are discernible, each pair includes a male and a female.

[267] *De Agone Christiano*, xxii, 24; *Pat. Lat.* 40:303.

[268] For Augustine's identification of Mary with the Church, see Grabowski, 27–28, and G. M. Roschini, *Mariologia*, Rome, E. Belardetti, 1946–47, I, 146; and, for instance, *De Symbolo*, i; *Pat. Lat.* 40:661: "The Virgin Mary . . . who set forth a figure of holy Church in her own person"; and *De Sancta Virginitate*, v, 5; *Pat. Lat.* 40:399: "[Christ's] mother is the whole Church, because everywhere she brings forth his members, that is the faithful, through the grace of God." Also *Sermones*, CXCII, ii; CCXIII, vii, 7; *Pat. Lat.* 38:1012, 1064.

[269] Wind, 1965, 58.

urgent, to be undertaken while a Christian generation still survives there. The fifth and central Sibyl, the Cumaean, is cited frequently in both the *Libellus* and the *Historia*, as the prophetess of the Church's capital, Rome.[270]

For the Sibyls as representing the Church, other phrases in the oracles attributed to them become significant, supplementing those which can be referred to stages in the redemptive scheme. Many of the sibylline oracles that Barbieri quotes, besides the one attributed to Delphica, point to the coming of the Virgin and her role, as well as to the expectation of the Messianic redeemer and ruler. "A prophet will be born without coition of his mother, from a virgin," is Delphica's only oracle, as we have seen. Erythraea prophesies that "humanity will be married to divinity . . . and by the service of a maiden a god and man will be reared." The Cimmerian-Cumaean Sibyl speaks of a woman who "nourishes a boy, giving for his consumption her own liquid, that is, milk from heaven"; and Virgil's Cumaea equates the return of a virgin with the reign of Saturn, that is, the golden age. "The lap of a virgin shall be the deliverance of the nations" is Persica's oracle; and Libyca foretells that "They shall see the king of the living; a virgin queen of the nations shall hold him in her lap . . . and the womb of his mother shall be the model of all."[271] The oracles of Cumaea, Persica, and Libyca seem especially applicable not only to Mary but to the Church, which feeds her children, whose lap is a refuge, in whose womb is the model of life.

Such a meaning may explain the progressive aging of the Sibyls from the entrance end to Persica. The youthful Virgin Annunciate whom Delphica resembles, the mature Erythraea who accompanies the *Sacrifice* scene—these two images may be seen as referring to familiar stages in the life of Mary. But the deep-breasted giantess of Cumae is suitable rather as an image of the Church at its heroic beginning and as an ideal, corresponding to the symbolic theme of the central bay. She is contrasted with Persica, the faltering old woman with shadowed face who corresponds to the Church's dark age, as Egidio perceived it. The Libyan Sibyl is not only youthful and beautiful again; but she is about to close her book and arise, to dress in her green robe. One traditional image for the entrance of the redeemed into the blessedness of the New Jerusalem at the end of time is the marriage feast of Christ and the Church, for which suitable wedding garments must be put on, as in Jesus' parable.[272] What seems to be implied is that Libyca is leaving her sibylline throne because the prophesied fulfillment has come. Renewed and refreshed, she is to don her evergreen garment for the eternal feast.

The Church had been a central theme of the Sistine Chapel from its initial construction by Sixtus IV. Battisti has shown that its dimensions correspond to those recorded for the Temple of Solomon, commonly a type of the Church.[273] The recently discovered *tituli* of the frescoes executed on the Chapel walls for Sixtus IV show a concern for the organization of the people of God, the institutions, leaders, and laws given by God, which reinforces Ettlinger's thesis that these stories of Moses and Christ constitute a quasi-official statement on the role and functions of the pope, their successor as leader and lawgiver of the Ecclesia.[274] Above the narrative frescoes, therefore, are images of the early popes. The whole structure was to be crowned by a representation of the heavens, a star-studded vault supported by twelve brackets.

As already pointed out, for Saint Augustine the number twelve signifies universality.[275] As the number of the Apostles, it indicates the Church Universal, "because the Church was to be throughout the whole earth, from which would be called this structure to be joined together with Christ. For the world has four parts. . . . From all the four winds the Church is called . . . from all directions in the Trinity . . . by baptism in the name of the Father and the Son and the holy Spirit. Therefore three times four make twelve."[276] The heavens, for Augustine, are not merely the figurative dwelling place of God; in his symbolism they are the Church, and the stars are the many churches. But more specifically the heavens are the Apostles, to whom he several times applies the verse, 'The heavens show forth the glory of God.'[277]

The first commission that Julius II gave Michelangelo, therefore, the twelve Apostles on thrones, would have made explicit what may have been seen as implicit in the twelve brackets supporting the vault of the heavens. For in one of his commentaries on the Psalms, Augustine situates the twelve thrones that were promised to the Apostles in the Gospel in that Heaven which is God's own throne, as it were upholding God:

> 'For there are set thrones of judgment,' What is this . . .? Surely you are used to hearing, as God's words, 'Heaven is my throne.' . . . Who are the heavens but the just? . . . In them sits the Lord and from them the Lord judges. And not without reason was it said, 'The heavens show forth the glory of God.' For the apostles were made heaven. Why? Because they were justified. . . . They upheld God, and from them God

[270] Egidio, *Historia*, fols. 191r–192r, 304v–305v; *Libellus*, fols. 64r–v. For Cumaea, cf. the references in n. 169, above.

[271] Barbieri, fols. 13r, 15r, 14r, 11r, 12r: cf. above, n. 167. In Barbieri, Cimmeria-Cumaea is "sibylla emeria in italia nata: alias chimica."

[272] Cf. above, p. 249.

[273] Eugenio Battisti, "Il significato simbolico della Cappella Sistina," *Commentari*, VIII, 1957, 96–104.

[274] Cf. the references in n. 142, above.

[275] *De Civitate Dei*, xx, v, 3; *Pat. Lat.* 41:663, and cf. above, n. 126.

[276] *Enarrationes*, Psalm 87 (lxx.86), 4; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1104.

[277] *Enarrationes*, Psalm 19 (lxx.18), Enarratio II, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 36:157; Psalm 89 (lxx.88), Sermo 1, 2; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1121; Psalm 97 (lxx. 96), 10; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1243; Psalm 144 (lxx.143), 12; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1864. See also n. 278.

sent the lightning of miracles, the thunder of terrors, the rain of consolations. They, then, they were the heaven and they declared the glory of God. If therefore the heaven is God's throne, the apostles also are heaven, and they have been made the seat, the throne of God. Thus also they will sit on twelve thrones. . . . For what purpose? In judgment. . . . The saints will judge with Christ.[278]

Whether as starry vault or with twelve enthroned Apostles, the ceiling would have presented the overarching concept of the Church Universal in Saint Augustine's symbolic language, a suitable summary and climax to the historical precedents represented below.

As a visual re-creation of the principal themes of *The City of God*, the Ceiling becomes an even more universal statement, within which the institution of the Church and its earthly head take a central place. The *Creation of Eve* at the middle bay not only prefigures the beginning of the Church as the link between the Incarnation and the Redemption of humanity, but also defines the Church's relation to its founder as that of bride to Bridegroom. The Prophet of that bay promises one flock under one shepherd; the Sibyl foresees a heavenly birth and a golden race to rise in Rome. In the gold medallions, the Sabbath and the Name of God are honored; a temporal ruler kneels before a pontiff, and a captain destroys the enemy of the temple. Around this center the movement of all time is organized, from the creation of the first community of blessed spirits through the mingled histories of the city of man and the City of God, the coming of the Redeemer, and the promised glorification of the redeemed people at the end of the time in an eternal community, of which the Church on earth is only a shadow.

In the tapestries commissioned a few years after the painting of the ceiling, the stories of the first Bishop of Rome and the Apostle to the Gentiles continue the emphasis on Rome as the Church's center, on its Jewish and Gentile components, and on the expansion of the Church, which are sub-themes of the Ceiling. The *Last Judgment*, planned by Clement VII for the altar wall but executed only under the next pope, Paul III, and the *Fall of Lucifer*, reportedly intended by Clement for the entrance wall but never executed,[279] are the subjects prefigured or symbolized in adjacent narrative scenes of the ceiling, the former in the *Separation of Light from Darkness* and the *Brazen Serpent*, the latter in the *Beheading of Goliath* and *Judith and Holofernes*.

The theme of *Mater Ecclesia* within the ceiling allegory, moreover, and the recurrent balanced linkings of male and female protagonists standing respectively for Christ and the Church, connect the Ceiling with the Chapel's original dedication to *Maria Assunta*, the Virgin caught up bodily to Heaven. As the Resurrection of Christ gives Christians the assurance that "they will rise at the end of the world and will reign with him in eternity," so Mary's Assumption expresses the Church's expectation that at the last day she will be 'taken up . . . in the clouds to meet Christ, into the air, and so . . . always be with the Lord' (1 Thessalonians 4:17).[280] The meeting is that of the Church as bride with her Bridegroom.

Perugino's fresco of the *Assumption of the Virgin* was of course still above the altar when Michelangelo painted the Ceiling, so that her rising figure was below the Prophet Jonah. On the end wall, therefore, the Prophet whose experience foreshadows the Resurrection, and the Assumption of Mary which foreshadows the meeting of the Church with Christ, originally joined in symbolizing the Church's final and eternal glorification as the climax of human history and of created time. Saint Augustine's two favorite metaphors of the Church, the Body of Christ and the Bride of Christ, are central to the symbolism of the Ceiling narratives; they were harnessed in tandem, so to speak, on the end wall where Michelangelo's *Jonah* and Perugino's frescoed *Assumption* presented a double allegory of the reception of believers into eternal blessedness.

Perugino's *Assumption* and the other quattrocento frescoes on the altar wall were obliterated a quarter of a century later, but without eliminating this theme. For the unprecedented unity of Mary and Christ in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, painted between 1536 and 1541, expresses again the final union of Christ and the Church as bride and Bridegroom. Mary is almost entirely enclosed within the radiance that surrounds the figure of Christ. Her position next to Christ's wounded right side is a reminder of the creation of Eve from the side of Adam, so often cited by Augustine as prefiguring the Church as bride of Christ. Her gesture and glance are coordinated with his so that she seems to mediate the mercy of the divine Judge to the figures of the blessed at his right hand. Only in the double configuration of Christ with Mary are condemnation and forgiveness, justice and mercy balanced, for the figure of Christ alone is more terrible than gracious, and his glance is directed to the falling figures on his left hand. But through the figure of Mary-Ecclesia, the blessed are drawn up through the air *obviam Christo*—to meet Christ.

The unusual position of Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, on the altar wall, and the proposal for a *Fall of Lucifer* on the entrance wall suggest that the popes of Michelangelo's lifetime were well aware of the typological as well as the literal meaning of the Ceiling scenes. We find it hard to understand why, if this was so, no mention was ever made of that meaning in contemporary

[278] *Enarrationes*, Psalm 122 (lxx.121), 9; *Pat. Lat.* 37:1625–26.

[279] Vasari/Barocchi, I, 70.

[280] The theological reasons for the doctrine of the Assumption *ex parte nostra*, as explained by G. M. Roschini, O.S.M. (*Mariologia*, Rome, Belardetti, 1947, II², 338), are the increase in our "faith in the resurrection of our bodies and hope for future glory." Saint Paul's description of the rapture of the Church, 'we who are alive, who are left,' is contrasted with the resurrection of the dead at the coming of Christ (1 Thessalonians 4:16: 'the dead in Christ will rise first').

sources. But then, the learned theologians of the Renaissance are notorious for paying no attention (in writing at least) to what we think of as the most striking creations of that period, its works of sculpture and painting. Clearly, the modern notion of the place of the visual arts in the culture of a civilization was not that of most Renaissance thinkers. Those writers for whom the frescoes were most important, notably artists like Vasari and Condivi, were not in a position to understand the complex theological issues involved.

The proposed reading of the chronological sequence at the top of the Ceiling combines literal meaning, prophetic foreshadowings, and poetic imagery central to Augustine's thinking about Creation, the earliest human experience, and the divine scheme of redemption. Its organization echoes the basic historical structure of *The City of God*. The arrangement of its varied populations—generations of mankind, Prophets, angels—in opposing or complementary groups, corresponds to Augustine's catalogue and characterization of the populations of the two cities. Augustine's theology of the Church with its characteristic stress on the unity of Christ with his Church as *Sponsus* and *sponsa*, is asserted in the allegorical significance of the central scene of the Ceiling, and echoed in the complementary actions at its corners. The contrasts of high and low, humility and pride, exaltation and humiliation, crucial to the historical course and the opposing character of the two cities, annotate the narratives and the arrangement of the participants in the whole scheme. Even the significance attaching to certain numbers in the organization of the themes reflects Augustine's enduring conviction that God has ordered all things in measure and number.

Furthermore, what is untraditional and apparently anomalous in the combination and arrangement of subjects on the Ceiling can be accounted for within the theme of the two cities and the divine scheme of history. The unusual juxtaposition of Prophets with Old Testament scenes is congruent with Augustine's emphasis on prophetic event as well as prophetic discourse; and the prophetic meanings of the events are organized in a coherent historical sequence. The attendant figures—generations and angels—are the essential populations of the two cities; and their identity is confirmed by the levels at which they are placed. The two Genesis scenes whose identity and position have been stumbling blocks to interpreters of the Ceiling since the mid-sixteenth century find logical places and logical reasons within the proposed reading. Even the apparently unusual circumstance that Michelangelo executed the frescoes in the opposite order from the chronological sequence of the Genesis scenes becomes understandable in view of the transcendent meaning of the reverse reading.

Finally, the Augustinian interpretation accommodates many insights—both historically and intuitively based—of previous scholars. The powerful movement of the whole scheme toward the altar wall, which is also a movement upward, is undeniably present, as Tolnay observed. But whereas the meaning Tolnay assigns, a Platonic ascent, does violence to the literal subject matter and isolates the Ceiling from the rest of the Chapel, an orthodox Christian interpretation avoids both these problems. Also present, and compatible with Augustine's thinking, is the complex binary structure of visual antitheses and complements observed by Edmund R. Leach in his "structuralist interpretation."[281] The numerical groupings, the wealth of possible allegorical readings of the Old Testament narratives, which are matters of common but mostly unsystematic observation, are consistent with both an Augustinian source and the organized meaning of the whole. Even such non-Augustinian elements as the complimentary variations on the Rovere oak tree noted by Hartt are correlated with the larger symbolic structure, and are very characteristic of the writings of Egidio da Viterbo, who was himself exceptionally qualified to produce the Augustinian scheme. A source in Augustine's theology of the Church, references to classical myths, emphasis on the significance of Hebrew names as well as the basic choice of theme are paralleled in Egidio's writing. His relationship with Julius II makes him a very probable consultant at the time the Ceiling was planned.

That Saint Augustine is the ultimate source for the organization of themes in the Ceiling should, however, be stressed. The analytical intelligence he brought to bear on biblical texts in order to construct a consistent theology of the Church and of history, the poetic force of his imagery, whether personal or biblical, and his exalted conception of sacred history find their counterparts in the orderly vitality of the visible forms Michelangelo invented for them, and in Michelangelo's own heroic vision. The Ceiling does not merely illustrate Augustine's *City of God*, or a Renaissance humanist-theologian's poetic restatement of Augustinian themes, although such a restatement can be found in it. Its meaning is not exhausted by the enumeration of its organizing ideas and symbolic references, and will not be by the discovery of still other concepts and images. The richness of life and energy it displays is, however, in part a response to the poetic theology of Augustine, and to his sense of the infinitely various yet supremely unified life of the divine mind in the universe, in humankind, and in history.

Cornell University

[281] Edmund R. Leach, "Michelangelo's *Genesis*: Structuralist Comments on the Paintings on the Sistine Chapel Ceiling," *Times Literary Supplement*, March 18, 1977, 311–13. I read Leach's proposals after the present article was substantially complete. It has not modified my proposed interpretation of individual scenes, some of which agree and some disagree with his, but it has clarified for my thinking the importance of the structural organization of the whole Ceiling.

Giambattista Tiepolo's Ceiling for S. Maria di Nazareth in Venice: Legend, Traditions, and Devotions*

William Barcham

Tiepolo's most grandiose painting based on a religious theme is the *Translation of the Virgin's Holy House* (Fig. 1). Executed between 1743 and 1745 for the Discalced Carmelites in Venice in their church of S. Maria di Nazareth, commonly called the Chiesa degli Scalzi,[1] Tiepolo's work is also the last great illusionistic ceiling painting in Italian art. Although Gino Fogolari and George Knox have published the documents and drawings for the Scalzi commission,[2] the opulence of Tiepolo's *Translation*, its relationship to the tradition of Holy House imagery, and its iconographic program have yet to be understood. This study of the complex fresco will demonstrate that the *Translation* is a statement of Carmelite history and traditions and a celebration of devotions to the Marian cult at the Basilica of Loreto.

The story of the Translation was first recorded in the late fifteenth century.[3] Mary's Holy House, or *Santa Casa*, had been the home of her parents, Anne and Joachim, and there the Virgin was born and raised. After her betrothal to Joseph, Mary continued to live in the House, where Gabriel appeared to her announcing the Incarnation. In the late thirteenth century, when the Holy Land was repeatedly invaded by Saracen armies, Christian establishments in Palestine were overrun and destroyed. To prevent profanation by the marauding infidels, angels uplifted Mary's House at Nazareth in 1291 and transported it first to Tersatto—now Fiume in Yugoslavia—and, then, on December 10, 1294, to a forest near Recanati in the Marches in Italy. The *Santa Casa* was shifted locally twice again to avoid touching ground tainted by thievery and murder; it finally settled in 1295 on a public road where the town of Loreto grew. Because the *Santa Casa* was so intimately associated with the Virgin, Loreto became by the late fifteenth century one of the most important pilgrimage sites in the Western world.

In the center of Tiepolo's great fresco, the Holy House

* I presented a small portion of this material in a talk at the Annual Meeting of the College Art Association in February, 1977, in Los Angeles. I intend to continue this work in a larger study devoted to Tiepolo's religious ceilings and their relationship to Venetian spirituality in the 18th century. For help in pursuing my research on Tiepolo, I am greatly indebted to the National Endowment for the Humanities for a summer grant in 1977, to the American Council of Learned Societies for a grant-in-aid for the academic year 1977–78, and to the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation for a generous fellowship allowing me to spend extended time in Venice.

In addition, several individuals have given me good counsel and helpful assistance; it is my pleasure to express my thanks to them. Leslie Jones, Sigrid MacRae, Thomas P. Maxeiner, and Donald Posner all read this article at various stages and made suggestions important for its improvement; Brian d'Argaville advised me to investigate specific Marian devotions and their relationship to the *Santa Casa;* Padre Ludovico Saggi, O.C., discussed with me at length both the history and the traditions of his Order; and Kathleen Weil-Garris, more than anyone else, first encouraged me to start my Loretan peregrinations. Finally, special thanks are due Sheila Schwartz, who in friendship edited the paper in an exemplary fashion.

N.B. A bibliography of frequently cited sources follows the footnotes.

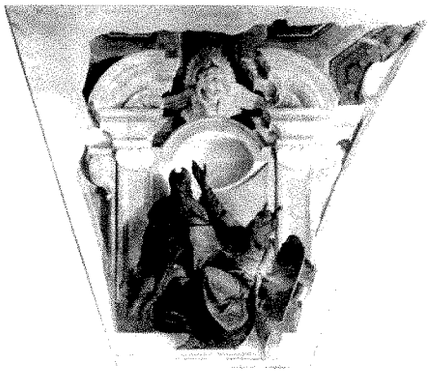
[1] Although Fogolari (pp. 18–32) and George Knox and Christl Thiem (*Tiepolo, Zeichnungen von Giambattista, Domenico und Lorenzo . . . ,* Stuttgart, 1970, 70) have published some of the essential documents for the commission, it is useful to review here the entire sequence of work for the ceiling of S. Maria di Nazareth. The contracts are grouped together in Busta 9 under the church title in the Archivio di Stato, Venice. The first dates from September 13, 1743, when Tiepolo's conditions of work and payment are agreed upon. Also on that day, Tiepolo receives a down-payment of 100 zecchini, signing a receipt to that effect. Two days later, payment is made for scaffolding "per dipingere il soffitto della Chiesa," and on October 1, 1743, Girolamo Mengozzi-Colonna, Tiepolo's "compagno nel dipingere gli ornati," agrees to monthly payments for his contributions to the fresco. And, in fact, Mengozzi-Colonna receives the sum of 620 "lire ducati" on October 14, 1743. Skipping the month of November, the Discalced Carmelites then pay him 1240 "lire ducati" on December 10, 1743. From January 28, 1744 to October 30, 1745, Mengozzi-Colonna receives 248 "lire ducati" monthly. On November 14, 1743, Alvise dei Preti is commissioned "d'accomodare il Volto della Chiesa"; and it is noted that for "tale lavoro [Alvise] promette di darlo compito per trenta giorni." Fogolari, 26–28, reasonably assumes that the oval format of Tiepolo's sketch in the Accademia, Venice (Fig. 13), reflects the original shape of the church's ceiling, whereas the more elongated oval of the sketch in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 14), postdates the decision to restructure the vault.

Apart from the initial payment in September, 1743, Tiepolo's monies all came to him in 1745, the first on April 14 and the last on November 23. The title page of the contracts in Busta 9 states specifically that the vault was "compita l'anno 1745 alli 18 9mbre." Thus, we can assume that although Mengozzi-Colonna and Dei Preti worked in S. Maria di Nazareth for two years, beginning in the fall of 1743, Tiepolo himself worked there only during the spring, summer, and fall of 1745, finishing the fresco for the Feast of the Translation of the Holy House celebrated annually on December 10.

[2] Fogolari, and Knox, 394–98. I want to thank George Knox for giving me a photograph of the ex-Roseberry sketch early on in my research and, as well, for discussing Tiepolo with me on several occasions.

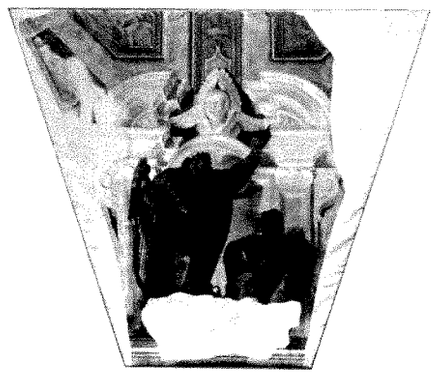
[3] The bibliography on the Translation and on the Holy House itself is by now extensive. The authors most useful for their reprinting of earlier texts and for their listings of Loretan bibliography are: Martorelli; Vogel; P. Arsenio D'Ascoli, *La Santa Casa,* Loreto, 1965; Grimaldi; and Weil-Garris. I am indebted to all of these authors for historical information concerning both the miracle and the shrine.

1 Tiepolo, *Translation of the Holy House*, formerly S. Maria di Nazareth, Venice (photo: Alinari)

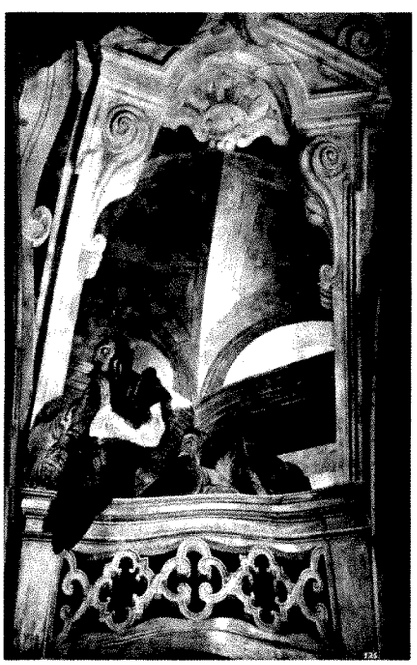


2 Tiepolo, *Moses and Aaron*, Gallerie all'Accademia, Venice (photo: Osvaldo Bohm, Venice)

3 Tiepolo, *Annunciation to Nathan*, Gallerie all' Accademia, Venice (photo: Osvaldo Bohm, Venice)



4 Tiepolo, *David Charging Solomon to Build the Temple*, Gallerie all' Accademia, Venice (photo: Osvaldo Bohm, Venice)



5-7 Tiepolo, *Balconies with Figures*, Venice, Gallerie all' Accademia (photos: Alinari)

miraculously flies through the heavens. The Virgin stands atop the roof like an acroterion on a Greek temple and holds the infant Christ Child sheltered in her robe. In the clouds above, God the Father crowned with a triangular nimbus and the dove of the Holy Spirit represent the rest of the Trinity; below the Holy House, figures of evil cascade down from the illusionistic cornice as a crowd of turbaned figures looks on. On either side of the *Translation*, within two octagons, Tiepolo painted scenes of the Ark of the Covenant. On the vaulting below, he showed Old Testament Prophets (Figs. 2-4), and in the corner vaults depicted illusionistic balconies in which figures look up in wonderment at the miracle overhead (Figs. 5-7).[4] Never before or after in any of his religious paintings did Tiepolo pre-

[4] Only three of the balconies contain figures.

8 Santa Maria de Nazareth, Venice, 1915 (photo: Archivio Fotografico, Museo Correr, Venice)

sent so rich a pictorial image, so opulent and dense a decorative complex of surrounding scenes, or so complicated an iconographic program.

Sadly, in 1915, during an air attack on the adjacent railway station, a bomb hit the church of S. Maria di Nazareth and reduced Tiepolo's fresco to ruins; nothing from the central section escaped destruction (Fig. 8). Fortunately, however, we have not lost knowledge of the ceiling's original appearance. Three of the four patriarchal scenes survived the bombing, as did all four of the illusionistic corner balconies. For the central scene, we possess Tiepolo's two oil sketches,[5] a tempera copy painted in the early twentieth century by Mariano Fortuny,[6] and an excellent black-and-white photograph of the entire painted complex.

The first pictorial representations of the Translation of the Virgin's Holy House date from the fifteenth century, and depictions were produced until late in the eighteenth century. The greatest number of images are prints serving as frontispieces to histories of the *Santa Casa*, and in a very simple fashion they depict the relic carried by angels traveling across the skies (Fig. 9).[7] The Virgin is invariably on the roof. Sculptural depictions of the miracle tend to illustrate only the narrative of the flight.[8] But the relief by Niccolò Tribolo inserted into the architectural enclosure built around the shrine in Loreto in the sixteenth century is somewhat more complicated (Fig. 10):[9] it represents not only the Translation but also the shift of the House away from a scene of murder in the Recanati forest and the relic's final landing, where a group of pious Christians receive it in adoration. Although the Tribolo relief is extensive in its imagery, it is primarily narrative in function.

In paintings representing the Translation, however, a multiplicity of figures and devotions not related to the miraculous event of the 1290's are often associated with the subject. In a fifteenth-century altarpiece attributed to the school of Antoniazzo Romano, on the high altar of S. Maria di Loreto in Rome, Saints Sebastian and Roch each stand on a promontory and flank the Madonna and Child atop the *Santa Casa*, thus turning the Translation into a rather novel *sacra conversazione* (Fig. 11).[10] During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, enriched iconographic representations abound. Claudio Ridolfi depicted the miracle as an apparition to Saint Peter, and Andrea Lilli portrayed the flight taking place as the dead Saint Joseph is laid to rest in a sarcophagus.[11] Annibale Carracci's workshop produced an altarpiece in which the Christ Child is carried by his mother on the flying Holy House and pours water onto

[5] For the history of the two oil sketches, see Antonio Morassi, *A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings of G. B. Tiepolo*, London, 1962, 19 and 54, and Fogolari. The ex-Roseberry sketch has recently been bought by the British Pension Fund and is now on loan to the National Gallery, London. Two other small paintings can also be associated with Tiepolo's Scalzi fresco. The Rossacher Collection contains a *bozzetto* identified as the artist's last sketch for the commission; cf. K. Rossacher, *Image and Imagination, Oil Sketches for the Baroque*, Salzburg, 1968, 112–13. Although the format and composition of the *bozzetto* agree with the fresco, the handling of the figures and of the paint itself seems unlike Tiepolo's personal style. In addition, one questions whether the distortion at the balustrade's corners might not indicate a reliance by the unknown artist upon a photograph. In the Museum of the Palazzo Apostolico, Loreto, hangs another *Translation* attributed to Tiepolo but surely not by him. It repeats the composition of the Accademia sketch but interpolates individual elements from the fresco itself. Judging from the compositional, coloristic, and stylistic evidence, the work seems to be a pastiche made after Tiepolo.

[6] Mention of the Fortuny copy, now kept in storage in the Museo Correr, Venice, is made in *Arte a Venezia*, exh. cat., Venice, 1971, 104. I would like to thank C. Douglas Lewis for first photographing the work for me. Later, I was allowed to study and rephotograph the copy by Dottoressa Lucia Casanova, Diretrice, Museo Correr, to whom I am grateful for this and many other favors in the past. Fortuny's copies are always faithful to the original, and the colors of this are, therefore, most welcome. In particular, the identity of the disc behind the Virgin is now made clear. This disc has in the past been read as the golden sun, even though the figures in the fresco are visibly and unmistakably lit not from behind but from the right. Fortuny's replica resolves the question; Tiepolo's *Santa Casa* travels across our field of vision before the radiant, silver moon.

[7] Major work on the history of Loretan imagery has been done by Grimaldi in *Il libro lauretano*, and in *Loreto nell'arte*, Genoa, 1965.

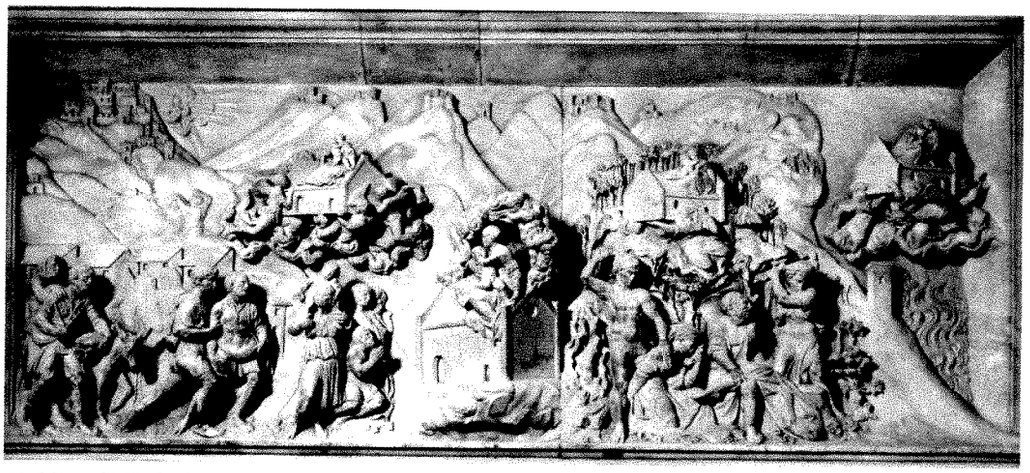
[8] Cf. Grimaldi, *Loreto nell'arte*, fig. 387.

[9] For the sculptural shell placed around the *Santa Casa* and the Tribolo relief, see Weil-Garris, I.

[10] For a fuller listing of representations of this subject, see A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, Budapest, 1974, I, 495–99. Hanging opposite the replica of the *Santa Casa* in the island church of S. Clemente, Venice (cf. text, p. 436) is a painting by Francesco Ruschi, dated 1656, and showing the Madonna and Child with the Holy House and Saints Augustine, Benedict, John the Evangelist, and Roch; cf. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, Leipzig, n.d., XXIX, 220.

[11] For Ridolfi, cf. Thieme-Becker, XXVIII, 312–13 and A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1934, IX, pt. VII, fig. 577. For Lilli, cf. Venturi, IX, pt. VII, fig. 542.

9 *Translation of the Holy House*, frontispiece, from P.V. Martorelli, *Teatro storico della Santa Casa nazarena . . .* (photo: Archivio Fotografico, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)



10 Niccolò Tribolo, *Translation of the Holy House*. Loreto, Basilica della Santa Casa (photo: Ainari)

fields burning below.[12] Tiepolo himself may, indeed, have planned a painting in which three saints adore the Madonna and Child who sit above them and in front of the relic.[13] Thus, whereas the graphic and sculptural representations merely recounted the event of the Translation, the pictorial tradition set the miracle among different saintly figures and in varying iconographic programs.

As I shall indicate, Tiepolo relates the Translation to several important Catholic devotions, and in this regard, his conception is fundamentally tied to the earlier pictorial tradition. But Tiepolo's conception is also absolutely unique. The only known monumental painting of the subject,[14] the ceiling in S. Maria di Nazareth is enriched by a series of subsidiary themes never before associated in any figurative context with the flight of the Virgin's Holy House. The painting's special place in the imagery of the *Santa Casa* is particularly striking when we consider that even at the Loretan shrine, the narrative was never depicted on such a vast scale or with such a complex combination of secondary scenes. In fact, in 1609, when ecclesiastical authorities at Loreto commissioned Pomerancio to decorate the church dome, which rises directly over the Holy House itself, he depicted the Assumption of the Virgin rather than the Translation.[15] The explanation for Tiepolo's commission in the Chiesa degli Scalzi must be sought in church patronage, in contemporary papal activities, and in devotional associations. I shall show that the cult of the Virgin's holy relic lies deeply embedded in Carmelite piety and traditions and that, from the Renaissance on, the relic was the object of a profoundly felt veneration in Venice. Tiepolo's execution of the fresco during the second quarter of the eighteenth century coincided, moreover, with a revival of papal interest in the *Santa Casa* and with a renewal of building activity at the Loretan shrine.

One of the first chronicles on the *Santa Casa* was published in the 1480's by Battista Spagnoli, the Vicar Gen-

[12] Cf. Donald Posner, *Annibale Carracci*, London, 1971, II, 68, pl. 151a.

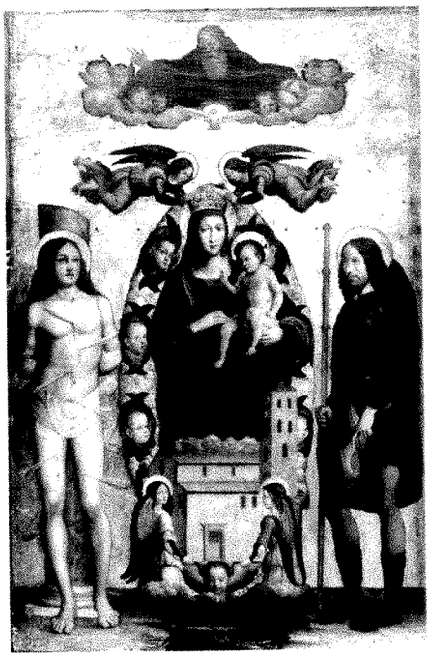
[13] Two drawings associated with Tiepolo although not definitely by him are preparatory for such an altarpiece. See *Disegni di una collezione veneziana del Settecento*, Vicenza, 1966, 79, Nos. 97 and 98. I am grateful to Professor Knox for having brought these to my attention.

[14] It was not, however, the only ceiling version of the subject, for Antonio Zanchi painted in Venice, in S. Maria di Zobenigo, "un soffitto sopra il coro con un angelo che vien fuori del Quadro, il quale, sota [*sic*] la S. Casa di Loreto"; cf. *Galleria di Minerva ovvero notizie universali di quanto è stato scritto da letterati d'Europa*, Venice, 1697, II, 63–69. Zanchi worked in the church of the Giglio during the 1690's; cf. Alberto Riccoboni, "Antonio Zanchi e la pittura veneziana del Seicento," *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte*, Florence, 1966, 53–135. Zanchi's *Santa Casa* still existed in the early 19th century; cf. Giannantonio Moschini, *Guida per la città di Venezia . . .*, Venice, 1815, I, 612. The painting was reworked by Antonio Molinari, to whom it was once wrongly attributed; cf. Moschini, 612, and Anna Maria Papparlardo, "Il pittore veneziano Antonio Molinari (1665–1728)" *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, CXII, 1953–54, 439–61. I am indebted to Leslie Jones for informing me about the existence of Zanchi's ceiling and for all the foregoing references.

[15] For the documents and the dating of the Pomerancio commission, see D. Posner, "Spada, Reni and Roncalli at Loreto," *Arte antica e moderna*, XXVIII, 1963, 254–57.

eral of the Mantuan Congregation of the Carmelite Order;[16] Spagnoli dedicated his work to Cardinal Girolamo Basso della Rovere, nephew of Pope Sixtus IV and Protector of the Holy House at Loreto. The friendship between Della Rovere and Spagnoli was ultimately responsible for the Carmelite Order being granted full custody of the Holy House in 1489.[17] The Carmelites thus became the first religious Order so honored at the Loretan shrine.[18] Historical fact alone, however, does not fully account for the devotion of the Order to the *Santa Casa;* where fact stops, legend begins. One of the most ancient of such legends relates that the Order had had the guardianship of the *Santa Casa* not only in Loreto but in Nazareth as well. Indeed, Innocent VIII happily gave the Loretan shrine into the hands of the Carmelites because the latter had proved to Innocent's predecessor, Sixtus IV, that they had had jurisdiction of all Christian holy sites in Palestine, "e che in essi pare . . . l'albergo di Maria."[19] In addition, the Carmelites supposedly fled Palestine and the invading Saracens for the West at the same moment as the Virgin's Holy House.[20] It is further narrated that the Carmelites brought with them during their flight from persecution the so-called Loretan Litany and inaugurated it at the new sanctuary.[21] The most charming of the legends tells how the Virgin Mary and the young Christ took afternoon strolls from time to time to visit the holy hermits of Mount Carmel, site of the Order's first establishment.[22] It is not surprising, therefore, that the Discalced Carmelites should manifest in their art an intense reverence for this famous relic, for at several critical points the histories of both the relic and the Order had merged.

The Discalced Carmelites must have discovered soon after their arrival in Venice in the early seventeenth century that their attachment to the *Santa Casa* found



11 School of Antoniazzo Romano, *Madonna of Loreto with SS. Sebastian and Roch*. Rome, S. Maria di Loreto (photo: Archivio Fotografico, Museo Correr, Venice)

an echo in the traditions of their new city. Since the reign of Paul II (1467–1471), Venice had continuously celebrated its devotion to the Loretan relic in acts of great piety. The construction of the present basilica at Loreto was in fact begun in 1468 by Paul II, of the Venetian Barbo family. Paul's act was partially a result of his recovery from the plague, following a vow made to the Madonna di Loreto.[23] In the sixteenth century, Venetian ambassadors going to and from Rome chose as their usual road of travel "la via di la Madonna di Loreto."[24] There is evidence, too, that the shrine played a part in the political ties that were established in the

[16] Among the earliest histories of the Translation and the Loretan shrine are those of Pietro Giorgio da Teramo ("Il Teramano") who wrote his work between 1470 and 1473 (the best edition is in G. Hueffer, *Eine Geschichtskritische Untersuchung*, Münster, 1913, II, 22–26), and Spagnoli himself, in *Opera omnia*, Antwerp, 1576, IV.

[17] Ludovico Saggi, O. C. *La congregazione mantovana dei Carmelitani sino alla morte del B. Battista Spagnoli (1516)*, Rome, 1954, 201, and Torsellini, in Martorelli, 245.

[18] The Carmelites left the shrine, however, ten years later, at the end of the century. The literature gives two possible reasons for this decision: "insalubrità dell'aria," and enormous financial expenses, too great for the small congregation placed there; cf. Saggi, 202. In 1554, the Jesuits came to Loreto, and in 1630, the Capuchins were put in charge by Cardinal Barberini; cf. *s.v.* "Loreto," *Enciclopedia cattolica*, Rome, 1951, VII, 1560, and Guglielmo Garrat, *Loreto, la nuova Nazaret*, Recanati, 1894, 52.

[19] Torsellini, in Martorelli, I, 343, and Vincenzo Murri, *Dissertatione critico-storico sulla identità della Santa Casa di Nazarette ora venerata in Loreto*, Loreto, 1791, 102. The tradition that the Carmelites had been the guardians of the Holy House in Palestine has continued into this century; cf. *Carmel, Its History, Spirit and Saints*, New York, 1927, 190. The association between this Order and the Shrine can also be found in the story of the German knight, Ludwig von Schwendem, who vowed around 1300 to give his wealth to a Carmelite monastery in Germany after a pilgrimage to Loreto and Palestine. We do not know if von Schwendem fulfilled his pledge; cf. Vincenzo Galiè, *La Questione lauretana fra storia e leggenda*, Macerata, 1974, 87–88.

[20] R. Riarae, *Historiae Almae Domus Lauretanae*, in Martorelli, I, 60. I want to thank Pietro Pucci for translating this passage for me. The savagery of the Saracens towards all Christians during these invasions was indeed horrible. As custodians of the faith, the Carmelites were particularly brutalized: "I Maomettani sgozzaroni . . . i monaci di monte Carmelo . . . mentre cantavano la Salva Regina (Garrat, p. 78). The concluding moments of Poulenc's *Dialogues des Carmelites* very movingly create a comparable scene of the Carmelite nuns going to their death on the guillotine singing a *Salve Regina*.

[21] *Carmel, Its History, Spirit and Saints*, 190.

[22] Garrat, 290, and P. Simone Grassi, *Compendiosa narrazione dell'indulgenze, privilegi, e grazie concesse all'ordine, confraternite, e chiese della glorisissima Madre di Dio Maria Vergine del Carmine . . . ,* Rome, 1830, 9. Grassi, a Carmelite priest, died in 1723.

[23] P. Davide, 1929, 4. Padre Davide's writings, published between the two World Wars, are indispensable for information on Venice's ties with Capuchin religious establishments.

[24] Marino Sanudo, *Diarii*, II, 2, 827, in P. Davide, 6–8. Sanudo reminds us that pilgrims in Italy from other parts of Europe preferred to make their descent to Loreto from Venice.

mid-sixteenth century between the Venetian state and Loreto and that were maintained with only one interruption until the fall of the Republic in the 1790's.[25] Throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the city recognized "per la divotione che abbiamo al santo luogo" the special status of the sanctuary by allowing all materials on their way to Loreto to pass freely, without taxation, through her domain, "perchè . . . si tratta di opera molto pia et di cosa che ha da servir per bisogno della fabbrica della Santa Casa di Nostra Signora di Loreto."[26]

Venice's remarkable devotion to the *Santa Casa* is further attested by the two copies of the holy relic built in the city within one hundred years. Both still stand. The earlier was constructed in the 1640's in the island church of S. Clemente in fulfillment of a vow made in 1630 by Francesco Lazzaroni, Patriarchal Vicar.[27] When in 1646 a sacred image of the Madonna was carried to S. Clemente, the entire city organized a triumphal procession on the lagoon for guests from many European courts. So great was the devotional fervor, an eyewitness reports, that from across the waters shouts were heard of " 'Viva, viva Loreto' cosa che fece lagrimare alcuni Senatori più gravi per tenerezza. . . ."[28]

Also in 1646, the Venetian Senate approved the establishment in the city of the Discalced Carmelites.[29] Almost immediately, the Order began construction of a church at the upper reaches of the Grand Canal. Its dedication to the Virgin of Nazareth took place in 1650 on December 10, the Feast of the Translation of the Holy House.[30] The title of the church originates in a fifteenth-century panel painting brought from the lagoon island of S. Maria di Nazareth and given to the Discalced Carmelites (Fig. 12);[31] this painting, inscribed to the Virgin of Nazareth, depicts the Virgin and Child on the Tree of Jesse, a traditional metaphor for the Immaculate Conception.[32] The Carmelites honored the panel by placing it on the high altar of their new building. Thus, upon looking toward the principal tabernacle of the church, the worshipper sees an image of Mary that brings together in a perfect union the Virgin of the Holy House with the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception. As I shall describe, Tiepolo crowned S. Maria di Nazareth one hundred years later with a painting that also intertwines the same two Marian devotions.

During the final years of the seventeenth century, great sums were spent on both the Chiesa degli Scalzi and the *Santa Casa* in S. Clemente.[33] Neither did the cult in Venice of the Virgin's Holy House diminish with the passage of time. In 1744, contemporary with Tiepolo's commission from the Discalced Carmelites, a completely new replica of the *Santa Casa* was built in the parish church of S. Pantaleon. In addition, a solemn procession carrying the image of the Virgin to the new *Santa Casa* took place on March 25, 1745, the Feast of

[25] P. Davide, 9.

[26] Cf. P. Davide's discussion of Venice's granting Loreto an exemption from tariff levies, 20–22. In the 18th century, several writers maintained that the *Santa Casa* had flown over Venice, and one source, published eleven years before Tiepolo's commission in S. Maria di Nazareth, actually affirms that the relic touched down in the Serenissima after leaving Dalmatia; cf. P. Calmet, *Dictionnaire historique . . .*, Paris, 1720, and *Dictionnaire de Trevoux*, Paris, 1732, both cited by Ulysse Chevalier, *Nôtre-Dame de Lorette*, Paris, 1906, 417–21. Since such traditions were still vivid in the 18th century, it is no wonder that Venice expressed a profound interest in Loreto and its relic.

[27] P. Davide, 1934, 26–27. I want to thank the authorities at the Ospedale Provinciale Psichiatrico, on the island of S. Clemente, for allowing me to enter the church there and for their generosity in providing me with a copy of Davide's publication. Well into the 18th century, the associations of the island church with the *Santa Casa* were remembered: "Chiamata da alcuni la Madonna di Loreto, perchè nel mezzo della Chiesa vi fu eretta una Cappella simile a quella di Loreto," *Il forestiere illuminato*, Venice, 1740, 285.

[28] B. 553, n. 8, Seminario Patriarcale di Venezia, Sala Morlico Manoscritti, cited in P. Davide, 1934, 28. Another report and history of the island church can be found in Misc. Apostolo Zeno, MS Class. Ital. XI, Cod. LXIII (6794), Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, fols. 128v–130v.

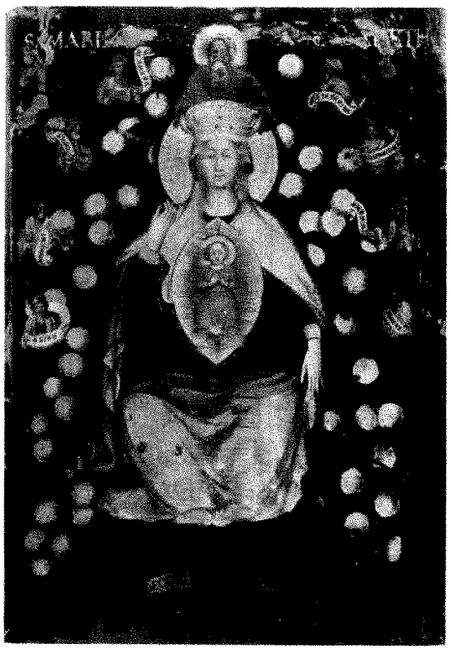
[29] Fogolari, 18.

[30] For the history of the construction of the church and its dedication, see M. A. Zanetti, *Cronaca veneta sacra e profana . . . della città Venezia*, Venice, 1793, II, 155–56; Ferrari; and Charles Douglas Lewis, Jr., "The Late Baroque Churches of Venice," Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1967. At S. Maria di Nazareth, both Padre Pio Miglioranza and Padre Egidio Cereda were helpful to me in explaining the Church's history and the traditions of the Discalced Carmelites. They were generous, too, in giving me a copy of Ferrari's handbook.

[31] The sources for the history of this painting and its presentation to the Discalced Carmelites at S. Maria di Nazareth are in Zanetti, II, 155–56; Ferrari, 37–38; Fogolari, 24; and Flaminio Correr, *Notizie storiche delle chiese e monasteri di Venezia . . .*, Padua, 1758, 282–83, and 487–88. The events by which the work came to the Discalced Carmelites are somewhat complicated, and one must piece together little bits from the several sources. The history is worth recounting, however, for it reveals that the monks of S. Maria di Nazareth and Francesco Lazzaroni at S. Clemente were in touch with each other and that the various expressions in Venice of devotion to the Virgin of Nazareth were closely associated. The 15th-century panel showing the Virgin and the Tree of Jesse was taken from the island church of S. Maria de Nazareth, now the Lazzaretto Vecchio, when the Frati Eremitani di S. Agostino left the island upon the church's transformation into a hospital. The Frati offered the painting to the Monache di S. Anna as a "pio dono" (Correr, 282); the Monache, afraid that an image of Saint Anne with the Virgin, found in S. Clemente in 1646 by Francesco Barbarigo, Procuratore di S. Marco, but placed in the hands of Lazzaroni, would be given to the Discalced Carmelites for their new church, relinquished the earlier painting to the new Order in exchange for the panel of Saint Anne. Clearly, Lazzaroni and the Discalced Carmelites together effected these transactions, allowing the Monache di S. Anna to receive an image relevant to their devotions and procuring for the Discalced Carmelites themselves one well suited to their own fervent Marian traditions.

[32] D'Ancona, 7, and 46–50, and Saggi, "Santa Maria del Carmelo," *Santi del Carmelo*, 1972, 126. For the pictorial tradition of the Tree of Jesse, cf. G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, Gütersloh, 1966, I, 26ff.

[33] Lewis, 155ff., and P. Davide, 1934, 45ff.



12 *Virgin and Child.* Venice, S. Maria di Nazareth (photo: Archivio Fotografico, Museo Correr, Venice)

the Annunciation, only three weeks before Tiepolo received his first payment for work on the fresco.[34]

This fervent interest in the holy relic at Loreto reached a peak in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, and it extended well beyond the confines of the Venetian Republic.[35] In 1728, the celebration of the Office and the Mass for the Feast day of the Translation was extended first to the Papal States, in whose territory Loreto was situated then to Dalmatia, site of the *Santa Casa's* first landing, and finally "alla piissima Repubblica Veneta."[36] Also in 1728, the Loretan church was elevated by the Papacy to the rank of *basilica minore.*[37] In the 1730's, a group of antiquarians, having returned from Palestine where they had seen the original site of the *Santa Casa* at Nazareth, attested to the archaeological correctness of the building materials used in the construction of the House, thereby documenting the genuineness of the relic at Loreto.[38] Contemporaneously, Pietro Valerio Martorelli published in Rome the *Teatro storico della Santa Casa nazarena . . . ,* and dedicated it to Pope Clement XII Corsini (1730–1740).[39] This large compendium gathered together some of the most important histories of the Holy House, updating papal decrees and statutes concerning the relic and the shrine at Loreto, and printing the texts for Masses and hymns recited on the Feast day of December 10.

During the reign of Benedict XIV Lambertini (1740–1758), the Papacy intensified its interest in Loreto. Benedict himself, as Archbishop of Ancona, had visited the site many times.[40] In his treatise *Delle feste di Gesù Cristo . . . e della B. Vergine Maria,* he wrote extensively on the Feast of the Translation and affirmed the legitimacy of the small building at Loreto.[41] Benedict was responsible, moreover, for extensive building there: he ordered renovation of the Piazza della Madonna in front of the basilica and he commissioned Luigi Vanvitelli to erect the delightful onion-topped *campanile,* which together with the imposing cupola of the church dominates the surrounding countryside.[42] Finally, in 1751, to proclaim the *Santa Casa's* authenticity, Benedict staged in the Loretan Basilica the most elaborate celebration ever accorded the shrine.[43]

Thus, the choice of the *Translation of the Holy House* as the subject for the ceiling of S. Maria di Nazareth in

[34] "Erezione della S. Casa di Loreto," from *Memorie della chiesa parrocchiale di S. Pantaleone medico e martire di Nicomedia,* 262ff. I am grateful to Sig.na Chiara Marabini for helping me to obtain this document. See also Andrea Salsi, *De' pievani della chiesa di S. Pantaleone in Venezia,* Venice, 1837, pt. II, 27–28.

[35] The cult of the *Santa Casa* was so strong in the 17th and 18th centuries that it was commemorated even in the new settlements and churches established during the period in Mexico; cf. R. Boulanger, *Mexico,* trans. J. S. Hardman, Paris, 1968, 325, 458, and 738.

[36] Murri, 144. See also Martorelli, II, 120, for various documents pertaining to Loretan decrees.

[37] Murri, 144, and *s.v.,* "Loreto," *Enciclopedia cattolica,* VII, 1560.

[38] Murri, 65–67.

[39] Martorelli's volumes are fundamental for any study of Loreto and the *Santa Casa.* Chevalier called them the "*mare magnum* de nôtre legende" (p. 422). Martorelli points out in his dedication to Clement XII that the latter follows in the line of other great Tuscan popes; he mentions Leo X and Clement VII, who also protected the *Santa Casa.*

[40] On a large stone plaque placed high on a corridor wall at Loreto, the visits of the popes are recorded. Benedict XIV is recalled as having been there "più volte." Benedict also spoke of his devotion to the Holy House; cf. Ludwig von Pastor, *Storia dei Papi,* Rome, 1953, XVI, 237. For Benedict, see Mario Rosa, *Riformatori e ribelli nel '700 religioso italiano,* Bari, 1969, and Franco Venturi, *Settecento riformatore,* Turin, 1969.

[41] Benedict XIV, *Delle feste di Gesù Cristo . . . e della B. Vergine Maria,* Venice, 1747, 334–38. Benedict wrote this work while still a cardinal and first published it in 1740. He supported the Holy House's claim as Mary's own home and stated that although "L'Edificio Lauretano non è la Casa intera . . .," it was "una Camera della Casa, quella Cioè, in cui la Vergine fu salutata dall'Angelo . . ."; Murri, 83–84.

[42] Benedict's coat-of-arms hangs prominently over the central archway in the Piazza. For a discussion of the history and function of the Piazza, see K. Weil-Garris, "Cloister, Court and City Square," *Gesta,* XII, 1973, 123–132; and for Benedict's special devotion and aid to Loreto, see Murri, 144.

[43] The celebration of 1751, along with those of 1531, 1672, and 1921, was held in recognition of the Holy House's lack of proper building foundations. On April 14, 1751, excavations were begun in the Basilica at Loreto for the purpose of showing once more that the *Santa Casa,* missing foundations, had not been constructed upon that spot but that it had "arrived" from somewhere else. For a recounting of these events, see Padre Arsenio d'Ascoli, *La Santa Casa,* Loreto, 1965, 38, and *s.v.,* "Santa Casa," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* New York, XIII, 455. During the decade preceding the festivities of 1751, during which period Tiepolo painted his fresco in S. Maria di Nazareth, the Sacra Congregazione Lauretana approved the "Sinossi loretana," which contained decisions concerning important juridical matters; cf. Grimaldi, *Loreto nell'arte,* n.p.

Venice is both a reflection and a recollection of the many religious and political forces affecting the commission to Tiepolo during the 1740's: of the Discalced Carmelites whose history included a long and revered association with the Virgin's most famous relic and whose Venetian seat, in its dedication, honored that relic; of the city of Venice, which had from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries made explicit its veneration of the Madonna di Loreto; and of papal interests expressed by literary, architectural, and ecclesiastical activities focusing on the *Santa Casa* during the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

Tiepolo painted a wonderfully rich and sumptuous ceiling decoration to serve so important a Venetian devotion and so absorbing a papal concern. The fresco harmonized with what was surely the most luxuriously ornamented church interior in Venice after that of S. Marco.[44] The Chiesa degli Scalzi was, in fact, famous for its opulence, but its expensive decoration had become so embarrassing for a religious Order devoted to poverty that in 1734 the Venetian Congregation of the Discalced Carmelites published a short tract in which it defended the lavishness of its church.[45] The pamphlet's anonymous author likened the beauty of S. Maria di Nazareth to that of S. Maria della Vittoria in Rome, remarking that the Venetian church had purposely been made beautiful on the example of the sister church of the Discalced Carmelites, for both had been dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.[46] The writer quoted the *dicta* of Saint Theresa herself, reformer of the Carmelite Order, who wrote that although the homes of the religious must be modest, God's tabernacle "s'innalzi con magnificenza."[47] The author enumerated and praised many works of art in S. Maria di Nazareth, but Tiepolo's fresco of the *Glory of Saint Theresa*, dated about 1720, is described in particular as "sì nobilmente dorato, e dipinto."[48] The Discalced Carmelites presented the ideas of Saint Theresa and made special mention of Tiepolo not only to defend their earlier patronage but also, I believe, to formulate specific guidelines for the eventual completion of the decoration of their church. During the 1730's, they looked up and saw their ceiling still bare above the richly embellished interior below.

Tiepolo prepared two oil sketches before beginning work on the Scalzi fresco. In the first (Fig. 13), he depicted the Holy House with the Madonna as the dominant pictorial motif of the composition. The trumpeting angels on the right, the palm-carrying angel at the top, and the falling figures of heresies below, although all iconographically significant, are secondary in the scene's formulation. They function mainly as a framework creating a vortex of movement around the House.

In the second oil sketch (Fig. 14), in the National Gallery of London, Tiepolo created a tripartite division of the major elements: the Almighty above, the Holy House in the center, and the falling figures of evil below. Tiepolo separated these elements not merely vertically in composition but spatially in depth as well: God reigns in a zone far distant from us, the House flies across our field of vision, and the figures of evil cascade down toward our world. In separating one group from the other, Tiepolo also shifted our perspective of each, so that we view God the Father from straight on, the *Santa Casa* and the Virgin from below but at an angle, and the falling heresies from directly beneath. Moreover, the Holy House has been shifted to the left, and, by eliminating the framing pattern of the first sketch, Tiepolo created an expanse of space through which the angels and their precious relic could soar. Christ's position, too, has been changed. Transformed from the resurrected Savior included in the Trinity, he now becomes the infant child embraced by his mother and blessing the faithful below.[49] Note, also, that Saint Joseph has been moved from the rear left of the Holy House to the right foreground. No longer a passive onlooker, he becomes an active worshiper of the Trinity above and, as I shall show further on, he plays a significant role in the ceiling's iconography.

Having arrived at the composition of the Translation image, Tiepolo set it into a complex framework of interlocking geometrical shapes and secondary narrative scenes. But he distinguished the formal language and the pictorial sources of the central scene from those of the decorative surround. The ornamental structures and figurative scenes outside the enframing cornice indicate Tiepolo's reliance upon Roman prototypes, whereas the colorism and bold illusionism of the *Trans-*

[44] Giannantonio Moschini writes in the *Guida per la città di Venezia . . .*, II, 73: "La ricchezza del dipinto vôlto risponde alla ricchezza di tutta la chiesa, coperata in ogni sito di marmi preziosi, ripiena di statue e busti e di quanti fregi si possono immaginare da chi opulento siasi disposto a spendere l'oro senza veruna misura." See also Lewis, 164, and 234.

[45] *Risposta ad un amico sopra certi riflessi falsamente concepiti contro la Chiesa de' Padri Carmelitani*, Venice, 1734, cited in both Giuseppe Bianchini, *La chiesa di S. Maria di Nazareth*, Venice, 1894, 8, and Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, New York, 1963, 269.

[46] *Ibid.*, 16.

[47] *Ibid.*, 14.

[48] *Ibid.*, 20.

[49] With this change, the *Santa Casa* is identified as Christ's home as well as Mary's; Loretan history strongly maintained this tradition. Cf. Cirillo, and Giuseppe Girolamo Lonardelli, *Discorso in lode della Santa Casa di Nazareth, 10-XII-1846*, Venice, 1846, 15. The blessing Christ in the second sketch is a type well known in Italian art and can easily be related to such a late 17th-century image as Maratta's *Virgin and Child*, dating from the 1690's and in the Pinacoteca Vaticana; see Ellis Waterhouse, *Italian Baroque Painting*, London, 1962, fig. 73.

13 Tiepolo, sketch for the *Translation of the Holy House*. Venice, Gallerie all'Accademia (photo: Anderson)

14 Tiepolo, sketch for the *Translation of the Holy House*. London, British Pension Fund, on loan to the National Gallery (photo: Sotheby Parke Bernet, London)

lation itself recall Venetian traditions.[50] The falling heresies and the sharp foreshortening of the Madonna and Child created by the *di sotto in sù* perspective summon to mind the Venetian ceilings of Paolo Veronese and Sebastiano Ricci whose art has long been recognized as germinal for Tiepolo's.[51] There is, however, another debt here to the Venetian tradition that has as yet gone unnoticed. I suggest that Tiepolo adapted for the *Translation* general compositional ideas as well as specific figurative details from Titian's *Assumption* in the Frari (Fig. 15).

At first glance, Titian's great altar painting seems an unlikely source for an eighteenth-century artist charged with the execution of a ceiling fresco. Tiepolo's zigzag composition does not follow the centrally organized groups of the Renaissance masterpiece. But if we consider that both Venetian artists were confronted with commissions from the major religious Orders of their city to depict transcendental visions of Marian miracles, then Tiepolo's study of such a famous precedent as the *Assumption* seems not only possible but in fact probable. Indeed, fundamental to Tiepolo's composition, and to Titian's, is the apparent independence and freedom of one figurative group from another. The vertical division of the Scalzi painting into three separate and equally important units, not related to one another by any architectural background or surface structure, and the concomitant shifting of viewpoints from one group to another are pictorial aspects not found in the Renaissance and Baroque traditions of ceiling painting. They are, however, basic elements in Titian's canonical image. Dissatisfied with his first idea (Fig. 13) and

[50] The Roman and Venetian pictorial styles were, of course, those most fundamental for any Venetian 18th-century painter. Tiepolo's unification of them here, however, and his use of them in separate but equal zones, openly declaring his dependence upon both, remind us that the great fresco was intended to celebrate concomitantly both the Venetian and Roman aspects of Loretan devotions.

[51] Tiepolo had already painted two ceilings in fresco showing falling figures in the 1720's, above the stairway at the Palazzo Arcivescovile, Udine, and in the 1730's, on the ceiling at S. Maria del Rosario, the Chiesa dei Gesuati, Venice. See Morassi, fig. 1, and his *G. B. Tiepolo*, London, 1955, pl. III. Although Gaulli had depicted such figures in his ceiling fresco of the 1670's in the Church of the Gesù in Rome, the earlier Venetian tradition surely stands behind Tiepolo's imagery and, ultimately, behind Gaulli's creation, too. For instance, Veronese's ceiling painting *Jupiter Hurling Down the Vices* for the Palazzo Ducale in Venice was easily accessible to Tiepolo in the 18th century, although the picture was later carried away by Napoleon to Paris. *The Triumph of Venice*, also for the Palazzo Ducale, and the ceiling paintings in S. Sebastiano are other works by Veronese whose perspective was important for Tiepolo; see G. Piovene, *L'Opera completa del Veronese*, Milan, 1968, figs. 29a, 269, and 30c respectively. In the early 18th century in Venice, Sebastiano Ricci in part recreated Veronesian imagery in such a ceiling canvas as the *Transportation of the Image of the Virgin*, S. Marziale, Venice. The *di sotto in sù* perspective, which cuts the cult image and the boat from our view, provided Tiepolo with updated formulae for the pictorial ideas of the great Paolo; cf. Jeffrey Daniels, *Sebastiano Ricci*, Milan, 1976, fig. 103.

15 Titian, *Assumption of the Virgin*. Venice, S. Maria Glosiosa dei Frari (photo: Osvaldo Böhm, Venice)

pressed to increase the scope of the painting,[52] Tiepolo reworked his composition. The London sketch (Fig. 14) incorporates major elements of Titian's *Assumption*, reordering figural groupings and altering the viewpoint from which they are seen. In the final version of the *Translation* (Fig. 1), the fresco itself, Tiepolo further intensified the effect of these changes by increasing the spatial breadth of the organization and by accentuating the perspectival shifts in the painting. In order to unify the more open composition, he, like Titian, linked the separate groups with flying figures silhouetted against an open blue sky.[53]

In contrast to his reliance upon Venetian sources for the central scene, Tiepolo turned to the decorative tradition of Roman churches for the ornamental surround. The simulated molding separating the building interior from the vision of the heavens outside follows in function and in shape a type used by both Gaulli and Maratta in Roman seicento ceilings.[54] The painted balconies in the corners recall, both in their illusionism and in their spiritual support for the central scene, the flanking "boxes" in Bernini's Cornaro Chapel in S. Maria della Vittoria.[55] That earlier church in Rome and S. Maria di Nazareth in Venice are sister churches of the Discalced Carmelites, and, as I have noted, their relationship was specifically remarked upon in the pamphlet of 1734 that set forth considerations for ecclesiastical decoration in the Chiesa degli Scalzi. It is logical, therefore, that as Tiepolo worked to compose a monumental and illusionistic religious painting, he turned to decorative ideas from an earlier and successful artistic ensemble created for the same religious Order. Other seventeenth-century Roman motifs in S. Maria di Nazareth are the interlocking geometrical forms over the four patriarchal scenes and the palm leaves encircled with crowns found on either side of the flanking octagons; they repeat decorative solutions by Borromini for S. Ivo and S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane.[56]

Tiepolo's ornamental surround does more, however, than forge a link between a painted Venetian ceiling and Roman decorative traditions. It contains six figurative scenes that enrich the devotional allusions to the *Santa Casa*. These subsidiary paintings all refer to the Ark of the Covenant and its final resting place, Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem. In the left octagon as we face the altar, Tiepolo painted *David's Transportation of the Ark*, and on the right, he executed *Solomon Kneeling Before the Ark During the Consecration of the Temple*.[57] Although Tiepolo did not actually represent the Ark on the vault below, the assembly of Patriarchs invokes its presence. Three of the original four scenes survived the bombing of 1915; they show *Moses and Aaron* (Fig. 2), the *Annunciation to Nathan* (Fig. 3), and *David Charging*

[52] Cf. n. 1, and Fogolari, 26–28, for the discussion on the reshaping of the Scalzi ceiling.

[53] There are several details as well that suggest that Tiepolo relied on the Frari painting. In the center of both works, Mary soars through the heavens, her drapery billowing around her, surrounded by a group of angels the principal of which functions similarly in each painting: he twists his head back and reaches up to support the "platform" on which the Madonna stands. Below and to the left of both Maries fly angels who joyously beat tambourines. Tiepolo's figure of Saint Joseph resembles Titian's seated Saint Peter in pose and his standing Apostle on the far left. Last, both the *Assumption* and the *Translation* place an angel holding a crown next to God the Father, thus heralding the Virgin's ultimate glory, her heavenly coronation.

[54] See Waterhouse, figs. 63 and 70.

[55] See R. Wittkower, *Gianlorenzo Bernini*, London, 1966, pl. 71 and fig. 65. I am grateful to Barry Wind for having reminded me that around 1615 Carlo Saraceni and Agostino Tassi painted illusionistic balconies, containing Oriental spectators peering out, in the Palazzo Quirinale, Rome. See Anna Ottani Cavina, *Carlo Saraceni*, Milan, n.d., figs. 92–93, and Teresa Pugliatti, *Agostino Tassi*, Rome, 1977, figs. 31–34. This confirms, of course, the existence of a strong Roman tradition behind Tiepolo's idea.

[56] See Paolo Portoghesi, *Borromini*, Milan, 1967, figs. 24 and 86. For a discussion of the S. Carlo decorations, see Leo Steinberg, *Borromini's San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, A Study in Multiple Form and Architectural Symbolism*, New York, 1977, 219ff. It might also be pointed out that the seated Prophets themselves do not recall Venetian types at all, but reflect Michelangelo's Sistine Prophets, confirming once more Tiepolo's reliance upon Roman art for the scenes outside the enframing cornice.

[57] Knox, 394, cites II Samuel 6:3 and I Kings 8:10–13 for these two works; the stories are also recounted in I Chronicles 13:7 and II Chronicles 5:14 and 6:13ff.

Solomon to Build the Temple (Fig. 4).[58] The lost fourth scene, visible in the old photograph made before the ceiling's destruction (Fig. 1, bottom left), is also of an annunciation. In I Chronicles 21, lines 18ff, the Angel of the Lord came to Gad, David's seer, and commanded him "to say to David that David should go up and rear an altar to the Lord on the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite." David decided that the House of the Lord would be built on that spot. With this identification of the destroyed scene, the viewer can once more understand the relationship of the four enthroned groups and can read the Old Testament cycle across the ceiling.

Upon entering the church and looking up to the right, the worshiper would have seen Moses and Aaron representing the institution of the tabernacle. Across the nave on the left, the annunciation to Nathan referred to the heavenly charge to build the Temple. Passing down the nave and directly under the *Santa Casa*, the worshiper saw in the left octagon the Ark's transportation to safety in Jerusalem, a parallel to the Holy House's own flight. At the altar end of the nave, the annunciation to Gad referred, as I have shown, to the designation of the final site of the Temple. Across the nave on the right, the cycle continued with the promised building of the Temple by Solomon. The cycle concluded in the second octagon where the worshiper, as he turned to leave, saw Solomon's consecration of the Temple in front of the Ark, itself resting in safety. This scene, it should be noted, is partially covered by angelic figures trumpeting the Holy House's journey to sanctuary in the West. In depicting the travels of the Ark and its final place of refuge in Solomon's Temple, this group of paintings clearly furnishes a biblical precedent for the Translation.

In associating the Virgin and her Holy House so closely with the Ark of the Covenant, the Discalced Carmelites continued a long-established Marian tradition, for Christian writers had used the Old Testament tabernacle as a metaphor for the figure of Mary;[59] and the Litany of Loreto, supposedly brought by the Carmelites to the West, also hails the Mother of Christ as *Arca Foederis*, or the Ark of the Covenant.[60] A sermon nearly contemporary with Tiepolo's ceiling likens Mary to the Ark of the Covenant and acclaims her powerful enough to rid the world of evil: "Al comparir di Maria *Foederis Arca*, fa di necessità, che . . . partano que' mostri, e frettolosamente all'Inferno abattuti precipitino."[61] A hymn recited at Vespers on the Feast of the Translation of the Holy House, moreover, called the *Santa Casa* itself "the Ark of Faith and Alliance, brighter than the gleaming sky, which offered a nest for the birth of our virgin parent."[62] At this time the Church celebrated the Translation as a *Duplex Majus*,[63] a holy day of the double major that, like the Jewish Sabbath, begins and ends in the evening, and the solemnities at Loreto opened at sundown on December 9 and closed twenty-four hours later on December 10 with the vespral prayer likening the *Santa Casa* to the Ark of the Covenant. Tiepolo translated this literary metaphor into visual form on the ceiling of S. Maria di Nazareth and celebrated the Translation of the Holy House with the significance given it at Loreto. The figures' dramatically

[58] Knox, 397. He correctly cites I Chronicles 17:3 and 22:6 as the sources for the second and third of these scenes. *Moses and Aaron* shows Aaron having already donned the robes of the high priest and Moses holding the Commandments. The panel seems to refer in a very general way to the last part of Exodus where the Tabernacle is constructed.

[59] Ippolito Marracci, *Polyanthea Mariana . . . in qua Deiparae Virginis Mariae . . . ,* Cologne, 1683, 27ff.; Luciano Bartoli, *Simbologia Mariana,* Rovigo, n.d., 7, explains ". . . nella Madre troviamo le tre sostanze che furono e sono in Cristo: la divinità (verga di Aronne), l'anima dotata di volontà e di intelletto (tavole della Legge) e la umanità terrena (Manna, Eucarestia)." See, also *s.v.*, "Virgin Mary," *Catholic Encyclopedia* xv, 464E, and Malchiodi, 93–95. For an 18th-century exaltation of the Virgin as the Ark of the Covenant, see Domenico di S. Tommaso, "Miscellanea di sentimenti spirituali," in Valentino di S. Maria, C.C.D., "L'Immacolata e la Congregazione d'Italia dei Carmelitani Scalzi," in *Ephemerides Carmeliticae,* VII, 1956–58, 107ff.

[60] For the history of the Loretan litany, first printed in 1576 and introduced in Rome by Sixtus V, who was from the Marches, see Malchiodi, 11ff., and *s.v.* "Litania Lauretana," *Enciclopedia cattolica,* VII, 1420. Padre Pio of S. Maria di Nazareth has informed me that the Loretan litany is central in the Marian devotions of the Discalced Carmelites and is recited by them every day during the liturgy of the Hours. Mary is called *Arca Foederis* towards the end of the litany, between *Domus Aurea* and *Janua Coeli*. It should be noted, too, that the Transportation of the Ark is represented on one of the principal doors of the Loretan Basilica; the work was begun by Antonio Calcagni but finished in 1600 by others. See *Marche,* Touring Club Italiano, Milan, 1962, 318.

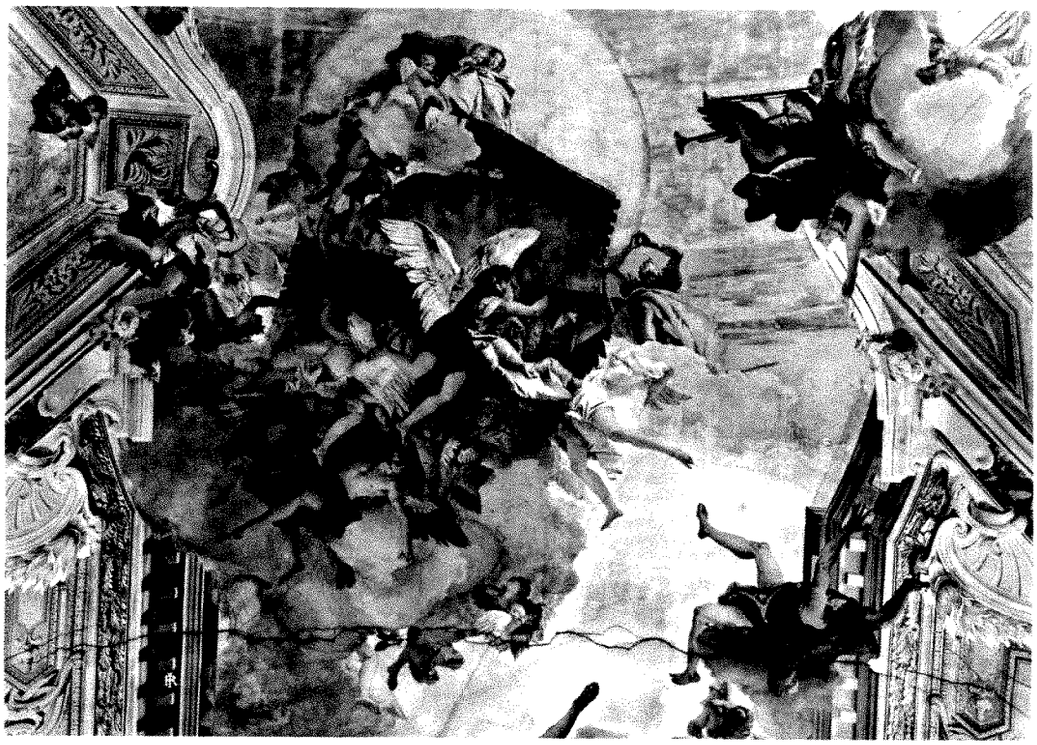
[61] Padre Giuseppe Maria Sardi, *Sermoni per infervorare nella divozione verso l'Augustissima Regina de' Cieli Maria sempre Vergine,* Venice, 1747; Discorso v, 47.

[62] The hymn was printed at least twice in the 18th century: in *Notizie della Santa Casa della Gran Madre di Dio Maria Vergine adorata in Loreto,* Venice, 1722, 92–93, and in Martorelli, II, Appendix, 49–50. It reads:

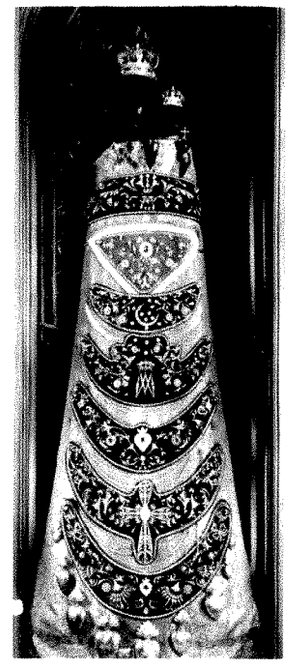
Ut Virginis Deiparae/ E Nazarenis collibus/ Translata nutu huc Numinis/ Domus coruscat inclyta!/ Micante clarior polo/ En Arca Fidei, & Foederis,/ Quae praestitit purissimae/ Cunas Parentis Ortui./ Sacra haec Salutis Nuncio;/ Et mansione Sanctior/ Christi, Mariae, Coelitum,/ Joseph, & hujus Transitu./ Hic praeferenda Maximo/ Solis nitori, lumine/ Adaucta Prolis, fertilis/ Imago splendet Virginis./ Nobis tamen si nigricat,/ Caligo sit lux eminens,/ Fulgoris aut immensitas/ Hanc decolorat Filius./ Et fusca vincit omnium/ Sed una pulchritudines,/ Cum Virginis sit Icone/ Vel umbra formosissima./ Hac Aede terrae a motibus,/ Famis, luisve, & hostium/ Malis precamur eximi/ Castae Parentis fervuli./ In corde semper hospites,/ Quos haec, habere, & emori/ Hos inter, alto Numini/ Victuri, & Almae Virgini./ Jesu tibi sit gloria,/ Qui natus es de Virgine,/ Cum Patre, & Almo Spiritu/ In sempiterna saecula. Amen./

I am very grateful to both Jean D'Amato and Kathryn Geffchen for their assistance with this text. Cirillo also likens the Holy House to the Ark of the Covenant and writes extensively in this context of Moses and Aaron with the Ark.

[63] Martorelli, II, 121.



16 Tiepolo, *Translation of the Holy House* (detail). Venice, formerly S. Maria di Nazareth (photo: Alinari)



17 E. Quattrini and L. Celani, *Madonna di Loreto*. Loreto, Basilica della Santa Casa (photo: Alinari)

18 Pomerancio, *Head of an Angel*. Loreto, Archivio Storico (photo: Archivio Fotografico, Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici delle Marche, Urbino)

raised arms in the surviving patriarchal scenes[64] do not make merely rhetorical gestures as is traditional in Italian Baroque painting; they serve to focus our attention on the Holy House as the new *Arca Foederis*, saluting the relic as the *Templum Dei* of the Christian faith.

In the *Translation* itself, Tiepolo enriched the iconography with further references to Loreto as well as to the history of Venice and the Discalced Carmelites. Perhaps the most immediately recognizable allusion to specific Loretan devotions is the image of the Virgin who lovingly enfolds her infant in her robe (Fig. 16). In the Accademia sketch, Tiepolo showed Mary alone, whereas in the second sketch, he placed the Christ Child aloft in her right arm. The final vision of the infant Jesus nestled in his mother's mantle was, however, certainly of great expressive value and emotional power for all those familiar with Loretan imagery, for the Madonna di Loreto herself is enfolded with her child in one robe (Fig. 17).[65] Tiepolo's Scalzi ceiling thus pointedly recalls the cult statue on the altar of the *Santa Casa* and places it in relationship with lateral scenes that refer, as has been seen, to Loretan prayer.

The appearance in the ceiling of the Virgin's husband among the soaring figures is, however, unique, for he had not been traditionally associated with the event of the Translation.[66] Saint Joseph's presence from the initial stages of preparation to the final painting must re-

[64] It is difficult to see in the old photograph of the work whether the Angel of Gad has an arm raised. One can only assume that Tiepolo would have coordinated the gestures in this scene with those in the others.

[65] Arduino Colasanti, *Loreto*, Bergamo, 1910, 50. The face of Tiepolo's foremost angel carrying the Santa Casa resembles the physiognomy of Pomerancio's angels in the drawings done for the fresco in the Basilica at Loreto; see Fig. 18. These sketches are conserved in the Archivio Storico, Loreto. Cf. Francesco dal Monte Cassoni, "I Disegni del Pomerancio per gli affreschi distrutti della cupola di Loreto," *Rassegna Marchigiana*, VIII, 1929–30, 41–56; and W. Chandler Kirwin, "The Life and Drawing Style of Cristofano Roncalli," *Paragone*, No. 335, Jan., 1978, 18–62.

[66] Although Saint Joseph does appear in the painting by Andrea Lilli, he is not part of the actual flight. The only reference known to me where Joseph is included in the Translation itself is in the Loretan hymn recited at Vespers on December 10; cf. note 62.

flect the devotions of Saint Theresa of Avila, who began the Carmelite Reform and who had revered Joseph with special piety. He was named Patron Saint of the Discalced Carmelites in 1628, shortly after Theresa's canonization; by the end of the eighteenth century, more than two hundred of the Order's religious establishments were dedicated to him.[67]

Saint Joseph's presence in Tiepolo's conception of the Translation points, moreover, to a profound theological belief. It has already been noted that Tiepolo shifted Joseph to the foreground of the final composition as he transformed the Christ depicted from the resurrected Savior into the infant Jesus held by his mother. In this process, the painter rearranged the Holy Family so that it is grouped around the venerable relic and directly below God the Father. Following a long-established tradition, the Holy Family functions as an analogue of the Holy Trinity in Heaven.[68] Indeed, paintings of the post-Counter-Reformatory period represented this unique relationship of sacred figures.[69] Thus, by uniting Joseph with Christ and Mary, Tiepolo created for the faithful a vision of the *Santa Casa* as the home of the earthly trinity, which reveals to mankind in palpable form the mystery of the triple nature of the divinity.

The tumbling personifications of heresy in Tiepolo's fresco are unique in the history of *Santa Casa* imagery; like Saint Joseph, they magnify the dramatic impact of the ceiling and deepen its iconographic significance. These devilish forms fall from the painted balustrade at exactly the point where the figures turbaned *alla turca* and armed with lances congregate. The Turks witnessing the overthrow of heresy commemorate the role of the Venetian chapter of the Discalced Carmelites in the so-called *Sacra Milizia*.[70] Around 1650, the Venetian Republic enlisted the help of the Order in the bitter struggle taking place in the Peloponnesus against the Turkish foe—Venice's traditional enemy to the east. Although the wars were lost and the Discalced Carmelites were finally brought home in 1715, their valorous accomplishments on the bloody battlefield spread their fame as fearless defenders of the faith and implacable enemies of heresy.[71] Like Venice itself and the *Santa Casa*, the Discalced Carmelites had confronted the dangers of the treacherous Turkish infidel and had acquitted themselves with glory while serving the Christian cause.[72]

[67] Cécile Emond, *L'Iconographie Carmelitaine dans les anciens Pays-Bas meridionaux*, Brussels, 1961, 109, and *s.v.*, "Carmelitani Scalzi," *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, Rome, 1974, II, 593. During the early 18th century, Saint Joseph figured prominently in important textual revisions made by the Catholic Church and coordinated by Cardinal Lambertini, the future Benedict XIV. Joseph's supporters sought to insert his name in the liturgical litanies when Clement XI (1700–21) began to compose a new Office for the Mass. Lambertini, then Promotor of the Faith, was charged by Clement to execute this task, and he published a monograph in which an old Bolognese litany (Joseph is patron saint of Bologna) that included Joseph was reprinted. Liturgical revisions continued during succeeding pontificates and were concluded by Lambertini himself after he ascended the Throne of Saint Peter in 1740. See Angelo Battiston, S. J., "Le Patronage di Saint Joseph en Italie," and José Antonio del Nino Jesus, O.C.D., "Presence de Saint Joseph en Espagne," in *Le Patronage de Saint Joseph, Actes du Congrès d'Études Tenu à l'Oratoire Saint-Joseph, Montreal 1er-9 août 1955*, Montreal, 1956, 33–60, and 61–118. I am indebted to Sheila Schwartz for bringing this publication to my attention and for having advised me on the history of devotions to Saint Joseph.

[68] Émile Mâle, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, 312.

[69] Mâle, 312, illustrates a work painted by Pasinelli for the Discalced Carmelites of Bologna. In addition, Sheila Schwartz has reminded me of Jordaens's *Holy Trinity and Holy Family* in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum in Braunschweig; cf. *Herzogliches Museum. Führer durch die Sammlungen*, Braunschweig, 1898, 133, No. 117. There is as well Murillo's *Two Trinities* (the Pedroso Murillo) in the National Gallery, London; cf. Neil MacLaren, *The National Gallery of London, The Spanish School*, London, 1970, 61–63.

[70] Ferrari, 13ff., and Serafinus a Corde Jesu, *Cronistoria della provincia veneta e biografia dei religiosi defunti nella medesima*, Venice, 1915, 39ff. Irving Lavin has kindly brought this second reference to my attention. For a history of the Discalced Carmelites and their missions in the East, see Max Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche*, Padersborn, 1934, 77. The commitment of the Discalced Carmelites of Venice to the 17th-century mission in the Peloponnesus has been vividly recalled in this century; cf. Mons. Giovanni Jeremich, *Il Dipinto di . . . Ettore Tito . . . della Chiesa degli Scalzi in Venezia. Discorso inaugurale, 26 aprile 1933*, Venice, 1933, 13–14.

[71] Ferrari, 17–18, and Serafinus a Corde Jesu, 43–46.

[72] Venice's concrete experiences with the Ottoman Turks as enemies were traditionally expressed in Venetian imagery by depiction of the persecutors of Christ and his followers as Moslems. Even Tiepolo's son Giandomenico, in a print of the *Ecce Homo*, dated in the late 1740's, presents the tormentors of Christ as Turks carrying lances; cf. Aldo Rizzi, *L'Opera grafica dei Tiepolo. Le acqueforti*, Milan, 1971, 111, No. 41. The *Santa Casa's* own history, of course, is full of references to the dangers from the Turks. After its initial escape in 1291, the relic arrived at Loreto, which became an important site during Christendom's warfare with the enemies to the East; Pius II stopped there on his way to Ancona, whence he was to have led a new Crusade, and later, in the late 15th century, the forces of Mahomet II disembarked at Porto Recanati, only five miles from Loreto. Finally, Loreto always played a part in papal politics concerning the Turks, and construction there reflected military exigencies; cf. Weil-Garris, "Introduction," *The Santa Casa di Loreto . . .*, n.p., and A. Bruschi, *Bramante architetto*, Bari, 1969, 654.

The conflation of Venetian, Loretan, and Turkish associations can best be understood by glancing at the history of the Morosini family in the 17th century. Giorgio Morosini distinguished himself in the Candian Wars; his tomb was commissioned by his brothers Pietro and Lorenzo and erected by Just le Court in S. Clemente itself, adjacent to the replica of the *Santa Casa*. Le Court later executed facing tombs there for Pietro and Lorenzo as well. The Morosini family coat-of-arms decorates the façade of S. Clemente. Francesco Morosini, their relative, was Patriarch of Venice from 1644 to 1678, and it was during his reign that the struggles of Candia took place; see MS Cicogna 2418, Biblioteca Correr, Venice, fols. 511 and 543. Morosini led the procession of 1646 that carried the sacred image of the Madonna to S. Clemente (Correr, *Notizie storiche . . .*, 488), and, several years later, he dedicated the new church of the Discalced Carmelites to S. Maria di Nazareth. That Patriarch Morosini saw the construction of these churches in light of the Turkish threat is proved in his own *Lettera pastorale . . . al clero, e popolo suo. In occasione delli recenti conati intrapresi contro l'arme ottomane*, Venice, 1665.

The most remarkable iconographic element in Tiepolo's painting is the large, silver moon before which the Virgin stands in dramatic foreshortening. Histories of the miraculous flight narrate that the *Santa Casa* flew from Nazareth to Tersatto and from there to Italy, both times at night.[73] The moon's appearance in Tiepolo's sky is, therefore, logical. But its overwhelming size and special placement, isolating Mary and her Holy House in the center of the composition, cannot be ascribed merely to Tiepolo's concern for accuracy to the legend. Rather, like a nimbus, the moon distinguishes the Virgin and the Shrine even from Saint Joseph, and, in enframing them, it creates a holy field.

The moon's ancient, symbolical reference to purity and virginity was absorbed in the Church Fathers' interpretation of Revelation 12:1 as a prophetic appearance of the Immaculate Virgin. Post-Tridentine art is, as we know, rich with images of Mary atop the crescent moon and crowned with twelve stars.[74] But the full moon, too, when placed in conjunction with the Virgin, could also create a pictorial affiliation between the Mother of Christ and the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.[75] Such an interpretation applies here as well, in light of traditional Loretan prayer and iconography and of the presence in the fresco of several elements conventionally identified with the Immaculate Virgin.

Loreto had long venerated the Immaculate Conception, for it had taken place in Anne and Joachim's home in Nazareth.[76] Authorities at the Shrine expressly fostered the association of the religious doctrine of Mary's freedom from Original Sin with the tangible relic of the Holy House; in frontispieces accompanying histories of the miraculous flight, the *Madonna della Santa Casa* was sometimes portrayed as the Immaculate Virgin.[77] In 1741, only two years before Tiepolo received the commission from the Discalced Carmelites, the Loretan Basilica issued a tract celebrating the Feast day of the Translation of the Holy House and pointedly drawing an analogy between the doctrine and the relic:

> . . . if we reflect upon the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, and at the same time turn our thoughts to the deed of the Translation of her Holy House in Loreto, we immediately discover the closest possible analogy between image and symbol. . . . The similarity . . . exists between Mary's privilege of the Immaculate Conception in having been saved from Original Sin, and that of her Holy House in having been preserved from the injuries of time and from other human vicissitudes, and having been removed from its place of origin, so that it would not be contaminated by impiety. . . .[78]

Loreto expressed its special piety for the Immaculate Conception not only in commemorative prints and tracts but in prayer as well. Long before the doctrine was declared dogma in 1854 by Pius IX, with the resulting insertion in the litany of Loreto of the phrase "Regina sine Labe Originale," ecclesiastical authorities at the shrine expressed their devotion to the Immaculate Conception by invoking the Virgin Mary in their prayers as the "spotless mirror of God."[79] Since the late Middle Ages, this emblem had been used in Marian imagery as a metaphor for the Madonna's freedom from Original Sin, and by the sixteenth century, a very special Loretan litany eulogized Mary as the *speculum sine macula*.[80] This litany continued to be recited for more than two hundred years, and during the seventeenth

[73] The fact is affirmed again and again in the histories of the *Santa Casa* written by Riera and Torsellini and reprinted in the 1730's in Martorelli's volumes: I, 305, 312–13, and II, 324, 326, and 328.

[74] Revelation 12:1: ". . . a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars." For references to the Church Fathers, see J. Fonrobert, *s.v.* "Apokalyptisches Weib," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, Freiburg, 1968, I, 146–150; cf. Pigler, I, 506–514, for a listing of Renaissance and Baroque images of the Immaculate Conception.

[75] See paintings by Cigoli, in E. Panofsky, *Galileo as a Critic of the Arts*, The Hague, 1954, fig. 2, and by Murillo, in Mâle, fig. 21. Descriptions of the Shulamite Woman from the Song of Solomon were often applied to the Virgin herself, and many phrases in the Marian litanies are taken from that source; "pulchra ut luna" (". . . fair as the moon, bright as the sun, terrible as an army with banners," from the Song of Solomon 6:10) compares Mary specifically to the moon. See also J. Fournée, *s.v.* "Immaculata Conceptio," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, II, 338–344, and G. Gietman, *s.v.* "Canticle of Canticles," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, III, 302–05.

[76] "Ora qual'è il sacro luogo della terra ove avenne il grande miracolo della grazia divina? I Padri della Chiesa d'Occidente ritengono che la Concezione Immacolata di Maria sia avvenuta a Nazareth nella Casa di S. Giocchino e S. Anna," in Malchiodi, 132, and Garrat, 107. The Carmelites, too, had expressed a singular reverence for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, and during the 17th and 18th centuries, they played a major role in discussions concerning its exact meaning; cf. Claudio Catena, O. C., "Il culto dell'Immacolata Concezione nel Carmelo," *Carmelus*, I, 1954, 290–321, and "La dottrina immacolista negli autori carmelitani," *Carmelus*, II, 1955, 132–215.

[77] Grimaldi, 44–46.

[78] ". . . Se riflettiamo alla immacolata Concezione di Nostra Signora, e rivolgiamo nello stesso tempo uno sguardo della nostra memoria al fatto della Traslazione della sua S. Casa in Loreto, scuopriamo subito la più stretta analogia, che passar possa tra la figura, ed il figurato. . . . La somiglianza . . . passa tra il Privilegio della Immacolata Concezzione di Maria nell'essere stata preservata dalla Colpa Originale, e quello della Santa Sua Casa nell'essere stata preservata dalle ingiurie da tempi, e delle altre umane vicende, e staccata dal luogo della Sua Origine, perche non rimanesse contaminata dall'empietà . . ."; *Invito generale e relazione . . . che si preparano per l'annua solennità della traslazione della S. Casa di Loreto nelle due sere 9., e 10. dicembre 1741*, Ancona, 1741, n.p.

[79] Malchiodi, 103ff. The phrase *speculum sine macula* comes from the Wisdom of Solomon 7:26: "For she is a reflection of eternal light, a spotless mirror of God and image of his goodness." See also Marracci, 207ff., and Mircea Eliade, *Patterns in Comparative Religion*, Cleveland, 1970, 154–187.

[80] Vogel, I, 326–27. This litany, recited at Loreto only on Saturdays, was copied from Cirillo's tract of the 1570's. For the *speculum sine macula* and Immaculatist imagery, cf. D'Ancona, 55ff.

19 *Effigies Gloriosissimae Virginis Mariae Lauretanae.* Loreto, Archivio Storico (photo: Archivio Fotografico, Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici delle Marche, Urbino)

and eighteenth centuries it became so popular that an icon was painted in which the *Madonna di Loreto* was represented with the symbols from this litany (Fig. 19).[81] The signification of the *speculum sine macula* as the Virgin's Immaculate Conception was not restricted to Loretan devotions, however; Venetian panegyrics of the period, generally echoing Marian piety, also associated the "mirror without stain" with the Madonna's freedom from Original Sin.[82]

Mary as the "spotless mirror," flawlessly revealing Christ's power and splendor to mankind, was often compared to the moon reflecting the sun's beauty and brilliance;[83] both radiate purity. Seen within such a long-established Marian context, Tiepolo's moon can be understood as an emblem for the *speculum sine macula;* thus, it characterizes the Virgin standing before it as the *Immacolata.* The presence of the Godhead above and the crushing of evil below corroborate this interpretation. Mirella Levi D'Ancona has demonstrated that the Virgin's association in pictorial tradition with the Holy Trinity and the triumph over Satan is indicative of the Marian doctrine that "before the creation of the world, from the beginning of time," Mary was untouched by sin.[84] This conflation of images, of the Virgin of Nazareth with the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception, had already been visualized both in traditional Loretan iconography and in the fifteenth-century panel painting given to the Discalced Carmelites of Venice, the panel after which they named their church.[85] Hence, Tiepolo's *Translation* not only depicts the Holy House's miraculous flight to the West, but also celebrates a time-honored affiliation of Marian images venerated at Loreto and on the high altar of the Chiesa degli Scalzi.

Tiepolo worked in S. Maria di Nazareth during a period of bitter theological dispute centering around the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. His fresco was, in fact, a powerful response to contemporary attacks made upon the Immaculacy of the Virgin Mary, considered the founder of the Carmelite Order.[86] In 1740, Ludovico Antonio Muratori, one of Italy's most famous historiographers, published *De Superstitione Vi-*

[81] I am indebted to Padre Floriano of the Archivio Storico, Loreto, for having brought this painting to my attention. He has stated that the kind of crown worn by the Madonna surely dates the work to the early 18th century.

[82] For a direct reference in the 18th century to the *speculum sine macula* as a symbol of Mary's Immaculate Conception, see "Panegirico della Immacolata Concezione di Maria Vergine," *Raccolta di panegirici sopra tutte le festività di nostro signore, di Maria Vergine, e de' Santi, recitati da più celebri oratori del nostro secolo,* Venice, 1760, IV, 241.

[83] Inez J. Kearns, "Iconography of the Immaculate Conception Before 1854," Master's thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1939, 16ff.

[84] D'Ancona, 20. The Immaculate Virgin was, especially for the Discalced Carmelites, ". . . la donna singolare eletta a schiacciare il capo a Satana, essa è colei che fu prescelta a essere in tutto la trionfatrice con Cristo del peccato, essa è la Vergine che doveva raggiungere sin dal primo istante della Sua esistenza la più elevata intimità con Dio, con la Trinità," in Valentino di S. Maria, O.C.D., "L'Immacolata . . . ," in *Ephemerides Carmeliticae,* 33.

[85] For an earlier painting in which Mary, the Tree of Jesse, the Immaculate Conception, Moses, and Carmelite patronage were united, see E. Harris, "Mary in the Burning Bush," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* I, 1937–38, 281–86.

[86] Although the Prophet Elijah is named the founder of the Order, and a statue to him as such was raised by Benedict XIII in the Vatican in 1725, both Padre Saggi, O.C. and Padre Pio Miglioranza, O.C.D. have assured me that Carmelites and Discalced Carmelites alike regard the Madonna as the spiritual founder of their Orders. Their calendars, in fact, have seven more Marian Feasts than the regular calendar; among the seven is the Translation of the Holy House, December 10; cf. P. Giovanni Gava and P. Angelo Coan, *Carmelo,* Vatican City, 1951, 270.

tanda sive Censura Voti Sanguinarii in Venice.[87] In this book, Muratori inveighed against the blood vow offerred by many devoted Catholics to defend to the death the belief in Mary's freedom from Original Sin. Muratori questioned the very cult surrounding the Virgin, systematically arguing against the distinctive role given her and her relics in Christian salvation.[88] In 1747, Muratori published, again in Venice, *Della regolata devozione dei cristiani,* in which he criticized the facility with which many people attributed to Mary the divine powers that were exclusively Christ's:

> But it is up to us to remember that Mary is not God. . . . We must venerate her as our Advocate, but not begin to believe that she can pardon us our sins or save us. . . . Mary's task is to pray to God for us, to intercede for us, but not really to command. *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis:* this is what the Church teaches us.[89]

Muratori's publications impressed the entire Catholic world during the 1740's, and their biting accusations were heard by the Papacy itself, for Muratori and Benedict XIV had been close friends during the preceding period.[90] Many religious orders, "gli insostituibili polmoni della vita ecclesiastica" in the eighteenth century,[91] were profoundly disturbed, and more than twenty-five rebuttals issued from their ranks in the 1740's and fifties.[92] Although the Franciscans and the Jesuits took the lead in this counter-offensive, one of the most vehement of the rebuttals was written by a member of the Discalced Carmelites, Fra Federico di Sant'Antonio (1720–1770). In 1750 in Venice, he published a tract entitled *Il divoto della SS. Vergine Maria del Carmine istruito ne' suoi privilegi, ne' suoi obblighi e nelle maniere d'onorarla.* Seven years later, in another pamphlet also issued in Venice, *Avvertimenti teologici storici e morali . . .,* Fra Federico championed the sanctity of Mary's Holy House and the belief in the Immaculate Conception—the same credo defended with such pictorial eloquence in the Scalzi ceiling.[93]

During this period, a faction of the Catholic hierarchy called upon the Roman Church to reduce substantially the number of yearly obligatory Feast days, holidays in which workers refrained from labor and attended Mass in their local parishes.[94] The driving force behind this movement of the early 1740's was, again, Muratori. Although he was reacting in this case, as always, to what he considered excessive religious zeal, he was also deeply disturbed by the loss to workers of their proper livelihood: "Among the many reasons for so many poor people in Italy is the overwhelming number of Feast days, so that poor people get accustomed to the comfortable employment of doing nothing, to games, etc."[95]

Muratori directly associated the poverty of the Italian peasantry with the overabundance in the religious calendar of "holidays of obligation." In 1742, he noted that ". . . dovrebbe far pietà il vedere che nel dicembre

[87] The work, published under the pseudonym Antonio Lampridi, was already circulating in the 1730's; cf. Stricher, I, 38. Muratori wrote the work in reaction against another, written by the Sicilian Jesuit, Francesco Burgio, *Votum pro tuenda immaculata Deiparae conceptione . . . ,* 1729. See Alberto Vecchi, *L'Opera religiosa del Muratori,* Modena, 1955, 145–46, and "I modi della devozione," in *Sensibilità e razionalità,* ed. Vittore Branca, Venice, 1967, 95–124. The kernel of Muratori's argument as understood by those devoted to the Virgin was that ". . . tutto il . . . libro si riduce a questo argomento. 'L'Immacolata Concezion della Vergine non è certa, dunque non può farsi il voto di difenderla usque ad sanguinem' "; *Lettere al signor Antonio Lampridi intorno al suo libro pubblicato: De superstitione vitanda, &.,* Palermo, 1742, Letter I, p. 4.

[88] Muratori in fact denied that the Immaculate Conception was absolute truth, and he also attacked other aspects of Mariology, among them the Feast of Our Lady of Carmel; cf. Stricher, I, 139, and II, 113, and Wenceslaus Sebastian, O.F.M., "The Controversy after Scotus to 1900," in *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception,* 269. As early as 1714, Muratori had had serious doubts about the authenticity of the *Santa Casa;* cf. *De Ingeniorium Moderatione in Religionis Negotio . . .,* Paris, 1714, 268–270.

[89] "Ma convien ricordarci che Maria non è Dio. . . . Dobbiamo venerarla qual'Avvocata nostra, e non già farci a credere, che a Lei appartenga il perdonarci i peccati, il salvarci. . . . Uffizio di Maria è il pregar Dio per noi, l'intercedere per noi, e non già il commandare. Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis: questo è quello che la Chiesa c'insegna"; Muratori, *Della regolata divozion . . . ,* Venice, 1761, 316–17. Muratori also criticizes the widespread diffusion of the Loretan litany (p. 324), insisting that its recitation be reserved exclusively for use at Loreto itself.

[90] In the autumn of 1731, ". . . il ne se passe un jour . . . sans que les deux amis [Muratori and Lambertini] n'échangeassent à plusiers reprises baisers et embrassades"; cf. Stricher, I, 137. Benedict did not, however, interfere in the debate on the blood vow. For a discussion of Benedict XIV and his attitude toward the Immaculate Conception, cf. P. Tacchi Venturi, S.J., "Per la storia del domma dell'Immacolata Concezione ai tempi di Benedetto XIV," *Civilta cattolica,* IV, 1905, 513–527.

[91] Vecchi, "I modi della devozione," 110.

[92] For a listing of these writings and an extensive discussion of them, see Stricher, *passim.* Authors reacting to Muratori ever began to search through his earlier texts for points of dispute; cf. J. C. Trombelli, *Mariae Sanctissimae Vita ac Gesta, Cultusque illi Adhibitus,* Bologna, 1765, VI, 315–16. For a discussion of Muratori's works existing in ecclesiastical libraries in Venice in the 18th century, cf. Don Antonio Niero, "Presenza del Muratori in biblioteche ecclesiastiche veneziane," *La fortuna di L.A. Muratori. Atti de Convegno internazionale di Studi Muratoriani,* Modena, 1972, 271–305; Don Antonio points out that S. Maria di Nazareth had no religious works by Muratori, and that Venetian church libraries in general possessed only a very small number of Muratori's religious writings, "indice di una sensibilità teologica particolare in questo secolo sull'agitata questione del voto sanguinario . . ."; p. 303.

[93] Federico di Sant'Antonio, *Avvertimenti teologici, storici, e morali . . . ,* Venice, 1757, 363. For Fra Federico, cf. Valentino di S. Maria, O.C.D., 53–54.

[94] I am indebted in this discussion to Franco Venturi's very important work, cited above, *Settecento riformatore,* 136ff.

[95] "Fra le molte cagioni di tanti poveri che abbiamo in Italia . . . v'entra ancora il soverchio numero delle feste, per le quali si avvezzano le povere genti al comodo mestiere di far nulla, al giouco, ecc."; *ibid.,* 139.

dell'anno presente . . . noi avremo dodici feste di precetto";[96] as a result, he organized a letter campaign among ecclesiastics to convince Benedict XIV to reduce the number of holidays, thus returning the work force to full employment and hoping to resolve, consequently, the problem of Italian poverty.[97]

Many bishops and archbishops opposed Muratori's initiative. They remained unconvinced that economic need should outweigh religious duties; moreover, they reminded the Holy Father that few towns and villages would acquiesce silently as they saw their local cults suppressed by authorities in Rome. Benedict, besieged by these various and conflicting opinions on the matter, eventually promulgated a Bull in 1745 that allowed each archdiocese to reduce, pending Rome's final approval, its own festivities. Significantly, one holiday abolished by nearly all of the archdioceses was the Translation of the Holy House, observed on December 10, and this despite contemporary papal involvement in programs at the holy shrine in Loreto. Only the Marches, "per memoria di quel singolare beneficio concesso da Dio a questa provincia picena,"[98] continued to keep that Marian feast. Thus, Tiepolo's painting not only invoked the Immaculate Conception during this period of controversy but also celebrated—eloquently and publicly—a holiday under political attack.[99]

Tiepolo's painting in S. Maria di Nazareth has always been considered a *tour de force* of decorative art. Indeed, its coloristic richness, bold illusionism, and compositional power characterize it as the culmination of monumental ecclesiastical ceiling painting in the Italian fresco tradition. As I have shown, however, the fresco is also a great deal more, for with it the Discalced Carmelites of Venice declared their dedication to the *Santa Casa* during a period that witnessed an unusual interest in the holy relic.[100] Tiepolo's painting shows the Translation of the Holy House, moreover, in terms of both Carmelite and Loretan devotions and symbols, and thus the ceiling contains a unique amalgam of images for the purpose of hailing the Virgin as *victrix* over evil. Finally, the work responded to doctrinal and ecclesiastical polemics raging within the Church at mid-century. Tiepolo's fresco weaves legend, religious devotions, and theological beliefs together in a glorious orchestration of imagery.

Fashion Institute of Technology

Selected Bibliography

Cirillo, Bernardino, *Trattato sopra l'historia della Santa Chiesa . . . ,* Venice, 1572.

D'Ancona, Mirella Levi, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance,* New York, 1957.

Padre Davide da Portogruaro, 1929, "Venezia e Loreto," *Rivista di Venezia.*

——, 1934, *L'Isola di S. Clemente,* Venice.

Ferrari, Luigi, *I carmelitani scalzi a Venezia,* Venice, 1882.

Fogolari, Gino, "Il bozzetto del Tiepolo per il Trasporto della Santa Casa," *Bollettino d'arte,* XXIV, 1931.

Grimaldi, Floriano, *Il libro lauretano,* Macerata, 1973.

Garrat, Guglielmo, *Loreto la nuova Nazaret,* Recanati, 1894.

Knox, George, "G. B. Tiepolo and the Ceiling of the Scalzi," *Burlington Magazine,* CX, 1968.

Malchiodi, Gaetano, *Le litanie lauretane e la S. Casa della Vergine,* Loreto, 1941.

Martorelli, Pietro Valerio, *Teatro storico della Santa Casa nazarena . . . ,* Rome, 1732–33.

Stricher, P. Julien, *Le Voeu de sang en faveur de l'Immaculée Conception. Histoire et bilan theologique d'une controverse,* Rome, 1959.

P. Valentino di S. Maria, O.C.D., "L'Immacolata e la Congregazione d'Italia dei Carmelitani Scalzi," in *Ephemerides Carmeliticae,* Rome, 1956.

Vogel, Johann Anton, *De Ecclesiis Recanatensi et Lauretana,* Recanati, 1859.

Weil-Garris, Kathleen, *The Santa Casa di Loreto. Problems in Cinquecento Sculpture,* 2 vols., New York, 1977.

[96] *Ibid.*, 140.

[97] For Italy's severe economic depression during the second quarter of the century, see Venturi, 12ff. It is interesting to consider modern parallels: in the last three years, the Italian Government, reacting to pressing economic ills, has abolished several religious holidays observed nationally, among them the Feast day of Saints Peter and Paul, and All Saints' Day.

[98] Venturi, 148.

[99] That the painting was directly associated for Venetians with the Feast day of the Translation of the Holy House is proved by the several entries made by Pietro Gradenigo in his diary of the 1760's; cf. *Notizie d'arte tratte dai notatori e dagli annali del N.H. Pietro Gradenigo,* ed. Lina Livan, Venice, 1942, 67, 148, and 167.

[100] The date December 10, 1744 saw the 450th anniversary of the arrival of the *Santa Casa* in Italy; its establishment on its present site would have been remembered a year later in 1745. Although no documentation seems to exist on this matter, we might question whether in fact Tiepolo's fresco was actually commissioned to celebrate this important date.

James Ward's Exhibition Pictures of 1838: Controversy in Paint*

Edward J. Nygren

Intercession (Fig. 1) and *Plenty*, a study for *The Waterloo Allegory* of 1821, were among the eight paintings sent by James Ward, R.A. (1769–1859), to the exhibition of 1837 at the Royal Academy.[1] These two works were severely criticized in the *New Sporting Magazine:*

> Mr. Ward can paint a bull's head admirably; but for the sake of others' feelings, if not from a regard to his own reputation, he ought not to have exhibited so horrible a thing as No. 446, which he intends for the head of Christ; and we are surprised that the council should have admitted it. If Mr. Ward be not a Unitarian in principle he is so in this painting, for he has deprived Christ of his divinity. No. 215. Plenty, by the same artist, shows how great is Mr. Ward's poverty in the treatment of such subjects. His riches are in horses and cattle, and he should not quit the farm, to appear a very poor artist in the paths of allegory.[2]

The thesis of this article is that this attack provoked Ward to exhibit at the Academy the following year a series of pictures that were designed both to refute the reviewer's judgments and to present some of the artist's own religious beliefs.

James Ward was generally considered to be the best animal painter of his generation. In addition to the animal pictures that made his reputation in the first decades of the nineteenth century, he also executed landscapes, portraits, genre scenes, and history paintings of mythological, literary, allegorical, and religious subjects. Like other artists schooled in eighteenth-century aesthetics, Ward considered history painting, particularly religious subjects with their morally uplifting themes, to be the highest form of artistic expression. Although he painted a few religious pictures prior to his retirement to Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, in 1829,[3] it was after this date that most were produced. Ward's concern about his approaching death, his belief in being one of the elect and in the coming millennium, and his sincere conviction of his God-appointed role as an artist undoubtedly contributed to his undertaking such subjects at this point in his life.

The first religious work Ward executed after retirement was *The Effect of Disobedience* (Fig. 2), exhibited at the Academy in 1833. The pose of the stricken prophet is based on Rubens's drawing *Pan Reclining*, which Benjamin West owned and incorporated in his own treatment of the same subject.[4] The biblical story, taken from I Kings 13:1–32, deals with a prophet who was killed by God's agent, the lion, for having followed the word of a false prophet rather than that of the Lord. Although Ward made a sketch for the painting about 1817,[5] the final picture was not completed until 1832.

*This article is an adaptation of material that appears in my dissertation, "The Art of James Ward, R.A. (1769–1859)," Yale University, 1976. I wish to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., which awarded me a Chester Dale Fellowship in 1970–71 to do research on Ward, and to the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London, for additional support during my stay in England.

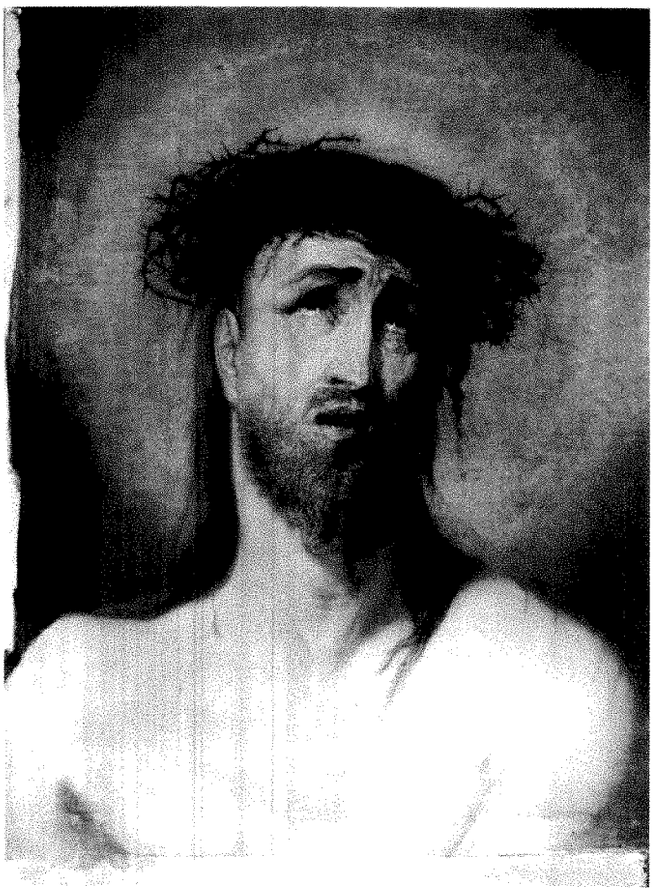
[1] *Plenty* and the final version of *The Waterloo Allegory* are lost; the finished study of 1815, however, is at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea. Of the other works exhibited in 1837, only *Oxford from Rose Hill* (G.J. Ward Collection, Chilton, Berkshire) has been located. *Dash*, the portrait of Ward's dog, is probably the picture illustrated in Julia Frankau, *William Ward, A.R.A., James Ward, R.A.*, London, 1904, pl. XVI.

[2] "Exhibition at the Royal Academy," the *New Sporting Magazine*, XII, 1837, 417–18. The reviewer had mixed feelings about Ward's other submissions.

[3] *The Infant Christ Embracing the Cross* (unlocated), shown at the Royal Academy in 1807, was Ward's first exhibited religious painting. *The Pool of Bethesda*, purchased by John Knight of Lea Castle, Worcestershire, was sent to the British Institution in 1818; only studies for this work are known. *Elijah Casting Off His Mantle—A Sketch* was in the private exhibition that Ward held at his house, 6 Newman Street, London, in the spring of 1822; a preliminary pencil study (*Elijah Casting Off His Mantle—First Thought*) is in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon, Upperville, Virginia. *The Waterloo Allegory*, although ostensibly commemorating Wellington's victory over Napoleon, contains many religious symbols and ideas. For a discussion of the last work, see: Nygren, "Ward," 135ff.

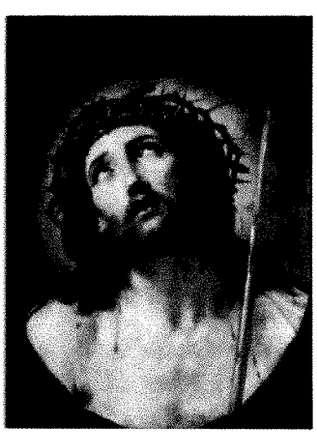
[4] The Rubens drawing is now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington; it is illustrated in L. Burchard and R. A. d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings*, Brussels, 1963, II, pl. 161; West's treatment of 1793 (Julius Held Collection, Bennington, Vermont) is illustrated in *Selections from the Drawing Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Julius S. Held*, University Art Gallery, State University of New York at Binghamton, etc., 1970, Cat. No. 18. Although the pose of the prophet in Ward's painting is based on that in Rubens's drawing, his right leg is taken from the figure of Dionysus (then called Theseus) from the East Pediment of the Parthenon (British Museum); a drawing by Ward of the leg of this sculpture is in this author's collection. Furthermore, the way in which the hand grips the drapery seems to be derived from William Blake's illustration *The Death of the Strong Wicked Man* for Robert Blair's *The Grave* (1808); Ward was a subscriber to this book and an admirer of Blake's work in general.

[5] James Ward, "Diary," November 7, 1817, MS, Robert Werner Collection, Switzerland.



1 Ward, *Intercession*. London, H. Noel Whiting Collection (photo: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art)

3 Ward, *"Rapture" after Le Brun*. Chilton, Berkshire, G. J. Ward Collection (photo: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art)



4 Reni, *Head of Christ*. Paris, Louvre (photo: Service de Documentation Photographique)

2 Ward, *The Effect of Disobedience*. York, City Art Gallery

Circumstantial evidence suggests that Ward returned to the subject at this time because of the controversy over modern prophecy then raging around the dissenting minister Edward Irving and his followers. *The Effect of Disobedience* visually expresses a warning that Ward was to make three years later in a pamphlet entitled *New Trial of the Spirits* (1835) written in defense of Irving, who had died the previous year.[6] *New Trial* was a reply to two sermons preached by Henry Blunt in Chelsea in October of 1833, attacking the Scottish minister. Referring to Isaiah's people who loved to listen to false prophets, Ward warned England not to be blind to the extraordinary manifestations of the day.[7] In the biblical source for *Disobedience*, it was not the false prophet who suffered God's wrath but the man who had not heeded the Almighty's word. Ward's rebuttal of Blunt, if somewhat confused, was more than a defense of Irving, however. It was also a call for open-mindedness toward those professing divine inspiration. In it, Ward championed Fox and the Quakers, mystics like Jacob Boehme, and dissenters such as Bunyon and Wesley as well as Irving.

Although Ward did not hesitate to criticize Irving for his dogmatism, he nevertheless shared certain attitudes with him,[8] and defended his controversial doctrine concerning the humanity of Jesus. This doctrine and the outbreak of religious enthusiasm among Irving's followers, as manifested in the "gift of tongues" and prophecies first recorded early in 1831, were major factors in the preacher's expulsion from the Church of Scotland in 1833. Ward's position, and incidentally that

[6] It has been said that Ward was a member of Irving's church, but in *New Trial of the Spirits*, London, 1835, 43, he categorically denied this. In the appendix to the pamphlet (p. 46), however, he acknowledged having heard Irving frequently from 1822, when the minister came to London from Scotland, until his death in 1834, when the church occupied the former residence of Benjamin West in Newman Street, near Ward's house.

[7] Ward, *New Trial*, 25.

[8] *Ibid.*, 46. Among the attitudes they had in common were: conviction of an imminent Second Coming; belief in the possibility of modern prophecy and miracles; and revulsion against the teachings of Hume, Gibbon, and Paine.

of other apologists for Irving,[9] was that Christ by assuming the depraved nature of unredeemed man was subject thereby to temptation (although incapable of actually being tempted) and to the pains of suffering and death.

This doctrine of Christ's humanity would appear to underlie Ward's conception of the Savior in *Intercession* (Fig. 1), which portrays Christ at the moment when he made the first of his seven last utterances from the Cross. The expression of Jesus is a reworking of that in Le Brun's *Rapture*, the standard representation of religious ecstasy copied by Ward over fifty years earlier (Fig. 3), and the composition is indebted to Guido Reni's *Head of Christ* (Fig. 4).[10] *Intercession* differs from its model, however, in several important respects. Surrounded by an eerie, yellow-green halo, the face in its gauntness and angularity is more human and less idealized than Reni's rounder, classical head. The eyebrows and forehead contort with pain. The slumped shoulders and limp hair further emphasize the humanity of Christ. In contrast to Guido, Ward depicted Jesus not as ideally beautiful but as a suffering man. In *New Trial*, he had quoted one of Jesus' final utterances—"My God, why hast thou forsaken me"—as an expression of the mortal, human nature of Christ.[11] It was exactly this quality that the artist conveyed in his painting.

Ward's emphasis on the human rather than divine nature of Jesus elicited the criticism in the *New Sporting Magazine* quoted above. The reviewer realized that Ward was making a theological statement; the writer's mistake was in associating it with Unitarianism (a religion whose tenets the artist deplored as a Christian and a staunch believer in the Trinity) rather than with the current controversy over Christ's human nature. The critic's misreading of *Intercession* and his biting comment on Ward's inability to handle allegory served as the catalyst for the paintings that the artist sent to the Academy the following year.

Tickling the Ear (Fig. 5), the first picture to be discussed here, was recognized by Ward's contemporaries as an attack on the reviewer of the *New Sporting Magazine*. Ward explained the picture in his catalogue note by four lines supposedly from a poem called "The Bull Fight" by "Badgerit Baitum":

> He can paint a bull's head, a pig, or a donkey,
> On unity's tripod he might twist a monkey.
> How natural! a cockchafer spinning, or cricket,
> Would meet the full sense of a sense-able critic.

The painting, probably because of the verse description which focused attention on the satiric thrust of the work, reportedly so offended the Academy that its withdrawal was sought.[12]

The critic, however, was amused rather than annoyed by the work. He found it not only a credit to Ward's talents but a proof of his ability to paint an allegorical subject. The reviewer identified himself as the monkey and Ward as the bull, whose anger was aroused by the simian's tickling his ear with "peacock-feather" praise of his abilities as an animal painter.[13] The bulging bloodshot eye and close-up view of the irritated and cornered bull convey the animal's pent-up fury. These elements support the reviewer's interpretation, but other aspects of the picture suggest the work had additional levels of meaning.

Ward, in the catalogue of the private exhibition he held at Newman Street in 1841, claimed that the picture should be considered "a playful exercise." He complained that his "peaceful cottage" of Roundcroft had been broken in upon by the criticism of his head of Christ sent to him in a letter. "It will appear," he wrote, "that an artist has not only the difficulties of the art to conquer—with prejudice, ignorance, and heavy expenses,—but he is to be interrupted in the quiet pursuit of his studies, by abuse, as his reward."[14] The poem and explanation, although expressing his resentment at the critic's advice to limit himself to animal subjects, do not reveal the full intent of *Tickling the Ear*.

The tradition of using a monkey or ape to satirize man's actions is an ancient one. *Singeries* had enjoyed widespread popularity during the eighteenth century, in England and on the Continent. In the 1820's and 1830's under Edwin Landseer and others, there was a

[9] *Ibid.*, 16. For other contemporary views, see, for example: J. J. M., *An Address to All Christians*, London, 1832, 5; and [William Tarblet], *Edward Irving and the Catholic Apostolic Church by One of Its Members*, London and Liverpool, 1856, 2–5.

[10] Ward would have had ample opportunity to see one or more versions of Guido's *Head of Christ* or *Ecce Homo*, as it is sometimes called; Benjamin West owned one, and another was exhibited at the British Institution in 1816. Ward may even have seen the version in the Louvre when he was in Paris in the fall of 1825. The subject was also engraved. The asceticism of Christ generally recalls that in the portrayal of the Savior in Northern European paintings. Although Ward could well have known such works, no definite connection with any specific source can be made at this time.

[11] Ward, *New Trial*, 16.

[12] C. Reginald Grundy, *James Ward, R. A.*, London, 1909, 40, Cat. No. 156. I have been unable to document Grundy's statement. The poem is easily understood; "unity's tripod," however, probably is a swipe at the reviewer for his comment on Ward's "Unitarianism." The poem in a slightly edited version appeared in the catalogue of Ward's private exhibition at his house (6 Newman Street) in 1841; see: [James Ward] *Description of Ward's Gallery of Paintings*, [London], 1841, 28, Cat. No. 64. Although Ward wrote poetry before the 1830's, the first instance of his using his own verse as a text for an exhibited work occurred in 1836 with *Numps Returning from Market* (unlocated). Ward was only one of many artists at the time who wrote poetry; others included: Thomas Lawrence, John Linnell, Samuel Palmer, Martin Archer Shee, J. M. W. Turner, and Richard Westall, not to mention William Blake.

[13] "Exhibition at the Royal Academy," *New Sporting Magazine*, XIV, 1838, 426–27.

[14] Ward, *Description*, 28, Cat. No. 64.

5 Ward, *Tickling the Ear.* England, J. Bulmer Collection (photo: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art)

revival of this genre in Britain. Ward was undoubtedly aware of this tradition and could well have known, in particular, Hogarth's use of a monkey to ridicule connoisseurs in a design for the catalogue of 1761 of the Society of Artists. As for the bull, ever since the publication of John Arbuthnot's *The History of John Bull* in 1712, that animal had been a symbol for the English public. Ward himself had sarcastically referred to it as such in a letter some years before.[15] Thus, although there is little doubt that the monkey, malevolent and vicious in its appearance, represented the critic, the bull probably stood for the general public at the same time that it demonstrated Ward's ability to paint the bull's head as the reviewer had specifically mentioned.

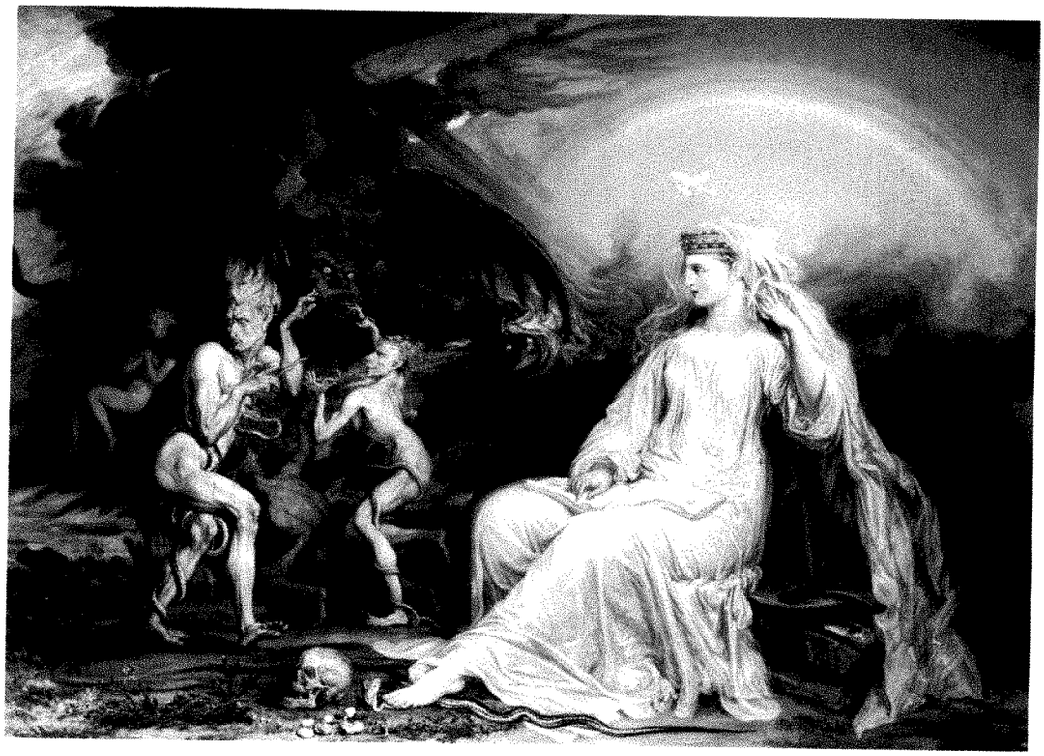
Led by the nose with a serpent-headed stick (no doubt symbolizing the insidious power the critic wields), "John Bull," portrayed amid the ruins of a Gothic abbey, is "tickled" by the peacock feather (perhaps representing the vainglorious and misinformed criticism of the reviewer). In *New Trial,* Ward bemoaned the decay of Britain's ancient religious edifices created for the service of God and pointed to their use as stables, cow houses, and pig sties as indicative of the present debased state of the Church.[16] By placing his antagonists in such a setting in *Tickling the Ear,* the artist was surely making a comment on this situation. It would seem, then, that Ward was attacking the critic not only for the slur on his artistic capabilities but also for misleading the public on a theological question and distracting it from what was, in his view, Britain's deplorable religious condition.

The meaning of *Tickling the Ear* is made even clearer when the picture is seen in the context of the seven other works Ward exhibited that year. Of these, *Ignorance, Envy, and Jealousy filling the throat and widening the mouth of Calumny; endeavouring to bear down Truth, as an unshaken Pyramid founded on a Rock* (Fig. 6) was another assault on the critic of *Intercession* and it also expressed many of the ideas found in *New Trial.* Once thought to depict Miranda and Caliban from *The Tempest,*[17] this painting can be positively identified as *Ignorance, Envy, and Jealousy* on the basis of a sketch of the figure of Envy (Robert Werner Collection, Switzerland) and by a comparison of its iconography with the descriptive verse published in the Royal Academy exhibition catalogue. The painting itself both illustrates and complements the verse, which, despite the title of the picture, only deals with the left side of the composition. Although the meaning of the poem, signed "Molus Burrowdell" and called "The Den," is obscure, its enumeration of

[15] Letter from James Ward to John Thomas Smith, September 29, 1822, Print Room, British Museum, 167.a.41.

[16] Ward, *New Trial,* 23. It should be noted that Ward occasionally painted cattle amid ruins without symbolical overtones; however, known examples date before publication of *New Trial.*

[17] W. Moelwyn Merchant, *Shakespeare and the Artist,* London, 1959, 87.



6 Ward, *Ignorance, Envy, and Jealousy. . . .* Stratford-upon-Avon, reprod. by permission of the Governors of the Royal Shakespeare Theatre (photo: V. Siviter Smith)

grotesqueries creates an obscene and horrific image.[18]

The critic, whom Ward had satirized with *Tickling the Ear,* laughingly dismissed *Ignorance* and its accompanying verse as a visualization of an apocryphal metaphysical query dealing with fire-eating monsters. Although his low opinion of this and the other works Ward exhibited that year may to some extent be justified (they are not all artistic successes), the critic nevertheless failed to grasp Ward's theological point or to realize that, like *Tickling the Ear, Ignorance,* too, was directed at him. On the most obvious level, the artist was saying that religious truth will withstand the onslaught of ignorant and envious people such as the critic; however, the imagery is very complex and requires detailed analysis if the painting's full meaning is to be ascertained.

Ward's thematic debt to Apelles' famous allegorical painting of Calumny described by Alberti and reconstructed by Botticelli is clear, but he may have chosen the subject because of the well-known story concerning Federico Zuccaro's execution of a picture of Calumny to ridicule his critics.[19] With the exception of Calumny and Truth, Ward's figures are taken from the standard emblematic literature—Ripa's *Iconologia* and Alciati's *Emblemata:* Envy is a woman, her head crawling with snakes, a viper to her heart; Ignorance, a blindfolded nude man; and Jealousy, a nude with a snake to her breast. Calumny, also a woman according to Ripa, was described by Alberti and painted by Botticelli as a fe-

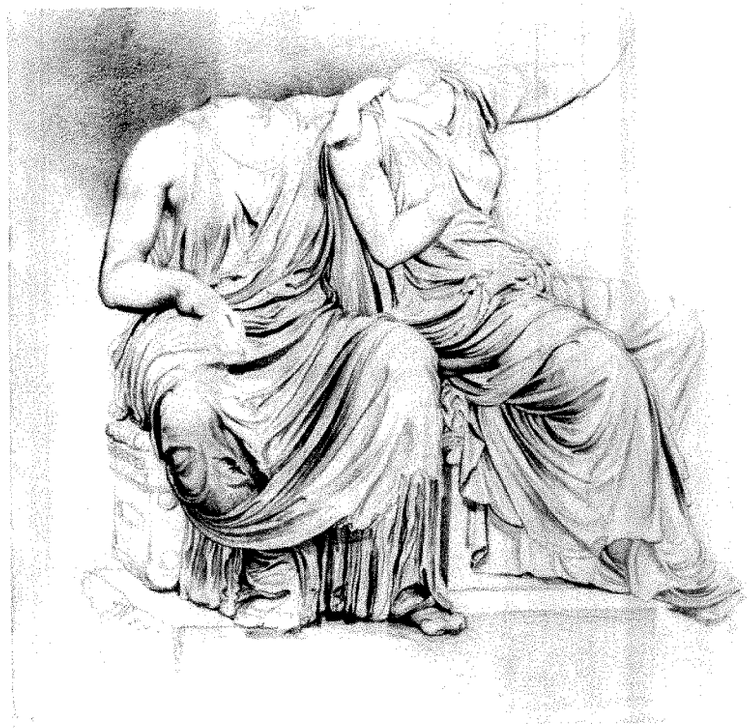
[18] The following appeared in the catalogue of the exhibition of 1838 at the Royal Academy:

With flaming brow, his eye ascant, hollow sounds
Forced through the fangs of blue-lip'd jealousy,
Full thus the monster urged:—
"Wider still, and wider deep-mouth'd cavern
Ope thy ponderous jaws; join, as
In the charnel-house, to nurture sin!
Blast the fair forms of nature;
Puff fungi poison, with deadly nightshade,
Thistle, hemlock, wolf's-bane, and adder's tongue,
Spawn in darkness, night orgie distillations;
Cur-cast, indigest, surcharged with folly;
Breathe serpents wrapped in smoke.
Our offspring,—
Leave them not for us alone to maturate
Upon the black blood curdling
Foul obstructed eddies round our hearts
Swol'n with gall!"
—*Vide The Den, by Molus Burrowdell*

The poem, with minor changes, is reproduced in the catalogue of the exhibition of 1841; see: Ward, *Description,* 32, Cat. No. 86. For some unknown reason, the critic of the *New Sporting Magazine* gave the author as "Mohis Burrowhill" as did Algernon Graves in *The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from Its Foundation in 1769 to 1904,* London, 1906, VIII, 147, Cat. No. 281. Graves also recorded that the poem was called "The Den."

[19] In his allegory, Zuccaro portrayed with asses' ears those who had criticized one of his altarpieces. Ward's complaint about an artist's difficulties, quoted above, is close to Zuccaro's reported response. I am indebted to David Cast for suggesting the possible connection between Ward and Zuccaro. The Zuccaro story appeared in Michael Bryan's *A Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers,* London, 1816, II, 638, to name just one possible place where Ward, who was a close friend of Bryan, could have read about this episode. Although Zuccaro's painting was engraved, it is less certain that Ward would have known the print; moreover, Ward's composition is not derived from the Italian's work.

7 Anon., *Truthe, The Daughter of Tyme*, from William Marshall, *A Goodly Prymer. . . ,* 1535. London, British Library



8 Ward, *Two Goddesses from the Parthenon.* New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

male with a torch in one hand and dragging a figure by the hair with the other. These attributes are incorporated in Ward's representation. His conception of Calumny, however, as a bat-like monster with a serpent's tail and horns (he also used it in *The Waterloo Allegory*) is unusual. Reminiscent of the creature in Blake's *The Great Red Dragon and the Woman Clothed in the Sun*, a work Ward could have seen, this satanic image of Calumny may be derived from the figure of Hypocrisy in a woodcut depicting Truth as the daughter of Time in William Marshall's *A Goodly Prymer in Englishe . . .* of 1535 (Fig. 7), although there is no documentary evidence that the artist knew the book.[20]

Ward's portrayal of Truth as a maiden clothed in white, although at variance with the Renaissance and Baroque use of a nude woman, corresponds to the personification of this quality in John Bell's *New Pantheon* (1790) and in Jacob Boehme's *The Way to Christ*, a work of prime importance in understanding the meaning of *Ignorance*.[21] In this figure, the artist was probably also equating moral with physical beauty, for he chose as his model the goddesses from the pediment of the Parthenon (Fig. 8), sculptures then held in very high esteem.[22] The connection of truth or goodness with beauty goes back to antiquity, but the association had been repeatedly made throughout the eighteenth century, starting with Lord Shaftesbury.[23] Mark Akenside, for example, wrote in his popular *Pleasures of Imagination*

[20] The Blake drawing is in the Rosenwald Collection, National Gallery of Art (Washington). The woodcut appears on the verso of the title page of Marshall's book (British Library). For a discussion of the development since the Renaissance of the image of Truth as the daughter of Time, see: Fritz Saxl, "Veritas Filia Temporis," *Philosophy and History: Essays Presented to Ernst Cassirer*, ed. Raymond Klibansky and H. J. Paton, Oxford, 1936, 197ff.; also, Donald Gordon, "'Veritas Filia Temporis' Hadrianus Junius and Geoffrey Whitney," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, III, 1939–40, 228ff.

[21] John Bell, *Bell's New Pantheon; or, Historical Dictionary of the Gods*, London, 1790, II, 298. Jacob Boehme, *The Way to Christ*, trans. John Joseph Stoudt, New York and London, 1947, 33. *The Way to Christ* is perhaps Boehme's best-known work; its relevance to Ward's painting will be taken up below.

[22] Ward made a number of drawings after the Elgin Marbles. See: Nygren, "Ward," 58ff. An article exploring his debt to these works is in preparation by the author.

[23] For a discussion of Shaftesbury's influential position on this issue and Burke's rejection of it, see: James T. Boulton's "Introduction" to Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, London and Notre Dame, Ind., 1968, lxiii–lxvii.

(1744):

Thus was beauty sent from heav'n,
The lovely ministress of truth and good
In this dark world: for truth and good are one,
And beauty dwells in them, and they in her,
With like participation.[24]

Seated in a landscape with a skull and book, her foot on a serpent, Truth bears an iconographic kinship to Rubens's *Penitent Magdalene*.[25] About this time Ward painted two pictures of the Magdalene, neither of which has been located: one version was sold at Phillips's on April 4, 1835 (lot 136); and the other was shown at a private exhibition in the artist's house in 1841. The catalogue of that exhibition contains a lengthy description of the picture, which begins: "All nature, since the Fall, is called to battle between two principles—good and evil."[26] From this text, it would seem that similar religious attitudes lay behind *Ignorance*, for its composition is sharply divided between the forces of good on the right and those of evil on the left. Truth also incorporates attributes of the Virgin Mary, who is frequently depicted crushing the serpent and often portrayed in white robes and blue cloak with a dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit, hovering overhead.

The figure's triangular form expresses Ward's concept of Truth as an "unshaken Pyramid"; and like the Church, she is "founded on a rock."[27] The symbols of the Trinity associated with her—dove, rainbow (emblem of God the Father), and book (the word of God made manifest through Christ)—may have been introduced by the artist to refute the critic's accusation of Unitarianism. In *New Trial*, Ward identified the dove as the spirit of the Holy Ghost; the rock, as "the plain and powerful word of God"; the serpent, as the Devil.[28] All of these are, of course, traditional in Christian iconography, as are the noxious plants and animals and the skull in the foreground as representations of the dangers and ills awaiting fallen man.

To understand *Ignorance* fully, it is necessary to consider the picture in the light of the tenets of Jacob Boehme (1575–1624), for both its composition and iconography reflect the German mystic's ideas. Ward judged Boehme's writing to be "one of the most important publications the world was ever favored with. . . ."[29] The pronounced separation between the right and left sides of the painting is expressive of Boehme's "visible World" which "contains both heaven and hell within itself."[30] The German postulated "an eternal *contrarium* between darkness and light" (i.e., evil and good, Hell and Heaven). In his view, the two together constituted but one essence and each was essential to the other, for without darkness, light could not be experienced and vice versa.[31] It is clear from paintings such as *Ignorance* and from Ward's writings that he shared this belief. Neither was he alone, for Blake was also influenced by Boehme and, in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, he argued that the contraries were basic to human existence.

Ward's four evils (Jealousy, Envy, Ignorance, and Calumny) correspond closely if not exactly to Boehme's four properties of Hell as found in the godless soul (arrogance, covetousness, envy, and wrath).[32] Components of man's worldly self, these qualities are grouped together in darkness and contrasted with Truth seated in the protective light of God, which the darkness can never comprehend or reach. Fire symbolized for Boehme the egocentric fallen man whereas light stood for divine love.[33] Ward has appropriately silhouetted the elements of darkness against the fires of Hell and in Calumny's hand has placed a torch, the flames of which are blown back on itself, away from Truth and light into "a dark cloud of awful mysterious deadness of understanding," to use the artist's phrase from *New Trial*.[34]

The fire does not endanger Truth, a visualization of Boehme's Sophia, who "appears before the soul in her virginal finery" as a bride before her bridegroom,

[24] Mark Akenside, *The Pleasures of Imagination*, London, 1744, I, 372–76.

[25] A painting of this subject is illustrated in: Adolf Rosenberg, *The Work of Rubens*, New York, 1921, pl. 393. When this work was sold from the William A. Clark Collection, American Art Association, January 11, 1926 (lot 52), it was said to be of the "school" of Rubens; there is a 17th-century engraving of the original, however, which agrees in details and composition with the work illustrated in Rosenberg. It should be noted that artists other than Rubens treated the subject in a similar way.

[26] Ward, *Description*, 33, Cat. No. 93 as *The Magdalene*.

[27] In the copy of *New Trial* in the Robert Warner Collection, Switzerland, the poem "Perfection," which describes a maiden "beauteous and bright," is annotated by Ward, "The Church is ever designated as a Female" (p. 49).

[28] Ward, *New Trial*, 4, 36, 42.

[29] *Ibid.*, 18. Ward is not known to have read German; however, a four-volume English edition of Boehme (called Behmen in England), translated by William Law, was published between 1764 and 1781 and a memoir appeared in 1780. Although *The Way to Christ* takes up all of the ideas discussed in this paper, similar concepts, often in a more expanded form, can be found in other works by Boehme.

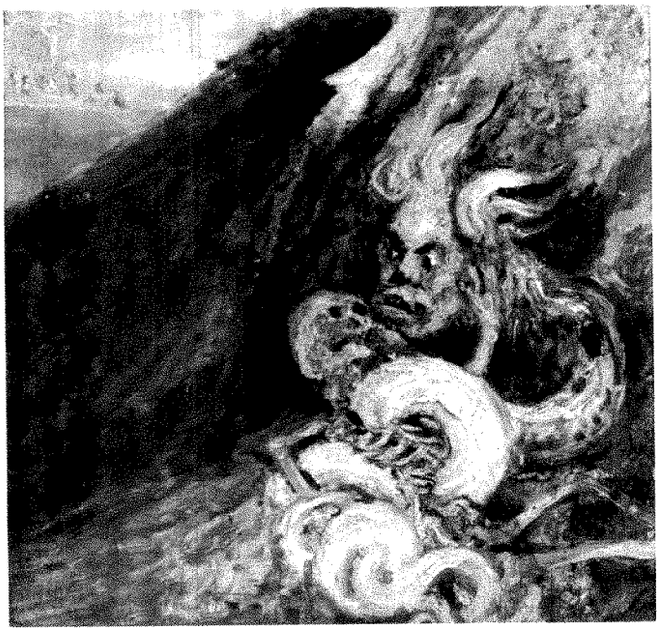
[30] Boehme, *Way*, 128.

[31] *Ibid.*, 63, 81, 132.

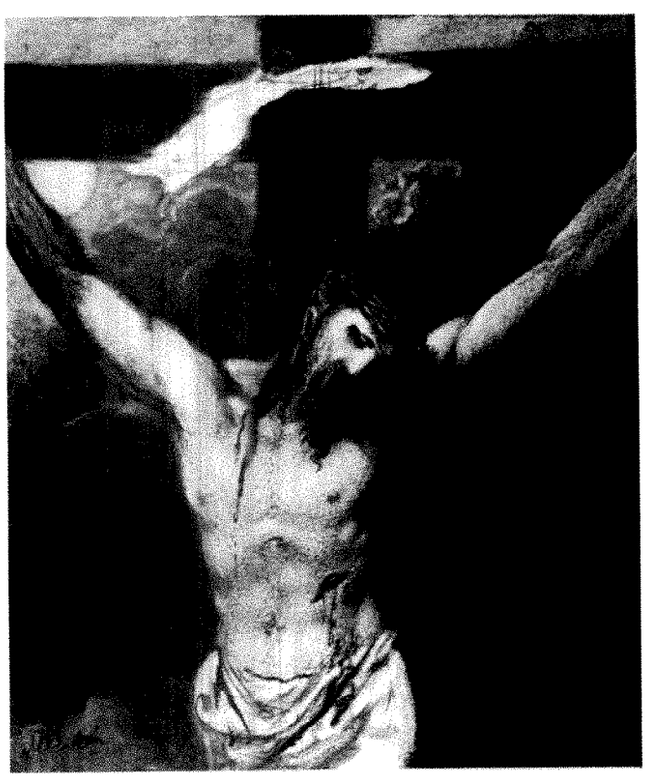
[32] *Ibid.*, 4, 42–43, 126, 150. Other terms are sometimes used, such as pride for arrogance, and greed or avarice for covetousness.

[33] *Ibid.*, 50–51, 82. Boehme used fire and light in a variety of ways, but generally in his writings fire is associated with the Devil or the powers of darkness which dominate the selfish, materialistic soul, while light is connected with God and man's godly nature.

[34] Ward, *New Trial*, 8.



9 Ward, *The Last Struggle of Sin, Death, and Hell* (?). London, J. Peter Cochrane Collection (photo: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art)



10 Ward, *The Triumph over Sin, Death, and Hell* (?). Manchester, University of Manchester, Whitworth Art Gallery (photo: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art)

"tincturing the soul's dark fire with her Love-rays."[35] Bathed in light and wearing a "crown out of paradise,"[36] she sits calmly on the rock of God's word beneath his emblem, the rainbow. With a gentle but assured glance and a demure gesture, she greets the Fire-soul and directs attention to the book on her lap as if exhorting him to read the Bible and repent.[37]

Ignorance, then, was designed not only to demonstrate the artist's ability to paint religious or allegorical subjects but to focus attention on the critic's theological misconceptions and to refute his calumnious remarks concerning Ward's Christianity. Moreover, the painting presented Ward's belief in the perpetual state of conflict between the forces of good and evil, which he may well have learned from Boehme, and warned the British people—the "John Bull" of *Tickling the Ear*—to reject their self-centered natures and embrace truth and light as the way to salvation.

Although Figure 9 cannot be positively identified as an oil study for *The Last Struggle of Sin, Death, and Hell*, the iconography and composition support such a conclusion; and the style suggests a date in the 1830's.[38] There can be no question that the human-headed serpent, skeleton, and flames in the foreground represent Sin, Death, and Hell. Furthermore, the quotations in the Royal Academy catalogue—"I am the light of the world" (John 8:12); and, "But this is your hour, and the powers of darkness" (Luke 12:53)—seem to apply to this work in which the saving light of Christ on the Cross draws attention away from the elements of darkness. The subject could have been inspired by Rubens's *Triumph of Christ over Sin and Death*, although the composition is not derived from that work.[39] The representations of Sin and Death are traditional; and although

[35] Boehme, *Way*, 33. Boehme elaborated on this figure in *The Three Principles of the Divine Essence*, trans. John Sparrow, London, 1910, 431ff., 601ff., equating her with Mary.

[36] Boehme, *Way*, 37.

[37] *Ibid.*, 95.

[38] On April 4, 1835, Ward sold a group of works including: *The Last Effort of Sin, Death, and Hell* (lot 131) and *The Triumph over Sin, Death, and Hell* (lot 132). The pictures exhibited at the Academy in 1838 could be these works if they were bought in at the auction or Ward could have executed other versions. Paintings with identical titles (probably the ones exhibited in 1838) were shown at Newman Street in 1841; see: Ward, *Description*, 33, Cat. Nos. 91 and 92. At the Academy in 1851 he exhibited *The Double Triumph: Sin, Death, and Hell Undermining the Rock of Ages*. This sketch could be a study for that later work, but all of his treatments may have been based on one (possibly this) preliminary oil. The sketchiness of the work makes dating difficult; it is no earlier than 1830, however, and it compares favorably with other works from the 1830's, although a later date cannot be ruled out.

[39] Rubens's sketch (Metropolitan Museum of Art) was in England at the time this work was executed and could have been known by Ward; moreover, there is an engraving after Rubens's painting of the subject.

Ward would undoubtedly have been aware of their use in contemporary British art, [40] his overall conception appears to be unique.

The Triumph over Sin, Death, and Hell, for which Figure 10 is probably a study, [41] was explained in the Academy's catalogue by quotation of Christ's last words: "It is finished!" (John 19:30). From the sagging body and bowed head, it is clear that Ward has here depicted the death of Jesus immediately following his final utterance. Although the Crucifixion is a common subject and Ward's interpretation as seen in this sketch appears to have been a traditional one, nevertheless the composition and theme are significant in light of the exhibition of 1838. This close-up view of Christ focuses on his human nature, which Ward had treated in *Intercession* and for which he was criticized. *Intercession* depicted the moment of the first of the Savior's seven exclamations during his Crucifixion; *The Triumph,* the last. By selecting as his subject the moment after Jesus died, the artist underscored the Redeemer's mortality.

The Last Struggle and *The Triumph* were undoubtedly conceived as companion-pieces.[42] The titles suggest this. In addition, there is a dramatic movement from the distant view of the Crucifixion in Figure 9 to the close-up in Figure 10, and a theological shift from the evils associated with fallen man to his "triumph" over the consequences of Original Sin through Christ's death. These two works also reflect the teachings of Jacob Boehme. Like *Ignorance, The Last Struggle* is sharply divided into areas of light and dark, good and evil. Moreover, Boehme in *The Way to Christ* had asked the reader to enter into Jesus' Passion in order to achieve salvation:

> If once each hour you can leap out of all creatures, beyond all sensual thought, into the pure Mercy of God and into the Suffering of Our Lord Jesus Christ, surrendering yourself therein, then shall you receive the power to rule over sin, death, the Devil and the world.[43]

When taken in sequence, these two works encourage the viewer to do exactly what Boehme proposed. Because of the pronounced division between the darkness in the foreground of *The Last Struggle* and the light in the distance, the viewer leaps beyond "all sensual thought" as represented by sin, death, and Hell into the "pure Mercy of God and into the Suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ"; and in *The Triumph,* without any distracting outside elements, he surrenders himself to the contemplation of Christ on the Cross.

These works may also have had a personal meaning for Ward. "You must learn to love the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ, as well as the hateful scorn of the world," Boehme wrote.[44] Perhaps the artist considered his treatment by the critic of *Intercession* as a case in point.

Roundcroft Cottage (Fig. 11), which shows the "peaceful cottage" where Ward was "broken in upon by criticism," appears to be merely a picture of his residence, in which he has introduced figures representing himself, his wife Charlotte, and their manservant. The painting was accompanied in the catalogue, however, by lines from Zechariah (14:6, 7): "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the light shall not be clear nor dark, nor day, nor night: but it shall come to pass that at evening-time it shall be light." The full biblical passage deals with the Second Advent and Last Judgment and argues that only some will be saved. The reference to light is particularly significant in regard to Ward's program for his pictures for the 1838 exhibition. At the end of the world, the separation between light and darkness, which had marked man's existence since the Fall and which Ward treated in *Ignorance* and *The Last Struggle,* would be replaced by a unity of light, for those who are the children of God will walk in the light. While warning viewers to heed God's word, Ward—who appears with his wife and servant in a landscape suggestive of Boehme's "Paradisaical rose-garden"[45]—also seems to be advising them to prepare for the end by returning to a simple life, to a life of meekness and joyousness, filled with the light and love of God. While emphasizing the idyllic quality of the setting, the Claudian composition and pervading golden tonality also reinforce the picture's religious message: Lorrain was considered by Ward's contemporaries to be the

[40] A number of British artists including Hogarth, Barry, Fuseli, and Blake used similar images in their treatment of the Miltonic subject Satan, Sin, and Death; see: David Bindman, "Hogarth's 'Satan, Sin and Death' and Its Influence," *Burlington Magazine,* CXII, 1970, 153–58; and, Anthony Blunt, *The Art of William Blake,* New York, 1949, pls. 10 a-c, 11a.

[41] This work is inscribed on the back in Ward's hand: "2d thought." A slightly larger but less finished watercolor of this subject (private collection, England) may be the artist's first conception.

[42] When these two paintings (or versions of them) were shown at Newman Street in 1841, they were apparently hung next to each other; see: Ward, *Description,* 33, Cat. Nos. 91 and 92. The pictures of the same titles sold at Phillips's in 1835 were also listed consecutively. In the catalogue for both the sale and the exhibition of 1841, *Last Struggle* is called *Last Effort* and precedes *Triumph.* See note 38 above for a discussion of the question of other versions. That the subject was identical is assured by the biblical quotations.

[43] Boehme, *Way,* 119. In other translations of this passage, "hell" is used instead of "devil" and "devil" instead of "sin"; see, for example, William Law's version (which would have been known to Ward) included in Jacob Boehme, *The Signature of All Things with Other Writings,* ed. Ernest Rhys, London and New York, 1912, 233. Ward used the phrase "Sin, Death, and Hell" in *New Trial* (p. 24).

[44] Boehme, *Way,* 119.

[45] *Ibid.,* 32.

painter of Paradise and his landscapes were viewed as "anticipated representations of a Millennium."[46]

With its dark and barren landscape, *The Weird Sisters* (Fig. 12) illustrates both a scene from *Macbeth* and provides a compositional and theological contrast to the heavenly vision of *Roundcroft*. This Shakesperean subject was popular among British artists, and Ward's treatment is traditional except for the many monsters and Bosch-like flying fish.[47] The image of the witch riding on a skeleton is probably taken from Jusepe de Ribera's *La Carcasse: A Witch Being Drawn to the Sabbath on the Skeleton of a Monster* (Wellington Museum).[48] What is unusual about this picture is not its imagery, however, but its quoted source. The scene most frequently portrayed is Macbeth's first encounter with the witches in the presence of Banquo (I, 3). Ward has seemingly portrayed that scene, for Banquo presumably is the figure next to Macbeth. Yet, the artist gave as his text another scene later in the play:

And that, distilled by magic sleights
Shall raise such artificial spirits
As by the strength of their illusion shall
Draw him on to his confusion. (III, 5)

The regicide does not appear in this scene, although he is mentioned. Moreover, by then Banquo had been killed on Macbeth's orders. It would appear that the text for this picture, like that for *Roundcroft Cottage*, was chosen to make a point that is not necessarily evident in the painting. Could Ward conceivably have meant that the critic of *Intercession* confounded the public (or himself) by the strength of his illusion? Whatever personal symbolism the picture may have had for the artist, Macbeth is a prime example of Boehme's concept of selfhood in which covetousness, envy, pride, and wrath dominate. Here, the only light comes from the fire, the German mystic's symbol for man's selfish nature; the forces of darkness reign supreme.

Fair Show (Fig. 13) and *Fair Crop* (unlocated) are ostensibly genre scenes, and yet the poems in the exhibition catalogue hint at some other meaning.[49] Both are signed "Rusticus." Ward's use of that name as a *nom de plume* in verse glorifying the pastoral existence may have been intended as more than a reference to his own way of life. "Rusticus" is the name of one of the main characters in *The Way to Divine Knowledge*, written by William Law (1686–1761) to help people understand Boehme. A simple but sensitive man, Rusticus tells a tale of John the Shepherd who would listen in the winter evenings to his wife's reading from the Bible or from Boehme. She would pause after a particular phrase, such as "Blessed are the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," so that his "heart might have time to be affected."[50] This practice, which paralleled Ward's life at Roundcroft with his wife and servant Peg, was commemorated in a painting from this period: a man seated at a table in a cottage at night listens to a woman reading from the Bible.[51]

Both *Fair Show* and *Fair Crop* may have allegorical overtones. The latter, for example, could be referring to Ward's getting his crop (paintings) ready for market (exhibition). For *Fair Show*,[52] the part of the poem printed in the Academy's catalogue read:

Some trim, young, and dandy rich citizen wife,
All rouged and bedezened quite up to the Life,
May choose amid all the choice stock we shall take,
Some one thing or other to roast, boil, or bake.
We must get off soon, market-folks are so foss,
For my favourite seat—I love the Old Cross:
They may laugh me out of it, say it's all sham:
I'll rest on the *lion*, and cherish the *lamb*.

Whatever our customers say—aye or no—
For the credit of Bull Farm let's make a fair show.

[46] "Fine Arts: British Institution Gallery," *New Monthly Magazine*, III, 2nd ser., 1821, 446.

[47] Reynolds, West, Fuseli, Maclise, and Martin were among the many British artists who treated the theme. Alexander Runciman's conception with its profusion of phantoms (National Gallery of Scotland) is perhaps the closest to Ward's.

[48] The horned beast as well as the gesture of the central witch may be derived from Salvator Rosa's *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, which Ward could have seen at the Louvre or have known through engravings.

[49] Longer versions of the poems appeared in the catalogue of the exhibition of 1841; see: Ward, *Description*, 28–30, Cat. Nos. 68 and 69.

[50] William Law, *The Way to Divine Knowledge*, London, 1752, 87.

[51] The picture (J. Peter Cochrane Collection, London) bears a label with an inscription by Ward: "I was a stranger/and ye took me in" (Matthew 25:35). The oil sketch is based on Ward's drawing (Prudence Summerhayes Collection, Southwold, Suffolk) of Samuel Fry of Tytherton, done in August, 1807; on the basis of style, however, the oil can be roughly dated 1835–1845. In a letter to Mrs. Thomas Garle, May 28, 1855 (Victoria and Albert Museum, 86.00.7), Ward described how he, Charlotte, and Peg sat in the evening reading and discussing Scripture, and mentioned that Peg, who had just died, viewed his having joined the Ward household as his salvation.

[52] The painting bears a later label, *Weldham Cross*, but from its iconography and date there can be no doubt that it is *Fair Show*.

11 Ward, *Roundcroft Cottage*. Chilton, Berkshire, G. J. Ward Collection (photo: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art)

12 Ward, *The Weird Sisters*. New York, formerly Bogart Gallery (photo: Sotheby Parke Bernet)

13 Ward, *Fair Show*, Tiverton, Devon, A. C. Shrubb Collection (photo: Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art)

There is no doubt that the picture generally illustrates this poem, but the verse seems to contain allusions to Ward's art as well. "Bull Farm" could be a reference to the farm the critic told him not to quit, and to his ability as an animal painter; and "I'll love the Old Cross" may express the artist's own preference for religious subjects. If so, the line—"They may laugh me out of it, say it's all sham"—alludes to the critic of *Intercession* and *Plenty* and to those who ridiculed Ward's earlier efforts in this vein.[53] Moreover, a religious note is struck by "I'll rest on the *lion*, and cherish the *lamb*," for Christ is frequently characterized as both in the Bible; and at the end of *New Trial*, Ward observed that Mr. Blunt, his opponent, had "done more to arouse the lion, than to cherish the lamb."[54]

Like Blunt, the critic of the *New Sporting Magazine* had stirred Ward by his comments. The impassioned artist, who was almost seventy, counterattacked with a visual and verbal rebuttal. The works Ward sent to the exhibition of 1838 were conceived both as a demonstration of his ability to handle a variety of subject matter—landscape, genre, animal paintings, history, and allegory—and as a sermon to his viewers. Despite their unevenness as works of art, these paintings not only provide an impressive display of his talents at an advanced age but, with their accompanying texts, also constitute a record of his singular mind and disputatious nature.

Corcoran Gallery of Art

[53] *The Pool of Bethesda* and *The Waterloo Allegory* (see note 3 above) were both severely criticized in the press. For accounts of this and Ward's reaction, see: Frankau, *Ward*, 44–51; Grundy, *Ward*, xiv; and G.E. Fussell, *James Ward, R.A.*, London, 1974, 123, 136. Also see: Nygren, "Ward," 145ff. For typical contemporary criticism, see: "British Institution," *New Monthly Magazine*, IX, 1818, 157; and, "Register of the Fine Arts," *Monthly Magazine*, LI, 1821, 466.

[54] Ward, *New Trial*, 44.

An Introduction to the Dating and Organization of Eugène Atget's Photographs*

Barbara L. Michaels

No major twentieth-century artist as greatly admired and as widely influential as the photographer Eugène Atget has been as little studied or understood. Since Atget's death in 1927, however, his photographs of Paris and its surroundings have gained increasing appreciation from photographers, critics, and the public.

Atget's rich and original imagery has provoked varied and sometimes contradictory responses from artists. For instance, Man Ray and the Surrealists found his photographs mysterious, bizarre, and psychologically evocative; for Walker Evans, Atget held a key to simplicity and directness. Berenice Abbott absorbed his sensitivity to both elegant historic buildings and charming unpretentious shop fronts into her own vision of New York City in the 1930's.

As an expatriate in Paris during the 1920's, Berenice Abbott had developed such profound admiration for Atget's photographs that, when he died, she enlisted Julien Levy's financial aid to help her purchase Atget's remaining work, which she feared would otherwise be lost or destroyed.[1] She cared for Atget's work until 1968, when the entire collection of Atget photographs, negatives, and albums was purchased by the Museum of Modern Art.[2]

Atget was, as far as we now know, an unsuccessful actor who inexplicably turned photographer in midlife, and as a photographer was passionately devoted to recording all that was "artistic" and "picturesque" in Paris and its surroundings.[3] His work has received remarkably little serious study[4] in part because its volume is so great (there are more than 4,500 different prints in the Abbott-Levy Collection), and in part because the bulk of it in the United States was not accessible for extensive study before it entered the Museum

*This article, a revised version of a talk given at the Society for Photographic Education Annual Meeting, New York, March, 1977, is based on curatorial work I did at the Museum of Modern Art between 1973 and 1976, cataloguing the Abbott-Levy Collection of photographs by Eugène Atget, as well as on research done since 1976. To John Szarkowski, Director of the Photography Department at the Museum, go my most devoted thanks for allowing me to immerse myself in Atget's work. My appreciation must be joined with that of many others who have enjoyed and who will enjoy the Atget Collection, for John Szarkowski's perception of the importance of making this unprecedented acquisition for the Museum, and for Shirley Burden's generosity in helping make the acquisition financially possible. Susan Kismaric is also to be thanked for her good-natured assistance during my many visits to the Museum's Photography Study Center.

[1] B. Abbott, *The World of Atget*, New York, 1964, viii–xi; J. Levy, *Memoir of an Art Gallery*, New York, 1977, 93; D. Travis, *Photographs from the Julien Levy Collection*, Chicago, 1976, 14, 92.

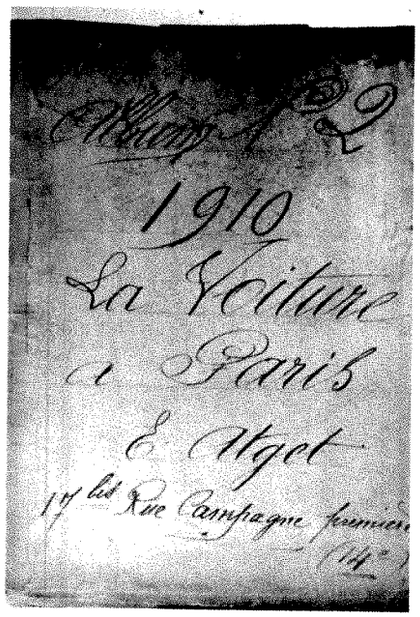
[2] The Abbott-Levy Collection contains those photographs and other materials which Miss Abbott purchased in joint ownership with Julien Levy after Atget's death, although some photographs from the original group were sold between 1928 and 1968. The collection includes over 1,300 glass negatives. As of August, 1977, 4,254 different prints were matted and accessioned. The balance of unmatted prints consists of the Atget study collection (different prints of poor quality, unsuitable for exhibition), and of duplicate prints. Also in the collection are:

1. A bound volume of Atget's photographs mounted on heavy board, with typeset captions, *L'Art dans le Vieux Paris*, described by Abbott, xxx, illustrated pl. 76; described by J. Szarkowski, "Atget's Trees," in *One Hundred Years of Photographic History: Essays in Honor of Beaumont Newhall*, ed. Van Deren Coke, Albuquerque, 1975, 162.
2. A handwritten notebook, stamped "Répertoire" on its black leatherette cover, containing names and addresses of customers and prospective customers, described by Abbott, xx, ill. pl. 75; described by Szarkowski, "Atget's Trees," 162.
3. About eighty-five paper albums, mentioned by Abbott, viii. These are visible on the desk in Atget's photograph of his workroom; Abbott, pl. 5. Szarkowski calls them "homemade scrapbooks"; I prefer to use Atget's own term, "Album," for these booklets.

[3] Abbott, xi. For Atget's conceptions of the "artistic" and the "picturesque," see below, pp. 462f.

[4] Existing monographs on Atget are picture books, accompanied by biographical or appreciative essays, or by excerpts from Marcel Proust's writings. The first four listed below draw on the Abbott-Levy Collection exclusively. No dates are given for any photographs in these; neither are Atget's titles consistently used: P. MacOrlan, *Atget Photographe de Paris*, Paris, 1930; C. Recht, *Atget Lichtbilder*, Leipzig, 1930. (Different texts by MacOrlan and Recht accompany the same plates. A new edition of *Atget Lichtbilder*, G. Forberg, Munich, 1975, is a much-altered version of the original; plates from French collections have been substituted for some in the first edition, and the sequence has been changed.) A. Trottenberg, *A Vision of Paris*, New York, 1963, with selections from M. Proust, *Remembrance of Things Past*; B. Abbott, *The World of Atget*, New York, 1964. The most recent monograph, J. Leroy, *Atget magicien du Vieux Paris*, Joinville-le-Pont, 1975, provides new information about Atget's life and a selection of unpublished photographs, chiefly from the Carnavalet Museum. Two photographs (out of seventy) are dated, and Atget's titles are used. But no attempt is made to study the style or organization of Atget's work.

Further bibliography may be found in J. Fraser, "Atget and the City," *Cambridge Quarterly*, Summer, 1968, 231–33, and in W. Johnson, "Eugène Atget: A Chronological Bibliography," *Exposure*, May, 1977, 13–15. For an original discussion of Atget's work in relation to architectural illustration and preservation of Old Paris, see M. S. Nesbit, "Atget's Book *"L'Art dans le Vieux Paris"*: Tradition and the Individual Talent," Master's thesis, Yale University, 1976.



1 Cover of Atget album *Album No. 2 1910 La Voiture à Paris* (all repros. courtesy of The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Abbott-Levy Collection, partial gift of Shirley C. Burden)

collection. Photographs were shown and published under the auspices of Berenice Abbott and Julien Levy, but no scholarly work was completed.

Problems involved in studying and dating the Abbott-Levy holdings were first outlined by John Szarkowski, whose exhibition of Atget photographs at the Museum of Modern Art in 1968–69 distilled the enormous collection to 118 beautiful, representative prints, and whose exhibition, "Atget's Trees" (1972), showed a segment of Atget's work in a density the public had not seen before. Drawing on his knowledge of the collection, Szarkowski pointed the way for further research in his article, "Atget's Trees," which articulates two issues basic to the study of Atget. First, Atget's numbering system is puzzling. His pictures are not numbered in a simple serial system, but in a confusing manner. In many cases, low-numbered photographs are dated later than high-numbered photographs, and in many cases numbers are duplicated.[5] The second issue is Atget's working method throughout his career. For instance, Atget returned to photograph trees after a substantial (but unspecified) passage of time. Szarkowski observes that "the insistent and repeated investigation of the same subject suggests that Atget's working philosophy was not merely intuitive and impulsive, but deliberate and disciplined. This impression is reinforced by the fact that he returned after a considerable passage of time to remake and refine essentially the same picture that he had made earlier."[6]

This article is an attempt to resolve the first problem by unraveling Atget's numbering system and by providing an introduction to the dating of his photographs; it approaches the second matter by showing the methodical and coherent plans that informed Atget's work throughout his career.

The chief source I have used to date Atget's photographs is the group of Atget's paper albums in the Abbott-Levy Collection. Atget used these albums to store photographs and to show them to customers. He made the album pages from what we would now call white construction paper; today the paper is wholly yellowed and brittle with age. Covers are usually of different paper, generally either a heavier, now-yellowed white stock, or thin reddish paper pasted over a heavier sheet. A typical example is shown in Figure 1.

The photographs were mounted in a typical nineteenth-century fashion: the corners of the prints were slipped into diagonal slits at the corners of the doubled pages; the photograph's corners remained protected and hidden between the "interpages" formed when a sheet of paper approximately 42" x 34½" was folded several times to make a book approximately 10½" high x 8⅝" wide. (There are slight variations in size among the albums.) Photographs could easily be added or removed, and though most of the prints had been removed from the albums by the time I began to work at the Museum, a few remaining examples showed that sometimes more than one copy of the same photograph was stored on a page.

Atget was thrifty, wasting not a sheet of paper. He reused albums in two ways: sometimes he refolded pages so that the clean, unused interpages became the new outer pages with new inscriptions; sometimes he simply erased old pencilled inscriptions and wrote new ones.

Covers, too, were revised and reused. Atget often pasted new covers over old ones, which I have called "undercovers." New covers might be made of new paper, or, more economically, from the clean side of Atget's bills for photographic plates or paper. Because Atget pasted down the new covers by their edges only, many covers can be separated from each other. I have found albums with as many as four undercovers. Thus, in most cases, a single album actually contains titles and pages of several albums, and it provides a great deal of information about Atget's organization of his late work: the interpages and undercovers record dates and numbers for Atget's earlier production.

Dating information in this article comes from the lists of titles, dates, and other information that I compiled for twenty-six albums, as well as from the covers of all eighty-five albums (and the titles of all separable undercovers). Atget was not consistent in titling his albums. Titles will be given here exactly as he wrote them, except for the correction of mispellings and addition of missing accents.

Some albums required patching before the titles and

[5] Szarkowski, "Atget's Trees," 163, 165.

[6] *Ibid.*, 164.

dates of photographs could be listed. Over the years, detached number and title corners had been inserted in albums, awaiting repair; other corners fell off as I turned the pages. Fortunately, most tears were distinctive enough to assure accurate matching.

From lists of the albums' numbers, titles, and dates, the pattern of Atget's work emerged; this pattern shows that, from the outset of his career, Atget did not photograph randomly or impulsively, as some have suggested, but was motivated by logical, continuing plans. The underlying organization and continuity of his work can be perceived through his division of photographs into four major series, each of which had its own numbering system, and each of which was compiled over many years. These series are:

1. *Vieux Paris*, numbered ca. 3000–6731 (1898–1927)
2. *Topographie du Vieux Paris*, numbered ca. 10–1700 (ca. 1906/07–1915)
3. *Environs*, numbered 6000–7157 (1901–ca. 1925)
4. *Botanical*, numbered ca. 1–1290 (ca. 1898–1920's)

Atget also conceived his photographs to show both "artistic" and "picturesque" aspects of Paris and its environs, as André Calmettes wrote,[7] and as evidence in Atget's letters and albums now proves. But there appears to be no correlation between Atget's artistic/picturesque conception and his numbering systems. That is, Atget compiled numbered categories that contained both "artistic" and "picturesque" photographs. The artistic/picturesque division is a broad and undoubtedly basic idea in Atget's work, which I will discuss while considering the clearly definable way in which Atget divided his work: the numbered categories.

Atget compiled the four major series listed above, as well as a number of smaller series of photographs.[8] Each of the major series contained at least a thousand photographs, and was collected for seven years at the least, twenty or more years at the most:

1. *Vieux Paris* (Nos. ca. 3000–6731)

This is Atget's most numerous group, compiled from the beginning to the end of his photographic career, to encompass both artistic and picturesque aspects of Old Paris. He began the *Vieux Paris* category in 1898, apparently with No. 3000[9] (a knife-grinder) and he continued it, with a break during the First World War, up to No. 6731, in 1927, the year he died. (No. 6731 is a photograph of the Church of St.-Julien-le-Pauvre.)

Many dated albums show that Atget inaugurated a new "series" each year, probably for his own convenience in recordkeeping in his notebook. Thus we have *Le Vieux Paris*, 4e Série, 1902; *Le Vieux Paris*, 5e Série, 1903, and so on.

As seen in Atget's albums at the Museum and as described in a letter he addressed to Paul Léon, Directeur des Beaux-Arts, Paris, the "artistic" part of this series included "Les vieux hôtels, maisons historiques ou curieuses, les belles façades, belles portes, belles boiseries, les heurtoirs, les vieilles fontaines, les escaliers de style (bois et fer forgé)" and interiors and exteriors of Parisian churches.[10] Appropriately, Atget's bound volume, *L'Art dans le Vieux Paris* (numbered between 3018 and 5636), comprises photographs in precisely those artistic categories he listed.

The "picturesque" side of this numerical series began in 1898,[11] and covered "Petits Métiers," "Fêtes et Foires," and "Coins Pittoresques du Vieux Paris," according to Atget's albums and photographs.[12] Although further study will be required to learn more precisely which photographs fall in each group, Atget appears to have used these categories to separate the "artistic"—fine arts and architecture of enduring historical interest, from the "picturesque"—quaint scenes, landscape views, street vendors, and other ephemeral subjects that delighted his eye.

The *Vieux Paris* series is well represented at the Museum. Although numbers are missing from the series, there are no gaps larger than the break between

[7] Quoted in Abbott, xi.

[8] The smaller groups include the separately numbered series of *La Voiture à Paris* which I will discuss below, as well as groups of parks and gardens in the environs: *Sceaux, St.-Cloud,* and *Versailles* (see note 20 below) which I will discuss in another article. Consideration of other small groups is outside the scope of this paper, but they are worthy of further study.

[9] An apparently early photograph of children watching a puppet show, numbered 2997, suggests that there may have been lower numbers in this series.

[10] Letter dated 12 November 1920, repro. in Leroy, n.p., trans. in "Eugène Atget: Portals, Passages and Portraits," *Camera*, March, 1978, 4.

[11] *Première Série 1898–99 Vieux Paris Pittoresque* (undercover of *Album No 2 Parcs de St. Cloud Arbres Paysages*), and 5ème *Série 1903 Vieux Paris-Pittoresque* (undercover of *Costumes Art Réligieux*).

[12] Albums about picturesque Paris containing numbers in the *Vieux Paris* series (numbered from 3000 up) include:

Album No. 1 Paris Pittoresque Petits Métiers
Album No. 1 Paris Pittoresque Fêtes Foires
Album No. 1 Coins Pittoresques du Vieux Paris
Album No. 2 Coins Pittoresques du Vieux Paris
Album No. 3 Coins Pittoresques du Vieux Paris
Album No. 4 Coins Pittoresques du Vieux Paris
Album No. 2 Cours Pittoresques du Vieux Paris Du No 6225 au No.— (The last title-page is found as an undercover of the album *Référence No. 4 1922 Vieux Paris*).

numbers in the 3280's and 3490's, and between No. 4000 and No. 4099.

2. *Topographie du Vieux Paris* (Nos. ca. 10–1700)

A smaller Parisian series was begun in 1906/07, and numbered from 10 up to about 1700 in 1915.[13] The higher numbers in this group are well represented at the Museum; the lower numbers are scantily represented. Atget transferred some of the pictures from this series to picturesque categories of the higher numbered *Vieux Paris* series; their numbers were changed accordingly.[14] He apparently considered much of this series to be picturesque, as it contains many photographs of the demolition and change in the area around St.-Sévérin which he describes, in a letter to Léon, as part of the Picturesque Paris collection.[15]

3. *Environs* (Nos. 6000–7157)

Comprising photographs of the Parisian suburbs, this series began in 1901 with No. 6000, and continued, with a gap during World War I, until at least July, 1925, No. 7114.[16] Notice that Nos. 6000–6731 appear in two easily distinguishable series: *Environs* and *Vieux Paris*. This explains some of the duplications that Szarkowski noted.

Atget applied designations of both "artistic" and "picturesque" to this series also, as his album titles show.[17] Again, the numbering system itself does not indicate whether pictures concern the "artistic" or the "picturesque."

The *Environs* series is particularly well represented in the Abbott-Levy Collection; there are few gaps in the sequence, and many fine prints. It is a coherent group, rich in architectural and landscape photographs, with few apparent number changes. Atget's albums give many dates for these photographs. They are thus an exemplary group to study in order to understand Atget's methods. The photographs of the *Environs* numbered from 6000 up are datable from May, 1901, at the earliest, to July, 1925, at the latest. Photographs of *Environs* in another series (numbered in the 1000's and devoted exclusively to photographs of St.-Cloud) are dated as late as May, 1927.[18]

Cataloguing of Atget's photographs and understanding of his numbering systems have enabled me to list almost all *Environs* photographs in Atget's original order. Numbers and titles of photographs not in the Museum Collection are frequently found in Atget's albums. Noticing few obvious number changes in the group, and assuming that Atget numbered the photographs more or less in the order he made them, I hoped the numerical list would provide a logical itinerary of Atget's trips outside of Paris, showing that his procedure was not random. So it does: the resulting list provides workable routes, indicating that Atget explored the area in a methodical fashion, first south of Paris, then north. His first series of *Environs* photographs was made in 1901, of places in close proximity to Paris. (Indeed, all *Environs* sites photographed that year were within the surrounding Seine Département, with the single exception of Versailles.)[19] In later years, Atget traveled to more and more distant towns, although he also returned to Versailles annually from 1901 through 1906, and again from 1923 through 1926.[20]

4. *Botanical* (Nos. ca. 1–1290)

The other large series consists chiefly of botanical subjects: trees, plants, flowers, parks, and landscapes, in Paris, the environs, and northern and southern France. It also includes some photographs of monuments in northern France which may have been transferred from another series. At the Museum, this series

[13] I am grateful to Maria Morris, whose forthcoming dissertation at Columbia University will give a detailed analysis of this series and will present new information on Atget from European sources, for her numbering and dating of this series, as well as for her continuing encouragement of my work.

[14] For example: "308 Un coin de la rue du Maure, 3 arr. 1908" was "transformé en 5640 Vieux Paris Pittoresque," and "312 Cabaret à l'Ami Jean 8 Rue Thouin 5 arr. 1908" was "Transformé en 5726," according to Atget's notes in *Album No. 3 Coins Pittoresques du Vieux Paris*.

[15] Letter dated "22 November 1920," repro. in Leroy, n.p., trans. in "Eugène Atget . . ." *Camera*, March, 1978, 4.

[16] No. 7114, titled *Entrée du Château Marly-la-Machine*," is dated July, 1925 in *Album No. 11 Environs de Paris*. This is the last specifically dated photograph in this series.

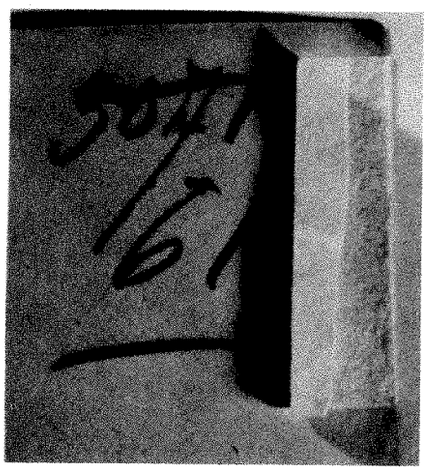
[17] For instance: *1904 No. 4 Beauvais Artistique et Pittoresque 6741 à 6810* (undercover of *Album 6 Environs Paris du No. 6763 No. 6796*), *1 Volume 1910 Référence Environs de Paris Artistiques et Pittoresques Du No. . . . Au No. . .* (undercover of *Album No. 2 Enseignes et Vieilles Boutiques du Vieux Paris*), *Album No. 1 L'Art dans les Environs de Paris . . .No 6900 . . .No 6961* (undercover of *Album 8 Environs Paris Du No. 6936 au No. 7002*), *Album No 2 10 L'Art dans les Environs de Paris du No 6962 au 7001* (undercover of *Album No. 10 Environs de Paris du No 7068 au No 7107*).

[18] Nos. 1281–84, mentioned in note 28, are dated "Mai 1927." The St.-Cloud series runs from 1145 to 1284. St.-Cloud photographs numbered below 1145 apparently belong to the *Botanical* series. At No. 1145 the two series appear to part: a series from 1145 to 1284 is devoted exclusively to St.-Cloud tree and park pictures; other botanical subjects continue in a parallel series up to 1290.

[19] Environs photographed in 1901: Gentilly, Bicêtre, Arcueil-Cachan, Sceaux, Bourg-la-Reine, Chatenay, Aulnay, Robinson, Clamart, Bagneux, Vitry, Ivry-sur-Seine, Choisy-le-Roi, Issy, Vanves, St. Denis, Courbevoie, Clichy, St. Ouen, Asnières, Stains, Villejuif, Chatillon, and Versailles.

[20] Atget's dated photographs of Versailles are listed in the following albums:

(1901) *Première Série No. 2 Les Environs de Paris Versailles et les deux Trianons 6111 à 6171*
1902 2ème Série No. 3 Versailles Les Deux Trianons 6231 à 6329
1902 2ème Série No. 4 Versailles Les Deux Trianons 6330 à 6380
1903 3ème Série No. 5 Versailles et les Deux Trianons 6383 à 6451
1905 5ème Série No. 7 Versailles et les Deux Trianons Escaliers 6563 à 6594
1906 6ème Série No. 8 Versailles et les Deux Trianons 6595 à 6656
(1923–26) *Album No. 11 Versailles Trianon Du No. 1202 au No. . . .* (this album contains numbers 1201–1261.)



2 Reverse of Fig. 3, detail of corner showing number change in Atget's hand

3 Atget, *Tramway à Chevaux* (No. 61)

runs from numbers in the teens up to 1290, duplicating numbers in the dissimilar urban *Topographie* series. Although few individual pictures in this series are dated, some late dated pictures, as well as stylistically early prints, let us infer that Atget compiled this series, too, throughout his photographic career.

On the basis of photographs and albums at the Museum, it seems likely that Atget began two series at the beginning of his career in 1898: the *Botanical* or *Northern France* series began with a low number, probably 1, and the *Vieux Paris* series began with 3000. When Atget began the *Environs* series in 1901, he made another jump of 3000, beginning this series with 6000. He probably returned to using low numbers in 1907 for the *Topographie* series, in order to avoid reaching five-digit numbers.

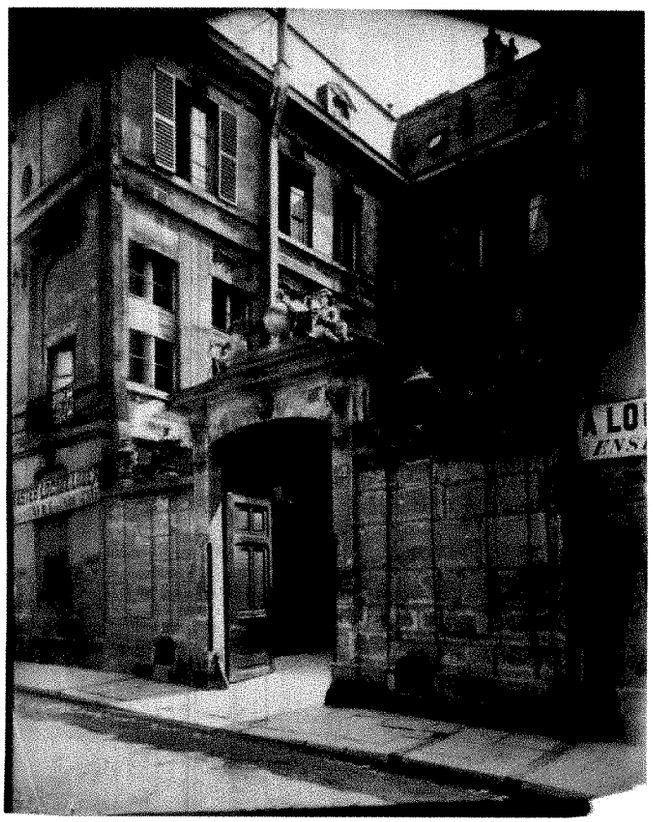
The four large series broadly define Atget's work, with its emphasis on artistic and picturesque aspects of Paris and the environs, as well as on natural subjects, some of which Atget may have considered "picturesque."

If Atget had simply divided his photographs into these four large groups and a number of smaller groups, we could now make a complete, firm outline of his work. But he changed numbers of photographs, shifting them from one group to another.

The photographer's tendency to reorganize and renumber is well demonstrated by two paper albums that once held photographs of vehicles: *Album No. 1 1910 La Voiture à Paris* and *Album No. 2 1910 La Voiture à Paris* (Fig. 1). The albums contained photographs of Parisian vehicles that Atget numbered from 1 through 72.[21] (The reader will note that this is the third use of these numbers to be encountered.) Forty titles are dated 1910 in the albums, and were doubtless made specifically for this series. At least five, however, were earlier photographs, renumbered from the *Vieux Paris* series. The original and later number are both visible on the reverse of the print of *Tramway à Chevaux* (Figs. 2 and 3) which Atget changed from 3071 to 61. No. 3071 fits into the Parisian numbering sequence of April, 1898. The date is confirmed by turn-of-the-century fashions for moderate weather and by budding and leafy trees. Stylistically, the photograph represents Atget's earliest work; it is a scene busy with a great many informative details. There are more than two dozen people, a lamppost, trees, buildings, a distant, hard-to-see trolley, and the prominent tram, which, according to the caption, is the "subject" of the photograph. All the information is centered in the picture, leaving a good deal of foreground space below and sky above. The tone of the photograph is yellow, like that of many of Atget's early prints. Photographs of people are prevalent in Atget's early years, but less common after the first years of the century.[22]

[21] A number 73 was added to the album in Abbott's hand.

[22] Notable exceptions are the eclipse scene, illustrated in Trottenberg, 23, and dated 1912 in *Album No. 2 Paris Pittoresque Scenes de la Rue*, "335 Pendant L'Eclipse 17 April 1912," and the prostitute photographs of 1921 discussed below.



4 Atget, *Hôtel Flesselles Rue de Sévigné 52 Démoli en 1908 (1898 3e arr.)* (No. 3027)

5 Atget, *Hôtel de Flesselles 52 Rue de Sévigné 3e* (No. 3945)

This photograph shows one of Atget's more evident numerical changes: the number is obviously altered in his own hand on the back of the photograph. In other cases, he has visibly changed numbers in the negative, and the emendation is visible on the print. In yet other cases (see, e.g., note 14), notations of number changes are mentioned in Atget's albums.

Atget's tendency to change numbers complicates the study of his work. The *Vieux Paris* series, particularly, is filled with changes many of which we can now only guess at. It is thus not possible to date all pictures in this series solely by their place in the numerical sequence. Yet the implications of the numerical changes may offset the inconvenience they cause, for the changes show that Atget gave much thought and effort to editing and organizing his photographs. From the beginning of his career to its end, Atget always considered each photograph as part of a group, a numbered category that encompassed an idea.

In addition to revealing the schematic organization of Atget's work, study of the Abbott-Levy Collection shows that Atget's propensity to rephotograph sites began during the earliest years of his photographic career: 1898 and 1900. Coincidentally, *Hôtel Flesselles*, of April, 1898 (No. 3027; Fig. 4) is both the earliest precisely datable photograph at the Museum and half of the earliest datable pair of photographs by Atget. Its mate, titled *Hôtel de Flesselles*, was made in 1900 (No. 3945; Fig. 5).[23]

In discussing the photographer's several returns to record a beech tree in the park at St.-Cloud, Szarkowski wrote that Atget's repeated investigation of a subject indicated his "deliberate and disciplined working philosophy."[24] The pair of photographs of the Hôtel Flesselles proves that Atget's method was "deliberate and disciplined" from the beginning. But does the later photograph of the Hôtel suggest that Atget "returned after a considerable passage of time to remake and refine essentially the same picture that he had made earlier"?[25] I think not. True, Figure 5 shows the increased visual sophistication he had gained by two years' photographic experience; Atget moved closer to the subject and clarified the tridents on the wall, making the courtyard interior more visible. Yet the viewer perceives this pair of photographs as a "before and after" sequence, a historical narrative; the second picture

[23] No. 3945 can be dated by its place in the *Vieux Paris* series; there are no apparent number changes at this date.

[24] Szarkowski, "Atget's Trees," 164.

[25] *Ibid.*

presents information different from the first. It supplements, rather than complements, the first picture. Atget doubtless made the second negative to show the changed condition of the building. In the first photograph, the building, a condemned landmark, is in disrepair, unrented ("Vastes locaux à louer . . . Commerce ou Industrie"). Dark, curtainless windows punctuate the façade. In the later photograph, we see the wall refaced, the building rented. A face peers from an upper-story window near the top left of the photograph. (Sadly, the repairs did not prevent the building's virtual demolition.) This comparison suggests that remaking a photograph to present obvious new information is characteristic of Atget's early years; remaking a picture to refine it (as Atget did with the beech tree at St.-Cloud) is characteristic of his later years.[26]

Happily, the Abbott-Levy Collection has also yielded many new dates which allow us to fill gaps in our skeletal knowledge of Atget's career. All evidence at the Museum now confirms earlier assertions that Atget photographed from 1898 through 1927.[27] At the Museum, April, 1898 is the most specific early date we can assign to a photograph; May, 1927 is the most precise late date.[28] Thus, Atget continued to photograph until, at most, two months before his death on August 4, 1927.

Atget photographed continually until World War I. Dates at the Museum in Atget's albums, on his photographs, and in his notebook, confirm biographical reports of his pre-War activity. But what did Atget do during the War? One source tells us that he stopped photographing.[29] None of Atget's prints in the Abbott-Levy Collection bears wartime dates. There are no entries in his *Répertoire* notebook dated after 1913.[30] Yet Atget's photography did not cease immediately when the War began. A few entries in his albums show that he photographed towns south of Paris during the summer of 1915.[31] The entries apply to photographs with strong geometrical compositions, with broad planes of architecture, which presage the simplicity of his later work. Inscriptions of dates for these photographs were unknown, until I found them hidden between pages glued together when Atget reorganized his albums.

Apart from these *Environs* photographs and a number of photographs in the *Topographie* series that can be dated 1915, Atget appears not to have photographed during the War, although it seems probable that he reorganized his albums during these years. At the Museum, there is no firm evidence of Atget's activities between June, 1915 and sometime in 1919, when the Carnavalet Museum in Paris bought sixty of his photographs of *Vieux Paris* for sixty francs, according to a list of Carnavalet purchases made by Ferdinand Reyher about 1947.[32]

First-hand accounts of Atget's post-War activity are contradictory. Calmettes tells us that Atget aged greatly during the War, that afterwards he produced less and

[26] The tree photograph *St. Cloud* (No. 1224), repro. by Szarkowski, is dated 1924 by Atget in *Référence Album No. 2 St. Cloud Du No 1154 au No 1233*. Numbers 1225 and 1226 were apparently made at the same time.

[27] Fraser, 199, notes that "Leroy's dating of the start of Atget's photographic career in 1899 seems rather odd . . . since the albums of prints in the Bibliothèque Nationale that Atget himself made up are dated from 1898 on."

[28] The earliest specifically datable print (No. 3027; Fig. 4) is inscribed by Atget on the reverse, "Hôtel Flesselles Rue de Sévigné 52 Démoli en 1908 (1898 3ᵉarr)." That the photograph was made in April, 1898 is noted in *Société d'Iconographie Parisienne*, Première Année, 1908, pl. xxvii. The reproduction is mentioned in a chronology for Atget compiled by Beaumont Newhall, a copy of which is in the Photography Department biographical files at the Museum of Modern Art. It is reproduced and discussed by Nesbit, 7–9, who uses the illustration to point out Atget's connection with preservationists and admirers of Old Paris.

Coincidentally, early and late dates are listed in *Album No. 3 Parc St. Cloud Du No. 1234–1284*. The early photograph, 3023, *Rue Garancière St. Sulpice*, is dated 1898 in the interpages of the album which was reused for photographs of the park at St.-Cloud. The late photographs, Nos. 1281–84, are each titled simply, *St. Cloud*, and are each dated "Mai 1927."

The latest month we can surely date Atget's Parisian work in the Abbott-Levy Collection is April, 1927: Nos. 6717–6721 are all dated "Avril 1927" in *Vieux Paris No. 9 Du No. 6682 au No. 6721 Inclus*. No. 6717 is of "Hotel de Lauzun, quai d'Anjou," Nos. 6718–6721 are of "Pont Neuf." The ten remaining pictures in this series, 6722–6731, are not specifically dated.

[29] R. E. Martinez, "Eugène Atget in Our Time," *Camera*, Dec., 1966, 65. Martinez's assumption that Atget stopped photographing rather than trouble to procure a wartime photography permit seems invalidated by recent discoveries that he was not averse to getting official permission to photograph during peacetime: see the permit repro. in Leroy as well as Atget's letter to Léon, Nov. 29, 1920, requesting permission to photograph interiors of suburban churches. Probably Atget's photography was curtailed by wartime shortages, or because business was too poor to warrant making new photographs.

[30] The latest dated inscription is "Maubert. (Tapissier) 65 Rue Galilée (Champs Elysée 115) à Partir de Février 1913," p. 63.

[31] For instance, entries on the interpages of *Album No. 2 Paris Pittoresque Scènes de la Rue* include:

6807 Charenton Vieux Moulin Juin 1915
6809 Arcueil Cachan Eglise XIII Scl Juin 1915
6831 Gentilly Seine Maison de Adèle Foucher V. Hugo 10 Avenue Raspail 10 Juillet 1915.

[32] This list is among extensive notes made by Reyher, who planned a novel on Atget's life. Reyher's notes, based on extensive research through photographs and other material in Berenice Abbott's possession, as well as on French sources, were donated to the Museum of Modern Art by Ernst Halberstadt in 1969. According to a taped interview between Peter Bunnell and Halberstadt (made at the Museum, 1969), Reyher planned to transfer his understanding of Atget's life and work to *Tin*, a novel about an itinerant 19th-century tintypist in the United States. The novel was completed, but the manuscript was lost with Reyher's baggage when Reyher had a stroke and was rushed off a train while returning to New York from a writers' colony on the West Coast. Reyher also planned a biography and catalogue of Atget's work, but abandoned this, apparently after a dispute with Berenice Abbott.

Some of Reyher's acute perceptions of Atget's work may be read, however, in *Photo Notes*, Fall, 1948.

6 Atget, *St.-Cloud* (No. 1262)

less new work, living on his reserves, and that he was deeply affected by Madame Atget's death.[33] The photographer Brassaï, on the other hand, recalled that Atget, in 1925, "though a little bent, was still in good health" with a "youthful sparkle of his eyes," and that on one occasion Atget took a number of albums from an attaché case, telling Brassaï and a friend: "I have some new photographs to show you."[34]

It now appears that there is a measure of truth in both accounts. Documents and photographs show that Atget certainly made many new pictures during the 1920's, as Brassaï says, although apparently he made fewer than he had in pre-War years. The devastating effect of Madame Atget's death, which Calmettes mentions, is surely reflected in a creative gap between late June, 1926 (when she died) and March, 1927.[35] Atget's albums, letters, and photographs allow us to go beyond Calmettes's and Brassaï's reports, to see not only that Atget's post-War years were creatively productive, but that his work from 1920–27 was diverse, and would have taken considerable energy.

By 1920, Atget had initiated a new project that involved photographing both in Paris and its suburbs. In a letter dated November 29, 1920 to Paul Léon, the photographer wrote: "I have been working this year on a new collection: L'art décoratif dans le Vieux Paris et L'art dans les Environs."[36] In the letter Atget asked permission to photograph a number of church interiors in the environs, including Goussainville. We know he made these photographs; there are four interior views and three exteriors of Goussainville at the Museum whose numbers fit into the *Environs* sequence for 1921. (They are interiors, Nos. 6929–6932, and exteriors, Nos. 6971–73.)[37]

During the next year, Atget became involved in an entirely different endeavor; two of his albums confirm that 1921 was the year in which Dignimont commissioned him to photograph French prostitutes. The albums specify that Atget made these photographs during March, April, May, and June of 1921.[38]

Dates in his albums leave no doubt that from 1922 through May, 1927, Atget continued to photograph in Paris and outside it, as he had before the War. They suggest the deliberateness and affection with which he photographed the park at Sceaux for several months during 1925, and the park at St.-Cloud for at least five years, during all seasons.[39]

[33] Quoted in Abbott, xii. Although Atget and Valentine Delafosse were not legally married, their liaison lasted from about 1889 when they met until her death on June 20, 1926. (Leroy, n.p.)

[34] Brassaï, "My Memories of E. Atget, P. H. Emerson and Alfred Stieglitz," *Camera*, Jan., 1969, 4.

[35] There are no entries in Atget's albums of photographs made between July, 1926 and February, 1927. In normal years, Atget made many negatives during July, August, September, and October, although he seldom or never photographed during November, December, and January.

[36] The letter is reproduced in Leroy, n.p., and "Eugène Atget . . ." *Camera*, March 1978, 4, 21. The *Album 1920–21 Référence L'Art dans le Vieux Paris* also indicates that Atget was again photographing in 1920.

[37] Inscriptions in *Album "Environs Paris Du No. 6936 au No. 7002* enable me to date Nos. 6944–48 as July, 1921.

[38] Beaumont Newhall recorded an interview with Dignimont in Paris, 1952, in his journal: "Dignimont was a friend of Atget, and not only bought his photographs but commissioned them. . . . About 1921 Dignimont asked Atget to make for him a series of photographs of houses of prostitution. . . ."

Atget listed two of his best-known photographs of prostitutes, among others, in the album *Référence Album No. 1 Cabarets et Gunguettes (sic) Vieux Paris, Fortifications Environs:* they are "1017 Versailles Maison Close Petite Place Mars 1921" (repro. Abbott, pl. 123); and "6218 La Villette Rue Asselin Fille publique faisant le quart devant sa porte Robe Ocre Rouge Chevelure Blonde Mars 1921 19e arr" (repro. in Abbott, pl. 124). The description of No. 6218 is the closest we have to a color photograph by Atget! For no other photograph have I seen colors described. No. 6218 is also listed in the album *1920–1921 Référence L'Art dans le Vieux Paris Du No. 6218 Au No. 6281*, where it appears in a sequence of other Parisian pictures (for instance, No. 6217 is "St. Jacques du Haut Pas orgue"). The caption in this album, too, is descriptive: "6218 La Villette Rue Asselin Fille publique faisant le quart devant sa porte Robe Ocre rouge, chevelure Blonde—Mars 1921—19e arr. Mars 1921."

[39] The album *Sceaux Ancien Parc de Colbert et de Trévise* indicates that Atget made sixty-five photographs at Sceaux between March and June, 1925. *Référence Album No. 2 St. Cloud Du No. 1154 Au No. 1233* shows that Atget photographed at St.-Cloud during August and October, 1922, and in February and March, 1923; *Album No. 3 Parc St. Cloud Du No. 1234 au No. 1284* lists St.-Cloud photographs for August, 1924; March, April, and June, 1926; and May, 1927.

was closely modeled on the first illustrated copy.[5] Obviously, a detailed repetition of these comments is unnecessary here. It is worth pointing out, however, that in the "second instruction" Oresme himself links the function of the *Politics* frontispiece to definitions of neologisms and essential terminology. In turn, these definitions correspond to the design of the visual structures of the bifolio frontispiece. Oresme rightly thought that the subject of the six forms of government required special emphasis not only because of their crucial conceptual importance in the *Politics* but also because the frontispiece was separated from the principal locations in the text where these ideas appear.

Oresme's "second instruction" offers a rare and important instance of a translator giving explicit guidance to the reader on relating textual concepts to specific illustrations. Oresme's emphasis on why the subjects of the frontispiece merit such a prominent position "at the beginning of the whole book" confirms the hypothesis that he himself was responsible for the selection and arrangement of the novel pictorial cycle in Charles V's illustrated copies of the *Politics* and *Economics*.

Washington, D.C.

The Second Instruction to the *Politics*

Aristote traicte en cest livre appellé *Politiques* principalment de policies. Et est à savoir que de simples policies sont .vi. especes generales, et chascune de ces especes est divisée en plusieurs especes. Et de ces .vi. manieres de policies et de leurs especes sont composées et mixtes toutes autres policies. Et donques ces .vi. policies sont principals, et sont aussi comme les elemenz et les principes de toutes autres. Et pour ce sont yci au commencement du livre pourtraittes et figurées. Et sont trois bonnes, c'est à savoir royaume, aristocracie et tymocracie. Et trois autres qui sont transgressions ou corruptions des bonnes, c'est à savoir tyrannie, olygarchie et democracie. Et ces moz sont exposez en la fin du Livre d'*Ethiques* et aussi sont exposez en la fin de *Politiques*.

Item, les .iii. bonnes tendent au commun proffit. Et les autres trois tendent au propre proffit des gouverneeurs.

Item, en toute policie il convient ou que un seul ait princey et seigneurie ou un petit nombre ou une grande multitude.

Item, selon ce sont .vi. policies. Car se un seul seigneurist et pour le bien commun c'est royaume. Et se c'est pour son propre proffit c'est tyrannie.

Item, se un petit nombre seigneurist pour le proffit commun c'est aristocracie. Et se c'est pour leur propre proffit c'est olygarchie.

Item, se une grande multitude seigneurist pour le bien commun c'est tymocracie. Et se c'est pour leur propre proffit c'est democracie.

Item, des .iii. saines policies, tymocracie est bonne. Et aristocracie est meilleur. Et royaume est tres bonne. Et des corrompues, democracie est mauvaise. Et olygarchie est pire. Et tyrannie est tres mauvaise. Et est à entendre que ces .iii. sont mauvaises aucunement, car nulle n'est mauvaise simplement et sanz aucun juste.

Ci fine la seconde Instruccion ou declaracion des .vi. policies qui sont contenues en cest livre et lesquelles sont pourtraites et figurées cy-après au commencement de tout le livre.

Translation of the Second Instruction

Aristotle deals in this book called *Politics* chiefly with forms of government. And truly there are six general kinds of simple forms of government, and each of these kinds is divided into several varieties. And from these six kinds of government and from their varieties are composed and combined all other forms of government. And thus these six forms of government are basic and are also like the elements and foundations of all the others. And for this reason they are portrayed and represented here at the beginning of the book. And three are good—that is to say, kingship, aristocracy, and timocracy. And there are three others which are deviations or corruptions of the good ones, that is to say, tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy. And these words are explained at the end of the book of *Ethics* and also at the end of the *Politics*.

Item, the three good ones promote the common good. And the other three promote the good of the governors.

Item, in every form of government it is necessary that power and sovereignty be held either by one person, or by a small number, or by a large multitude.

Item, according to this, there are six forms of government. For if one person rules and for the common good, that is kingship. And if it is for his own profit, it is tyranny.

Item, if a small number rules for the common good, it is aristocracy. And if it is for their own profit, it is oligarchy.

Item, if a large multitude rules for the common good, that is timocracy. And if it is for their own benefit, it is democracy.

Item, of the three sound forms of government, timocracy is good. And aristocracy is better. And kingship is the best. And of the corrupt ones, democracy is bad. And oligarchy is worse. And tyranny is the worst. And it is to be understood that these three are somewhat bad, for none is entirely bad and without any virtuous person.

Here ends the second instruction or declaration of the six forms of government which are contained in this book and which are portrayed and represented here at the beginning of the whole book.

[5] C. R. Sherman, "Some Visual Definitions in the Illustrations of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics* in the French Translations of Nicole Oresme," *Art Bulletin*, LIX, 1977, 223–26.

Book Reviews

PAMELA M. PACKARD AND PAUL A. CLEMENT, *The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Fascicule 1 (Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. USA.* Fascicule 18), Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1977. Pp. x + 67; 52 pls. $35

Among all the species of Greek art, none is so rich and abundant as clay vases. Thanks to the Etruscans, who purchased the largest proportion of these vessels to help furnish their tombs, many of the very finest examples have been preserved intact from nearly every decade of the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. Excavations in all parts of the Greek world have also yielded numerous quantities of this ware, although usually in a fragmentary condition. Thus, Greek vases form an extremely important body of material for the archaeologist and art historian alike. For the excavator, they may be of considerable aid in the dating of contexts within sites, therefore contributing to our knowledge of the history of a given period; for the art historian, their figured scenes offer an unbroken sequence for charting the development of style in Greek art of the Archaic and Classical periods, and these illustrations also provide a wealth of mythological material or scenes of daily life, religion, or cult.

Although Greek vases have been known since the Renaissance, it was not until the 19th century that masses of them were discovered, mainly in Italy, but also in Greece, and it was during this time that the nuclei of some of today's most important collections were formed. In spite of all this, it was not until the second decade of the 20th century that the need for a systematic and scholarly publication of vases in various museums and private collections throughout the world became apparent. Prior to this, publications of Greek vases, aside from excavation reports and brief articles, were mainly general surveys (e.g., E. Buschor, *Griechische Vasenmalerei,* Munich, 1914), selections of the very finest examples (e.g., A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, with Hauser, Buschor, Watzinger, and Zahn, *Griechische Vasenmalerei,* Munich, 1904–1932), and special studies (e.g., P. Hartwig, *Die griechischer Meisterschalen,* Stuttgart, 1893), or else they were descriptive catalogues without illustrations (e.g., A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium: Königliche Museen zu Berlin,* Berlin, 1885 or O. Jahn, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung Königs Ludwigs in der Pinakothek zu München,* Munich, 1854). But in 1919, in Paris, the Union Académique Internationale was founded, an organization that undertook as one of its projects the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum,* a publication of Greek vases in public and private collections that would strive to be as complete as possible. Edmund Pottier, whose catalogue of the Louvre vases (*Catalogue des vases antiques du Louvre,* 1897–1922) remains today an indispensible tool, was particularly instrumental in the founding of this scholarly publication and in deciding the format of its presentation according to a general scheme of classification. It is not surprising that the very first fascicule of the *CVA* to appear, *Louvre I* (1923), was written by Pottier himself. This was followed soon after by the first fascicules of the other nations participating at that time: Belgium (1926), Denmark (1925), Great Britain (1925), Holland (1927), and Italy (1925). Since then, many other countries have joined the enterprise, among them Germany, Greece, Austria, Poland, Yugoslavia, and the United States, and today more than 150 fascicules have been published. The first USA fascicule, written by J. Hoppin, appeared in 1936 and presented a variety of vases in the Hoppin and Gallatin collections. More fascicules followed and the *CVA* of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art is the 18th USA. fascicule to appear.

This handsome volume presents 62 vases, many of them published here for the first time, and it contains all the Corinthian, Attic black-figure, Attic red-figure, and South Italian vases in the collection. Many were gifts of William Randolph Hearst, although they were not selected from those in the famous collection at San Simeon. Others come from different donors. The arrangement of the vases within this fascicule is generally chronological, first by fabric, then by shape within each fabric, beginning with pots and proceeding to smaller vessels. Before they were photographed, the vases were cleaned and the restorations were removed, so that what appears today is original and not the product of an imaginative restorer seeking to fill in missing parts and make the vessel appear as whole as possible. The text supplies as much of the history of each piece as is known, which is important for those interested in the history of collecting or of single pieces. Each vase is carefully described down to and including important details not always visible in photographs, such as accessory color, preliminary sketch, relief contour, and relief line. (Here, though, one wonders if it is necessary to describe all examples of incised contour, for this is normal among earlier painters and occurs later mainly to distinguish forms that overlap one another.) For each entry, comparative material and bibliographical references are given. At the end of the text appear the various indexes and concordances as well as a complete bibliography. The layout of the plates is generous, except for a few exceptions where one would like to see more details (see *infra*), and the quality of most photographs is adequate, although one wonders why, for example, plate 27, 1 is so dark when the photograph of the other side of this pelike is clear. The text mentions nothing about damage to the vase that would have caused the surface to darken.

A few specific comments and criticisms follow:

Plate 3: the part of Geryon turned around facing away from Herakles is probably a wounded part.

Plate 4: a photograph taken in a raking light that would show the detail of the maenad's gesture and the artist's change of mind when drawing it would have been worth including, for this is a rare feature. The part of the fallen warrior's helmet is surely the crest.

Plate 5: the diameter of the foot must be 14.8cm, not 4.8cm.

Plate 6: the difference between a round shield and the Argive shield, as it is called here and in many subsequent entries, should have been clarified. Why is Menelaos's round shield on plate 28 not called an Argive one?

Plate 7: the subject may be Achilles and Memnon fighting in the presence of their mothers, Thetis and Eos.

Plates 10 and 12: when the lotus-palmette-chain has no incision, it is worth mentioning, as this is often a useful criterion for dating, especially among the better painters.

Plate 16: the "object at the withers" is the end of the chariot pole, the ends of the yoke, and the yoke pad. The reins do not "pass through" this, but through rein rings (cf. P. Vigneron, *Le Cheval dans l'antiquité greco-romaines,* Nancy, 1968, 113 and pl. 44).

Plate 28, 5–6 and 1–2, which show the krater before and after cleaning, are particularly useful illustrations of the dangers

of restoration. One wishes more details of this impressive vase had been included

Plates 29 and 30, 3: the staffs held by the figures should have been mentioned as was done elsewhere.

Plate 30, 4: one would like to see a detail of the "midget satyr," a very rare feature.

Plates 37 and 38: this is one of the most important pieces in the collection and it would have been worthwhile to place the small fragment correctly rather than leave it in its present position. On Side B, the groom is not bridling the horse, but more probably is steadying it, preventing it from becoming too restive. The two horses shown are probably the trace horses, the pole horses having already been harnessed, since this is the usual arrangement for these scenes. Add to the bibliography for plumed helmets: *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, LXXXIII, 1959, 437ff. Centauromachies have been studied recently by B. Schiffler (*Die Typologie des Kentauren in der antiken Kunst vom 10. bis zum Ende des 4. Jhs.*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1976).

Index of subjects: Patroklos should be included since the fight over his body, an infrequent representation, may be one of the subjects of 50.8.16 (plates 46, 1 and 47).

The Los Angeles *CVA* is a welcome newcomer to the fascicules in the USA series and to those from other countries as well, and in spite of the criticisms given above, it is a well-presented volume that will be useful to students and scholars alike.

MARY B. MOORE
Hunter College of the City University of New York

MALCOLM A. R. COLLEDGE, *Parthian Art*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N.Y., 1977. Pp. xiv + 200; 49 pls. + 45 figs. $23.50

The Parthian era was a period of unrest in the Near East which extended from the 2nd century B.C. to the early 3rd century A.D. The era takes its name from an Iranian tribe of Central Asian origin, the Parthians, who strongly influenced and at times controlled large areas of the Near East. One faction of the Parthians rebelled against the Seleucid Greeks and established the Arsacid dynasty about 247 B.C. During the next two centuries, the Arsacids extended their power as far west as the Euphrates. They successfully opposed Roman expansion in the Near East, but eventually succumbed to another Iranian group, the Sasanians, in the early 3rd century A.D.

Because of the wide influence of the Parthians in their time, Syrian and northwest Indian art of this period is frequently termed "Parthian," although the two countries were never actually ruled by the Parthians. In writing the first book dealing exclusively with Parthian art, Malcolm Colledge has used the broad interpretation of the term.

The book is divided into six chapters: (1) "The Parthians" (20 pp.), a historical survey covering not only the Parthians, but also the Arabs, the Indo-Parthians, and the Kushans of northwest India; (2) "Architecture" (58 pp.); (3) "Art" (41 pp.), including all forms of sculpture, painting, ceramics, jewelry, and textiles; (4) "Some Artists' Techniques" (6 pp.); (5) "Iconography and Style" (10 pp.); and (6) "Parthian Art" (7 pp.), a consideration of the distinctive Parthian characteristics. The text is followed by four appendixes (24 pp.). The first two deal with the principal scripts and various chronological systems of the period. The third provides the names and geneologies of kings. The last identifies the coins illustrated in the plates. The final section is a comprehensive bibliography.

The organization of the book shows Colledge's concern with history and great interest in architecture. Questions of style and iconography are given comparatively little space. Colledge attempts the widest possible scope, covering the Near East from Syria to India. He is particularly concerned with the contributions of the Greeks in the Near East, and places less emphasis on the indigenous cultures that the Greeks encountered.

An entire book devoted to the art of this complex and pivotal time is particularly useful, but several problems weaken its value as a textbook. The contents of chapters 2, 3, and 4 are organized first by media (sand, clay, marble, etc.), and then by other topics (religious structures, Greek images, etc.). The result is that a given work may be mentioned a number of times without ever being described as a whole. The desire to include every possible example or parallel results in very dense prose. This density is compounded by the style of the bibliographical references, which do not include the specific page or illustration cited. When the source is a book,[1] the reader in search of documentation requires further direction. These problems are in great part the responsibility of the original British editor who does not seem to have given the book the care it deserved. These problems aside, the text is full of useful information and illustrations.

Parthian architecture (chapter 2) is not well understood. Mesopotamian and Syrian sites are best known, whereas Iran and Central Asia are only now being examined. Thus new discoveries could easily change present interpretations. The major Parthian contribution to the architecture of the Near East is the *eyvan* (*iwan, liwan*), a rectangular vaulted room, unwalled at one end and opening onto a court (pp. 47f and 63f). *Eyvans* may be constructed singly, side by side, or in pairs facing each other across a courtyard. They may be used for secular or religious, public or private functions. Although the origins of this distinctive form have been sought in the nomad tents of Iran and Central Asia, the earliest examples occur in Mesopotamia in the 1st century A.D., suggesting that the form was developed there. Certainly the pitched brick vaults characterisic of *eyvan* construction have a long tradition in Mesopotamia.[2] The *eyvan* remained popular into Islamic times in the Near East. Thus the Parthian development of this building type was a significant contribution to the architectural history of the region.

Greek influence is seen in the appearance together of regularized urban plans and fortified citadels (pp. 32f), and in the use of gypsum mortar (pp. 23 and 64). Although Greek practices undoubtedly had some effect on Near Eastern cities, the impact is difficult to judge. Long before Alexander the Great, cities such as Babylon and Ur had carefully designed public areas, and fortified citadels were a standard feature.[3] The distinctive circular configuration of Ctesiphon and Hatra (p. 34) may reflect a traditional Central Asian

[1] For instance, R. Ghirshman, *Persian Art*, New York, 1962, which has 449 illustrations on 401 pages.

[2] E. Keall, "Some Thoughts on the Early *Eyvan*," *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History: Studies in Honor of George C. Miles*, Beirut, 1974, 123f.

[3] See P. Lampl, *Cities and Planning in the Ancient Near East*, New York, 1968.

preference for regularly organized, symmetrical forms if recent Soviet discoveries are considered.[4] Certainly individual buildings in Parthian Central Asia show similar centralized plans.[5]

The suggested Greek origin of gypsum mortar is a complicated problem. The use of the substance became widespread in Mesopotamia during the Seleucid period.[6] But it is not common in Greece itself until the Roman period.[7] It may be that the building activity of the Seleucids merely encouraged the exploitation of a local material.

Religious architecture is arranged according to geography, Mesopotamia and Syria, then Iran and Central Asia (pp. 37). Within each region, the arrangement is determined by the placement of the cella or the plan of the sanctuary. Certain building types are preferred in specific areas. Mesopotamian temples generally have broad cellas, whether they are entered on the long side, necessitating a right-angle turn to face the cult image, or on the short side directly in front of the image. Both plans have a long history in Mesopotamian architecture.[8]

Religious structures with very different plans are found in Parthian Iran. The most distinctive type is the terrace sanctuary, an open-air altar, raised on one or more terraces and reached by monumental stairs (pp. 41f). The terrace sanctuary may be a late Achaemenid development, as the earliest example occurs at Pasargadae.[9] The "centralized square," a chamber with four interior columns, a narrow ambulatory corridor, and a simple columned porch is another Parthian form that also originated in the Achaemenid period (pp. 43f). By the late Parthian period, this type was used from Syria to Afghanistan, whereas the terrace sanctuary was popular only in Iran.

Contrary to Colledge's suggestion (pp. 38f), towers with internal stairs are not a characteristic feature of early Iranian religious architecture. Neither the Urartian nor the Achaemenid structures cited as examples have internal stairs, and even the relationship between these monuments is unclear.[10] Towers with internal stairs may well be a Syrian characteristic, for they occur in both temples and funerary structures of the region during the Parthian period. An early Syrian tower with internal stairs, dated somewhat before 2250 B.C., has been excavated at Tell Mardikh.[11]

Classical influence in Parthian religious architecture is uncommon, occuring for the most part in Mesopotamia (pp. 45f). When applied columns and peristyles occur they never obscure the main entrance to the temple, which is always clearly indicated. Occasional Roman influence can be noted, as in Temple E (the "hellenistic temple") at Hatra, with its high podium and composite capitals. The central arch in the façade, however, reflects Syrian rather than Roman traditions.[12]

Parthian secular architecture (pp. 49f) possessed less clearly distinct building types, and it is frequently impossible, without written evidence, to determine the function of a particular structure. The Parthian buildings at Nisa, the Arsacid capital in Turkmenistan, are a case in point. The Round Hall with its domical roof and extremely thick walls has a funereal aspect evoking Hellenistic tombs such as that at Kazanlak. The corbeled roof of the Square Hall finds its closest parallels in Hellenistic tombs of Macedonia, Thrace, and Anatolia.[13] The adoption of the peristyle court into palaces and private homes (p. 62) is the clearest instance of direct Greek influence, for the peristyle court was a distinguishing feature of the Hellenistic palaces at Vergina and Palatitsa. The use of applied orders, niches housing figural sculpture, and quadrilobate columns may also be echoes of the now-destroyed palaces of Alexander's successors.

Despite some reservations, I do agree with Colledge's conclusions regarding Parthian architecture: there is a remarkable lack of uniformity in all aspects; indigenous traditions remain strong, although some foreign elements are absorbed; distinct regional differences are observable; and Mesopotamia may have been the creative center of the period (pp. 78f).

Before the discussion of the figural arts of the Parthian period, Colledge summarizes the wide variety of goods imported from the West (pp. 81f), including statues, coins, and textiles. These imported works are presumed to be Hellenistic (late 4th–1st centuries B.C.), although this is not always the case. For example, a group of statuettes said to have been found at Nihavand in western Iran is called Hellenistic (p. 82) presumably because an inscription of Antiochus II dated 193 B.C. was found in the same region. One of the Nihavand figurines depicts the goddess Isis-Fortuna, an image common throughout the Roman Empire from the first to the third centuries A. D.[14] The figurine of an offering Athena (Minerva?) from the same group has parallels of similar date. If all the Nihavand figurines were found together, then the hoard, if not all the items in it, must date to the late Parthian, rather than the Hellenistic, period.

Other evidence for the importation of Roman goods comes from Soviet excavations in Central Asia. The marble *Aphrodite* from Nisa, dated by Colledge to the second century B.C. (p. 84), is a composite statue, with a body of white and drapery of gray marble. A second marble female from Nisa is a Neo-Attic figure whose drapery falls in symmetri-

[4] V. Sarianidi, *Drevnie Zemledel'chi Afganistana*, Moscow, 1977, 34f and 161.

[5] G. A. Pugachenkova, "L'Art antique de la Bactriane," *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, 1976, 217f.

[6] R. M. Boehmer, "Gipsstein," *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, III, Berlin-New York, 1971, 380.

[7] R. Martin, *Manuel d'architecture grecque*, Paris, 1965, 64; and A. Orlandos, *Les Matériaux de construction et la technique architecturale des anciens Grecs*, I, Paris, 1968, 146f.

[8] A. Moortgat, *The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia*, New York, 1968, 6 and 56f.

[9] D. Stronach, *Pasargadae*, Oxford, 1978, 142f.

[10] *Ibid.*, 132f.

[11] P. Matthiae, "Tell Mardikh: The Archives and Palace," *Archaeology*, XXX, 1977, 244f.

[12] D. F. Brown, "The Arcuated Lintel and Its Symbolic Interpretation," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLVI, 1942, 389f.

[13] Orlandos, *Matériaux*, 189f.

[14] D. K. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, 1949, 101; and M. Comstock and C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Boston, 1971, 109. For the manufacture and spread of small statuettes in Roman Europe, see H. Menzel in D. G. Mitten, ed., *Master Bronzes From the Classical World*, Mainz, 1967, 231f.

cal, patterned folds.[15] The silver krater from Leninabad and certain works in clay provide further evidence of the movement of Roman goods deep into the Parthian empire.[16]

Recent excavations at Qaleh-e Yazdigird in western Iran have uncovered a late Parthian pavillion with ornamental stucco reliefs.[17] Part of the figural decoration shows small nude hunters, their backs to the viewer, attacking with lances some seated quadrupeds. This particular motive, unknown earlier in the Near East, occurs in Roman circus and hunting scenes.

The Nihavand bronzes, the Central Asian marbles and vessels, and the Qaleh-e Yazdigird stuccoes show that at least one stratum of Parthian society continued to appreciate classical works, and that the anti-classical tendencies seen in some areas in the second and third centuries A.D. were not as widespread as previously assumed.

The book's consideration of Parthian sculpture is divided into sculptures in the round (pp. 85f), rock reliefs (pp. 89f), and reliefs in stone, clay, and other materials (pp. 92f). The section on rock reliefs is the most substantial, presenting new observations on the Parthian reliefs at Bisotun. The weathered and mutilated "Mithradates" and "Gotarzes" reliefs have been difficult to interpret or even date. Colledge accurately observes the differences in script between the two remaining fragments of the "Mithradates" inscription (pp. 90f), and raises the possibility that the original text was altered in some way. My own examination of the relief in 1976 confirms Colledge's suggestion. Furthermore, it is clear that the two extant portions of the "Mithradates" relief are cut at different depths into the rock face. It appears that not only the inscription, but the relief itself was amended. The adjoining "Gotarzes" relief was carved after this addition.

The description of the reliefs at Tang-e Sarvak, however, is less detailed (p.92). Colledge follows the earlier practice of numbering the reliefs from the top of the gorge down, rather than the current system which begins at the bottom of the cliff.[18]

The inventory of Parthian sculpture in the round includes the large inscribed and dated votive portraits from Hatra (2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.),[19] marble portrait heads from Susa and Shami (1st century B.C.-1st century A.D.), the commanding frontal figures of the Kushan kings of India (2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.), and the ubiquitous clay figurines. Nearly all the large sculptures are of local limestone. Bronze figures were certainly made but only one, the Shami statue, has survived. The silver female head in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., is presented as a peculiar and even suspect piece (p. 84). The emphasis of the chapter on "Art" is on diversity in both style and materials. The chapter ends with a five-page summary of the development of Parthian numismatics.

The chapter on "Iconography and Style" (pp. 128f) includes a short consideration of compositional types, dividing them into three categories: (1) Hellenized, (2) "old near eastern 'processional,' " with profile figures arranged in a series, and (3) "paratactic" or frontal representations (p. 128). The discussion of frontality, one of the major characteristics of Parthian art, is, unfortunately, quite brief; a more comprehensive survey of the various theories concerning frontality will be found in Deborah Thompson's review of R. Ghirshman's *Persian Art.*[20] The remainder of the chapter (pp. 129f) is devoted to various Greek and Near Eastern figures, their dress, hair styles, and gestures, as well as animals and miscellaneous inanimate objects.

The final chapter begins with the question "How far were the arts truly Parthian?" (p. 138). After a short discussion of some of the regional aspects of the arts, the question is answered: Parthian art does not have any uniformly distinguishing attributes, and " 'Parthian' art was not truly Parthian at all, even from the viewpoint of patronage" (pp. 143f). A less discouraging conclusion is possible, if one considers the social and political structures of the complex society that produced the art analyzed in the preceding chapters. Although the Parthians were the politically dominant ethnic group in the Near East, their ruling dynasty, the feudal Arsacids, did not maintain uniform control over their vassals. Parthian art echoes this political diversity. Arsacid art is characterized by strong classical influences. Examples range from the buildings and sculptures at Nisa, the Arsacid capital, to the Greek inscriptions on their coins. In contrast, regional art continues indigenous plans and themes, as in the terrace sanctuaries of Elymais, and the limestone masonry of Hatra. Parthian art, both Arsacid and regional, is a symbolic art. Styles and images are used for their associative values, and formal logic is often ignored. Greco-Roman and Near Eastern traditions continued side by side, occasionally merging to create a new form. In contrast to Sasanian art, Parthian art was not the product of a strongly centralized monarchy. Rather, it reflects the social and political complexity of the time.

It will be clear from the above that this reviewer disagrees with some of the assumptions and conclusions found in *Parthian Art.* Nonetheless, the sheer effort that was required to assemble such disparate material and to present it with adequate illustrations, a useful index, and a very comprehensive bibliography must be gratefully acknowledged. Colledge's volume will be a useful tool for anyone concerned with the period.

TRUDY S. KAWAMI
Columbia University

BEAT BRENK, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom,* Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1975. Pp. 188; 77 ills., 7 in color. DM. 180

This is certainly the most important monograph on an Early Christian monument to appear in recent years, and is the product of nearly ten years of research. The plan to reexamine the 5th-century mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome

[15] G. Koshelenko, *Kultura Parfii,* Moscow, 1966, 35f.

[16] B. A. Litvinskiy and N. O. Tursunov, "The Leninabad Krater and the Louvre Sosibios Vase (Neo-Attic Art and Central Asia)," *East and West,* XXIV, 1974, 89f.

[17] E. Keall, "Qal'eh-e Yazdigird: A Question of Its Date," *Iran,* XV, 1977, 1f.

[18] For the most recent discussion of Tang-e Sarvak, see E. de Waele, "La Sculpture rupestre d'Elymaide. 1. Deux fragments inédits d'époque parthe," *Revue d'Assyriologie,* LXIX, 1975, 67f.

[19] For a technical examination of these works, see M.A.R. Colledge, "Some Observations on Sculptors' Stone Carving Techniques at Hatra," *Sumer,* XXXIII, 1977, 135f.

[20] *Art Bulletin,* XLVI, 1964, 95f.

was inititated by the German Archaeological Institute in Rome and by the University of Bonn. New photographs of all the mosaics were taken by W. Schiele during 1964–65. The volume of plates, edited by Heinrich Karpp, appeared in 1966,[1] and in that same year Beat Brenk was asked to prepare the explanatory text. Known for the wide range of his scholarship, Brenk is one of the few experts with the requisite knowledge of theology, Patristic literature, and art history to undertake the project single-handedly. And, in fact, he has produced an exemplary monograph in all respects, one which clarifies the many problems of artistic origin and interpretation that have for so long befogged the study of this monument.

The literature on the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore is voluminous. Brenk surveys in his preface the major contributions, beginning with the early monograph of J. P. Richter and A. C. Taylor (1904),[2] which, as he says, has been unjustly neglected by subsequent writers. It was the publication of J. Wilpert's monumental corpus of Roman Christian mosaics (1916)[3] with its superb color plates that facilitated scholarly study. The restoration of the mosaics, begun in 1928, stimulated a reexamination of the two cycles and a number of important articles followed, scattered in journals and specialized studies. The results of this scholarly activity remained fragmentary, and C. Cecchelli's monograph of 1957 offered few new insights.[4] Thus, the time was ripe for a synthesis and reassessment of the mosaic decoration as a whole.

By coincidence, simultaneously with the publication of Brenk's text, there appeared in print the lecture by Ernst Kitzinger, given at a symposium in Princeton, April, 1973, on "The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration,"[5] in which the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore figure prominently. Happily, both writers came to the same conclusion, that the cycles were original and unique creations of the first half of the 5th century, and were made with their specific location in the basilica in mind and for a specific patron, Sixtus III (A.D. 432–440), with multiple layers of meaning, both theological and political. What Kitzinger compresses into a relatively few pages of tightly reasoned arguments, Brenk develops step by step to create a unified picture of the program as a whole.

Brenk has examined afresh all the available evidence relevant to the history of the basilica and its decoration. He had the additional advantage of having been able to view many of the mosaics at close range during the photographic campaign of 1964–65 and again during repairs on the roof in 1973–74. In chapter 1, he discusses the history of the building and the results of new excavations under the apse, which give further support to a dating of the basilica in the 5th century. A description of the interior with an analysis of the original arrangement of the mosaics follows. Particularly interesting are the account of the various restorations, the observations on the physical surfaces of the mosaics, and the suggestions as to the likely working procedures of the mosaicists.

The second chapter provides a detailed analysis of the mosaics on the triumphal arch, with reference to the condition, description, iconography, and textual source of each scene. This is followed by the theological interpretation, a consideration of the role of the Council of Ephesus of 431, and, last, an excursus on the theological meaning of *Maria Regina*. The same procedure is followed in the third chapter for the Old Testament scenes in the nave. This is by far the longest chapter and the one in which considerable new material has been introduced, particularly with regard to the choice of scenes and their interpretation. In chapter 4, Brenk turns to the stylistic analysis of the mosaics as a whole, to the variations within the series, the possible sources, questions of different "hands," and a comparison of the style with that of other Italian mosaics of the first half of the 5th century. A final chapter deals with antiquarian details such as civil and military costumes, architectural forms, and other accessories. The conclusion, brief and to the point, summarizes the author's findings in a few pages. Although there is a full index and a convenient concordance between the plates of Karpp and Wilpert, there is no summary of the bibliography, which is regrettable. The illustrations in the text volume are, on the whole, adequate for the comparable material Brenk introduces, but in order to follow the stylistic analysis of individual scenes in the Marian basilica, one must have at hand the plate volume of Karpp.

The reader is immediately aware of the logic and objectivity of Brenk's approach. Interpretations of individual scenes are always based on biblical and other religious texts and on the known pictorial tradition available to the artists. The connections between religious dogma and the visual image are made with caution, and are derived from the commentaries of contemporary Christian writers. Brenk admits that theological interpretations must remain hypothetical. The care with which he marshalls his evidence inspires confidence; and it is reassuring that he retains, in the main, the traditional readings of the scenes on the arch and in the nave.

It is in his exposition of the religious thought of the time that Brenk is able to bring out the underlying unity of the decorative program. For the significance of the Infancy cycle on the arch, he relies largely on A. Grabar and G. A. Wellen[6] but carries their arguments considerably further. Although he does not ignore the Imperial Roman background, he interprets the scenes within a Christian context. His starting point is the inscription at the summit of the arch, *Xystus*

[1] H. Karpp, *Die frühchristlichen und mittelalterlichen Mosaiken in Santa Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, Baden-Baden, 1966, with 210 illustrations. The majority are excellent black-and-white details. Each individual scene is also reproduced in color, which is fairly accurate.

[2] J. P. Richter and A. C. Taylor, *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, London, 1904.

[3] J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis zum XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg i/Br., 1916, III, pls. 8f. and 53f. The Herder Verlag has recently reprinted a one-volume edition of Wilpert, limited to the mosaics, *Die römischen Mosaiken der kirchlichen Bauten von IV. bis zum XIII. Jahrhundert*, ed. W. Schumacher, Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1976, pls. 28–67. The plates are the same as in the original volume of Wilpert but darker in tone. Schumacher has written an introduction and new comments on the plates, with an up-to-date bibliography.

[4] C. Cecchelli, *I mosaici della basilica di S. Maria Maggiore*, Turin, 1956.

[5] E. Kitzinger, "The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration," *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, Princeton, 1975, 122f. See also his *Byzantine Art in the Making*, Cambridge, 1977, 66f.

[6] A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Paris, 1936, 211f., and G. A. Wellen, *Theotokos*, Utrecht, 1961, 93f.

episcopus plebi dei, with the figures of Peter and Paul flanking the empty throne. Analyzing the term, *plebs dei,* in all its implications and drawing upon an impressive array of Christian writers (particularly Ambrose and Leo I), Brenk construes the main theme of the arch as the Universal Church, consisting of the Church of the Jews and the Church of the Gentiles under the peaceful rule of Christ. In the Infancy scenes, the divinity of Christ is recognized by believing Jews and Gentiles and denied by unbelieving Jews. This expansion of Grabar's and Wellen's ideas, developed with extraordinary detail and acumen, provides a more consistent view than the explanation recently proposed by Ursula Schubert.[7]

Of the textual sources quoted, the sermons of Leo I (440–461) most closely parallel the theme of the arch mosaics, as Wellen had been the first to point out. This fact raises the problem of chronology. Since Leo was an advisor of the Curia from 430 on, Brenk believes that Leo may have planned the program together with Sixtus (pp. 39, 46). Brenk hesitates, however, to relate the inscription to the doctrine of the Primacy of Rome, particularly furthered by Leo. The formula, *plebs dei,* applies less to the Roman congregation than it does to the city of Rome, which in the words of Leo was still *caput orbis* (p. 37). One could add, as Ursula Schubert has remarked, that Leo's praise of *Roma Aeterna* contrasts strongly with Augustine's totally different view of the city as expressed in his *City of God.*[8] It is at this point that Brenk considers the question of the often posited influence of the Council of Ephesus in 431 (pp. 47–49). Although he denies that the orthodox position finds visual expression on the arch, he would allow that some connection may exist in the second register, where the Christ Child is enthroned and his imperial role is emphasized. And if the author denies on theological grounds that the regal attire of the Virgin can give her divine status as the *Theotokos,* he seems to admit that the combination of imperial iconography and popular piety could make the transference (p.52).

From his interpretation of the program of the arch, Brenk proceeds to an examination of the mosaics of the nave. Here the history of salvation begins with the promise of God to Abraham and his descendants: on the left side of the nave, to the Patriarchs *ante legem,* in the persons of Abraham and Jacob; and on the right side, to the priests and rulers *sub lege,* in the persons of Moses and Joshua. Although a typological explanation has been often applied, Brenk is the first to have found a contemporary textual source to explain the particular divisions of these stages in the history of salvation. In Ambrose's five stages of history, his last three coincide with the plan of the mosaic cycles. Stage three is the time of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; stage four, the time of Moses; and stage five, the time of the Gospel *(Evangelium).* Augustine, on the other hand, spread his history over the seven days of Creation without the emphasis that Ambrose gave to Abraham and Moses (pp. 112–13). The theology of Ambrose becomes the key to the program in his concept of the two Testaments and his exposition on the two churches that are foreshadowed in many of the Old Testament figures in the nave mosaics. Herein is a thread that connects with the program of the arch. It is impossible to do justice to the development of this thesis in the confines of a review. Not all figures lend themselves to such a contrast, and not all events received such an exegesis by the Church Fathers. But what is important for the art historian is that the cycle of S. Maria Maggiore represents an early stage of church decoration. There is no direct connection between the two cycles, that is, no scene from the Old Testament is found with its typological parallel in the Infancy scenes on the arch. As Grabar pointed out, the first such "antithetical cycle" that has been preserved is on the doors of S. Sabina in Rome,[9] contemporary with the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore.

The theological program has revealed a unifying theme. The following section introduces material that leads into the question of the possible models for the Old Testament cycle. It is here that Brenk's arguments join with Kitzinger's presentation in his recent article.[10] The reader will be well advised to start with Kitzinger. Both writers stress the close similarity of a number of the nave mosaic panels with illustrations in the Quedlinburg *Itala* and the Vatican Virgil, closely contemporary in time. Kitzinger concentrates on the stylistic parallels, Brenk on the resemblances of the methods used to illustrate a text. In the nave mosaics the artists make use of two approaches: one, the selection of a significant moment; the other a correspondence "verse by verse." When translated into visual form, this "verse by verse" procedure is expressed by a dialogue. The illustration becomes a *Dialogbild.* Since *Dialogbilder* are also frequently found in the Quedlinburg *Itala* and Vatican Virgil, a connection between the manuscripts and the nave mosaics can be demonstrated. Although this conclusion can be reached as easily by means of a stylistic comparison, the isolation of this particular trait has important consequences. As a formula that is independent of the content of the text and one that can also be found in contemporary *belles-lettres,* it is thus not bound up with the practice of manuscript illustration, although it may have originated in a scriptorium. It follows that however close certain mosaic panels are to the manuscripts, one cannot conclude thereby that the mosaics are enlarged miniatures. Like the Quedlinburg *Itala* and Vatican Virgil, which Brenk accepts as original productions, the nave cycle appears to be an *ad hoc* creation (p. 128). The iconographic analysis supports this contention. After pursuing every possible lead, Brenk has been able to find sources for a few of the Old Testament scenes, but none that demonstrates a close similarity with known manuscript recensions (pp. 129–131). Furthermore, the cycle had no influence on later illustrations in either manuscripts or monumental painting. Yet it is strange that Hadrian I, in his letter to Charlemagne supporting the instructional value of pictures against the Iconoclasts, should have singled out as an example the sacred images in "diversis historiis" of S. Maria Maggiore.[11]

[7] U. Schubert, "Der politische Primatanspruch des Papstes dargestellt am Triumphbogen von Santa Maria Maggiore in Rom," *Kairos,* n.s., XIII, 1971, 194f. Using many of the same texts, she deduced a related theme that emphasizes the priestly and kingly nature of Christ. The idea cannot be fully sustained in all parts of the arch, as can be seen from her summary on p. 220.

[8] *Ibid.,* 212. Grabar, *L'Empereur,* 220, makes the same observation.

[9] A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography,* Princeton, 1968, 142.

[10] See note 5.

[11] C. Bertelli, "Un antico restauro nei mosaici di Santa Maria Maggiore," *Paragone,* VI, 63, 42. The passage is quoted in full by Richter and Taylor, *The Golden Age,* 389f.

Brenk's stylistic analysis enlarges the scope of the discussion and brings out from another point of view the uniqueness not only of the nave mosaics but also of those on the arch. In this chapter as well as in the following chapter on antiquarian motifs, Brenk makes acute observations on style and provides a wealth of valuable information in general. The implications of his precise and detailed remarks are not always immediately apparent; their significance comes out only in the last pages of the conclusion.

In skillfully distinguishing the various elements of the artistic language used in the two cycles, Brenk provides a means by which comparisons can be made with works in other media and with other preserved wall mosaics of the 4th and 5th centuries. What emerges is that, although certain elements are common property of the art of the early 5th century, the particular characteristics of the mosaic in S. Maria Maggiore, their coloristic and expressive effects, find no parallel in preserved monuments. Some similarities exist with the mosaics of S. Aquilino, Milan, and S. Giovanni in Fonte, Naples, but color and technique are so different as to preclude any close connection. The same can be said for the remaining examples in Rome. And the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore have nothing in common with Ravenna. To be sure, these negative results are not surprising, since comparisons can be made only with surviving apsidal or domical decorations. In spite of the few portrait types that reflect Theodosian art of the East (pp. 139–140), Brenk concludes that major general characteristics of the mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore are closer to Western, and specifically Italian tendencies than to any known trends in the East (p. 178). However convincing his argument, one misses in this discussion reference to the floor mosaics at Antioch, where certain parallels with the wall series in S. Maria Maggiore have been pointed out.[12]

There are still other elements of the style of the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore that permit comparisons with other monuments. These are the attitudes of the figures, the *Gebärdefiguren*, which recall motives in those monuments of the 2nd and 3rd centuries representing the narrative trend of Roman Imperial art (pp. 147–49). Such retrospective borrowings appear also in both pagan and Christian manuscripts, such as the Vatican Virgil and the Quedlinburg *Itala*, connected with Rome, as well as in the Ambrosian *Iliad*, made somewhere in the East. The phenomenon, as far as we know, is limited to the mosaics of the Marian basilica and to these manuscripts. To account for such parallels, Brenk postulates the existence of pattern books, by which these stock figures and other accessories could be transmitted throughout the Empire. What connects the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore with the two Roman manuscripts is the introduction of stage props, *Versatzelemente*, from other sources, namely the mythological paintings of the 1st century (p. 179). The mosaicists use their models more freely and include more contemporary references than do the artists of the two manuscripts. The mosaics are by comparison of much higher quality.

Although the two mosaic cycles are clearly the product of a single workshop, the differences in approach between them have long been noted: a formal ceremonial style in the scenes on the arch; a "realistic" narrative style in the panels of the nave. As R. Koemstedt was the first to observe in 1929, the more formal ceremonial style appears also in those panels of the nave nearest the arch. The choice of a particular approach was therefore dictated by theme and by location (pp. 152, 180). The two cycles must have been planned for the particular conditions of the basilica. No manuscript cycle could have anticipated these specific requirements. Brenk postulates a group of five artists working under the supervision of a head master. This supervisor interpreted the theological program freely and with originality, and by providing his workshop with hypothetical pattern books, ensured the homogeneity of the whole. The person responsible for formulating the religious content was, without doubt, a Roman theologian (p. 181).

As a result of this definitive study, the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore have become less puzzling but more surprising. That they must be considered original and unique creations of the 5th century seems assured, the same conclusion that was reached by Kitzinger. It also is logical to deduce the use of pattern books, which must have been a fairly common workshop accessory in Roman times. Whether one can exclude the existence of a lost Old Testament manuscript cycle still remains in open question, but certainly the evidence for one is meager. The ideas expressed in the theological program point to an origin within the context of Christian Rome. With such a comprehensive coverage, it is perhaps presumptuous to regret that some points are not expanded more fully. One could wish that we had been given a separate analysis of the ceremonial style of the mosaics on the arch. Although Brenk does bring out the general differences between the two cycles, he could have elaborated on the significance of the more abstract elements within the ceremonial cycle. To be sure, the descriptions of the individual scenes of the arch do reveal their expressive qualities.

It is in his interpretation of some of the details in the Infancy scenes that Brenk can be challenged. A case in point occurs in the *Presentation in the Temple*. On the basis of theological and historical accuracy, the author refutes Grabar's identification of the temple containing the figure of *Roma* in the pediment (the latter explained it as Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Roma in the Forum, known as the *Templum Urbis*, a symbol of *Roma Aeterna*), as well as Grabar's interpretation of the central triad of Joseph, an angel, and Anna as standing for an allegorical paraphrase of *Concordia*.[13] It is well to have the misleading theory that this triad illustrates a *dextrarum iunctio* finally discarded, for there is no joining of hands. The scene cannot, in any case, represent the concord between the Old and New Testament, as Wellen had already recognized. To explain the presence of *Roma* on a Jewish temple in a Christian context, Brenk turns to the historian, Orosius, who mentions that Christ became a Roman citizen when he was inscribed in the census at Bethlehem (pp. 21–23). But surely the reference to the city of

[12] D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, 1947, 323f., 576 and 581f. Doro Levi compares figure types found in the topographical border of the Yakto complex (pl. 79) to figures in the nave panels of S. Maria Maggiore, and also the head of Megalopsychia (pl. 75) to the Virgin in the *Meeting with Aphrodisius*. See also Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art*, 75.

[13] Grabar, *L'Empereur*, 216f.

Rome was intentional. Kantorowicz has given an equally Christian explanation that preserves the idea of *Roma Aeterna.*[14] The reference to Orosius is, however, worthy of note, as the historian also served Ursula Schubert as a guide in her interpretation of the scene traditionally described as the *Meeting with Aphrodisius.*[15] She proposed that the emperor is Augustus, who, according to Orosius, entered Rome on January 6, the date of Epiphany, the scene represented in the same register. Although Brenk speculates on an Augustan theme, he dismisses the idea as undemonstrable. One does wonder whether further exploration of Augustan references in the Christian context might be fruitful. Another question concerns the identity of the matron flanking the Christ Child in the *Adoration of the Magi.* That she represents the Church of the Gentiles, as Brenk deduces and as has been often proposed, is the most likely explanation but it does not account for her attitude of deep thought. Undoubtedly, there is still room for speculation on the meaning of many details in the mosaics on the arch, in spite of the wealth of supporting evidence that Brenk has introduced.

Brenk's achievement is to have woven a coherent pattern from the various threads that make up this complex ensemble. His approach is consistent throughout. Without neglecting the importance of imperial imagery, he emphasizes the Christian content. He views the borrowings from the past in a practical light, however, as providing the mosaicists with an artistic vocabulary. It is on this point that he differs from Kitzinger, who finds a conscious process of selection at work, by which both the official ceremonial and the epic style were deliberately chosen to recall the greatness of Rome's past. And, furthermore, Kitzinger believes that the "impressionist" style, used in many of the nave panels, was meant to emulate the manuscripts and to "evoke associations . . . primarily with the great epics."[16] Brenk remains unconvinced, as he has reiterated in a recent comment on Kitzinger's article.[17] Kitzinger's theory has the merit, however, of referring to the historical situation in Rome at the time and of explaining why a style so ill-suited for wall mosaics was chosen.

Since Brenk of necessity has limited himself to the evidence of the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, he does not explore the larger implications of the role of pattern books for both monumental and manuscript painting. But his monograph will certainly stimulate further discussion in regard to the origin of Old Testament recensions and to the development of narrative cycles. In conclusion, one can only stress that this book is rich in insights and original observations, supported with impressive scholarship, and that it makes a major contribution to Early Christian studies. It will be a long time before it is superseded. We can be grateful to the author for this comprehensive and stimulating study.

MARY L. HEUSER
Wheaton College

[14] E. H. Kantorowicz, "*Puer Exoriens:* On the Hypapante in the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore," *Perennitas (Festschrift Thomas Michels)*, Münster, 1963, 118f., repr. in his *Selected Studies*, New York, 1965, 25f.

[15] Schubert, *Kairos*, 1971, 213.

[16] Kitzinger, *Place of Book Illumination*, 130f.

[17] B. Brenk, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, LXIX, 1976, 643.

ERNST KITZINGER, *Byzantine Art in the Making, Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art, 3rd-7th Century*, London, Faber and Faber; Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1977. Pp. xi + 175, 8 color pls., 223 black-and-white ills. on 125 pls. $25

Written by a master scholar and teacher, these carefully wrought chapters, based on the Slade Lectures of 1974 at Cambridge, provide a thoughtful, penetrating, and personal interpretation of half a millennium of early medieval art, East and West. By turns analytical and synthetic, Kitzinger moves easily and lucidly from close examination of major monuments, where he is unsurpassed in finding the exact terms for visual characteristics, to broad conclusions about stylistic development and its meaning, where he is daring, without ignoring the difficulties that dog the path of anyone taking up the challenge of this period. If his title is a touch proleptic, his subtitle plainly states his aim, which is "to trace, on the basis of a representative series of monuments, the main lines in the evolution of artistic forms during a particularly critical and complex period in the history of Western art."

This period lies between the times of "the taboo against religious images which obtained in the Early Church until about A.D. 200, and the new ban on such images in eighth century Byzantium." Excluding architecture and manuscript illumination from consideration, Kitzinger believes that the pictorial arts of this period, with respect to form and style, can show "an intrinsic pattern." This pattern is not a simple sequence of different styles, or successive phases in the life cycle of one style, but rather a "dialectical process" of bold innovation followed by "retrospective movements" with several "extraordinary attempts at synthesis." Not content simply to identify and describe fundamental stylistic trends, he presses on to what he recognizes as the art historian's most difficult task: "to identify the forces that set these trends into motion," "to grasp the intent behind changes in form," and thereby to write an art history that is intelligible and meaningful to the historian because it relates stylistic phenomena to larger and deeper historical trends and attitudes. A decade ago, in an article, "On the Interpretation of Stylistic Changes in Late Antique Art,"[1] Kitzinger had observed that art had been "correlated with social history, the history of ideas, with contemporaneous trends in philosophy, literature and sciences." But this had been done chiefly with respect to "content, subject matter, iconographic program." In the book under review, he seeks to do for style what had been done for content, that is, to identify an intrinsic stylistic pattern, of the 3rd through 7th centuries, and to relate this to a coherent historical understanding of the period.

The titles of Kitzinger's seven chapters are severely abstract and, for the most part, keyed to centuries: "Ancient Art in Crisis," 3rd century (15 pp.); "Regeneration," 4th century (23 pp.); "Fifth Century Conflicts—1" (21 pp.) and "2" (15 pp.); "The Justinianic Synthesis," ca. 526–ca. 550 (19 pp.); and "Polarization and Another Synthesis—1" (14 pp.) and "2" (10 pp.); concluding with an Epilogue (4 pp.). Implicit in these titles, which suggest an ideal, Wölfflinian art history, is the centrality of the classical tradition in the pic-

[1] *Bucknell Review*, XV, 1967, iii, 1; repr. *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West*, ed. E. Kleinbauer, Bloomington, 1976, 32.

torial arts. It is this tradition which is in Crisis, experiences Regeneration, emerges from Conflicts and Polarizations to achieve Synthesis with its opponent. The classical tradition stands for natural and organic relationships, anatomical and spatial. Its opponent is abstraction, usually in the interest of expression, which "assaults" classical principles until it is defeated or converted in part, whereupon Synthesis is achieved.

The abstract point of view of the titles persists to a degree in the text, where it serves to describe different ways in which stylistic change is motivated ("inner-directed" and "other-directed"), and different approaches to the pictorial surface ("surface-acceptance" and "surface-denial"). These abstractions make us conscious at all times of the structure and terminology of modern art historiography, which, we need to remind ourselves, is a German invention of the 18th century. Kitzinger applies his method with clarity and precision. He reaches firm conclusions in the teeth of doubts, qualifications, uncertainties, and all are richly and fairly presented. Yet his undoubted achievement opens for discussion a major issue in contemporary art historiography, which may be put in the form of several questions. In writing the art history of a period that itself had no art history, how can we see to it that the structure, method, and terminology of our art historiography, all post-Renaissance in date, reveal the development of the pre-Renaissance period without distorting it? More concretely, how can the post-Renaissance preoccupation with style be applied in a useful way to the history and interpretation of works whose contemporaries gave no evidence of having this concern? What leads me to these quesions are the difficulties and complexities so thickly set in this period even for so perceptive and wary an art historian as Kitzinger. He recognizes that the period has a "problem of identity" (late antique vs. Early Christian), that it has no "clear profile" like Gothic or Baroque, that there is widespread disagreement on the dating of its major, undocumented monuments, that "we are confronted with a coexistence or an abrupt and seemingly erratic succession of diverse and contrasting styles." This seems a fair assessment to me, from which I would conclude that the period has no stylistic unity, and that "style" is not the thread to follow in search of a unifying principle. Kitzinger, however, accepted this challenge and has written a book that does not attempt to describe a stylistic unity where none exists, but rather seeks to make clear the "dialectical process" that produced the various styles we see.

In his introduction, Kitzinger points out that amid the stylistic confusion there is at least one clear, organic development within this period, that is, "the emergence and first full elaboration of art with a Christian content." In his epilogue, he looks back upon these five centuries and concludes that "their greatest achievement lies not in their innovations—important as these are—but in having preserved, in the face of vast and cataclysmic changes, basic and essential elements of the Graeco-Roman heritage." Between introduction and epilogue, Kitzinger vividly orchestrates a dramatic, contrapuntal score in which the "classical tradition" plays the *cantus firmus*, while media and craftsmen, donors, bishops, and emperors, sometimes "inner-" and sometimes "other-directed," perform each in his own mode, in parallel or contrary motion. A cadence to the unison is reached by ca. A.D. 700 in frescoes in S. Maria Antiqua and the icon of Saint Peter from Mt. Sinai, which Kitzinger dates to ca. 700, in which Hellenistic illusionism and abstraction merge to create not only the illusion of bodily presences, but, at the same time, their spiritual transfiguration. At this point, we feel, Byzantine art is no longer "in the making"; it has been made.

Kitzinger sees the entire process as a "dialectical one" in which disembodied abstractions play leading roles. Tension arises between the forces of "surface-denial" and "surface-acceptance," abstraction sometimes triumphs, sometimes comes to terms with the classical tradition in a synthesis that may dissolve, leaving its components to reunite again in ways that will allow us to distinguish and date their first and second marriages.

Throughout this complicated flow of acute visual observation and interpretative comment runs the leitmotif of David Riesman's concept of "inner-" and "other-directed" actions. In the *Bucknell Review* article cited above, Kitzinger had taken Riesman's terms and translated them into an art-historical tool by equating "subject" and "iconography" with "other-directed" actions, that is, those imposed on the artist, whereas "inner-directed" changes in style are those which craftsmen gradually bring about over a long period in sectors where they have free choice, like ornament, which is "without content and message." These changes take place entirely within "the esthetic sphere," and hence, presumably, are truer indexes of fundamental stylistic developments. The tetrarchic style, for example, was probably "other-directed," since it conveys so well the message appropriate for official art of that time; whereas the shift in style from the reliefs of the Column of Trajan to those of the Column of Marcus Aurelius was probably "inner-directed," granted the same subject and purpose in each case. The classical style of the second half of the 4th century would also be "other-directed" by aristocratic patrons, nostalgically recalling their pagan classic ideals, while Christians took over high governmental offices.

The utility of this concept, the psychological polarities of "inner-" and "other-directed" actions, is questionable. If pressed, it would lead to more difficulties than it apparently solves, for problems of historical psychology stand in the way of Kitzinger's use of these terms. Riesman limited his concept to the post-Renaissance European and American personality, specifically excluding ancient and medieval man. Indeed, in his epilogue Kitzinger warns us that this antithesis should "not be understood in any rigid or absolute sense . . . it must not lead to a schematic or mechanical bi-section of what actually happened." Yet this is precisely how the concept is employed at several critical points in his discussion, notably pages 75ff., where he describes as "wholly inner-directed" the transformation of the plastic, classic Corinthian capital, carved with the chisel, into an "abstract and irrational element," the product largely of the drill, from the 2nd to the 6th centuries (the final example comes from the interior of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, Istanbul). He sees this development as one of "extraordinary consistency," revealing an "irresistible inner logic" and raising "profound and disturbing questions of historical determinism." All in all, a heavy load for a few capitals to carry.

Sculptors in Constantinople in the early 520's, however, could still chisel naturalistic leaves in the spandrels of St. Polyeuctos with a consummate skill worthy of the Ara Pacis. Surely this fact sharply qualifies the lesson Kitzinger draws from the fate of the Corinthian capital, which he has accurately described. The problem is one of interpretation, not of observation. The interpretation would find its internal logic if Riesman's terms were imposed on a development absent

Riesman, in its true context, that is, on the history of architecture.

Having expressly excluded architecture from general consideration, however, Kitzinger treats the capitals as if they were pieces of sculpture lined up in chronological order on a museum shelf. This seems to me to illustrate the conquest of modern method over a comprehensive historical analysis, rooted in the period. A further point must be made. The author's sequence of the capitals has led to the placing of an "abstract and irrational element" in the heart of the Justinianic Synthesis. This Synthesis is described in the succeeding chapter as a brief time in which "conflicting forces and traditions [presumably forces of abstraction and the classical tradition] balanced out in a state of controlled tension." How the last capital of his series fits this analysis is not discussed, since this Synthesis of ca. 526-ca. 550 is presented through a limited number of monuments: wall mosaics (Ravenna, Rome); floor mosaics (Antioch, Delphi, Jerusalem); and ivories (Chair of Maximianus, Barberini Diptych). In this brief chapter (15 pp.), Hagia Sophia is sorely missed. The syntheses in Hagia Sophia—of solid and void, color and light, sculpture, mosaic, and a design based on a transcendent geometry—add the quintessential element of grandeur that is necessarily missing from a discussion of wall and floor mosaics apart from their architectural contexts. It is regrettable that considerations of method deprived us of Kitzinger's *aperçus* of the greatest monument of the period that he treats in his book.

Kitzinger believes that the Justinianic Synthesis dissolved about 15 years before Justinian died. He accordingly breaks his chapter at ca. 550 and places the great apsidal compositions of S. Apollinare in Classe (ca. 549) and St. Catherine's, Sinai (550-565), in chapter 6 under the rubric "Polarization and Another Synthesis—1." He reached this conclusion by comparing the mosaics of Classe and Sinai with those of S. Vitale, completed a scant two years before Classe. Since all three mosaic programs have been plausibly attributed to Constantinopolitan workshops, the marked changes he observes between S. Vitale and the later mosaics are "evidence of a major stylistic shift around the year A.D. 550."

In Sinai and Classe there is a "bold reassertion of abstract principles of design"; after S. Vitale, the "synthesis soon came apart. Its abstract component alone triumphed." The triumph continued into the 7th century in the isolated, immobile figures in the apse of S. Agnese fuori le Mura in Rome (A.D. 625–638), where "abstraction reached a new peak," and in the broadly contemporary, "first" Virgin in the apse of the Church of the Dormition in Nicaea.

The visual facts on which Kitzinger dissolves a synthesis and initiates a polarization are closely and accurately observed: the use of gold as an abstract foil, the "utter reduction of landscape elements" in Sinai, the garden landscape rendered as a vertical backdrop, the strong reassertion of the two-dimensional surface in Classe. Things no longer "cohere organically" as in S. Vitale. True, but why?

Kitzinger is intent on seeing Sinai and Classe largely in stylistic terms *vis-à-vis* S. Vitale, whose description and analysis is one of the high points of the book. But suppose we see the apses of Sinai and Classe in the light of the texts for the Transfiguration. Why should two contemporary workshops set out from Constantinople, south and west, and produce such radically different visual interpretations of the same event? Sinai gives us the experience itself: strange light and stunned Apostles. Classe veils the event in symbols, which have to be read conceptually as well as visually. Symbols are at home in Ravenna; intense experience is appropriate for a desert monastery at the foot of Moses' mountain. What can it mean for stylistic history to attribute both mosaics to Constantinopolitan workshops? What came from Constantinople besides tesserae and craftsmen?

Kitzinger brings his book to a dramatic conclusion by describing how the abstraction of the late 6th and early 7th centuries joined a resurgent Hellenism in the later 7th century to produce a synthesis based, according to numismatic evidence, on a revival of Justinianic forms and traits. He had laid the groundwork for this period in important earlier studies. Now in a brief final chapter (10 pp.), he guides the student through what used to be the darkest part of the Dark Ages, including the palimpsest wall of S. Maria Antiqua, to the "jovian" Christ of the coins of Justinian II (A.D. 692–95), the icon of Christ from Sinai (here dated to ca. A.D. 700), and the head of the enthroned Christ in the narthex of Hagia Sophia (ca. A.D. 900). Although his dating of certain monuments will not go uncontested, his achievement in clarifying an obscure period should also not go unrecognized.

To disagree with some of his dating and to reject some aspects of his method is not to diminish the fact that Kitzinger has placed the discussion of this half-millennium of Early Christian art on a new and challenging plane. If we are uneasy at the conclusion of this exercise in stylistic analysis, it is because we feel the original audience is not interested in its outcome. We miss a description of how biblical subjects achieved visual presentation and what effect the biblical text had on this process. Kitzinger has given us a dialectic of styles, which is what he set out to do. But in this period whose "one clear organic development is the emergence and first full elaboration of art with a Christian *content*," we may be pardoned for asking for a dialectic of Word and Image.

In his preface, Kitzinger makes clear that his book is not meant as a comprehensive history of the pictorial arts, or a handbook for the period. It is rather a thoughtful series of interpretative essays, summarizing the results of his researches over many years. As such, it is a pendant to the first two groups of articles in his collected studies, recently edited by E. Kleinbauer. The book is finely crafted; the illustrations are of top quality, tellingly selected and carefully juxtaposed to demonstrate the points made in the text. Simply to follow the illustrations is to give oneself fresh and stimulating education in the art of this period. Dates and page references accompany each figure, making it easy to enter Kitzinger's text by way of the plates. Ample footnotes lead the reader to specialized literature on all works and arguments discussed. Kitzinger's book invites discussion of fundamental problems of method and interpretation respecting the major works of a period of art history with which generations of art historians have wrestled. He has organized a fresh periodization of the transition from the ancient to the medieval world, and has done so without disguising the difficulties involved. The book sets a high standard on all these counts and will prove thought-provoking and compelling for years to come—even for those who may possess or develop a different view of the period as a whole.

WILLIAM LOERKE
Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University

AUNE JÄÄSKINEN, *The Icon of the Virgin of Tikhvin: A Study of the Tikhvin Monastery Palladium in the Hodegetria Tradition*, Helsinki, Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, 1976. Pp. 120, 51 ills.

Aune Jääskinen is well known for her publications on Finnish icons. Her aim is to analyze technically and catalogue all surviving icons in Finland, and the volume under review, *The Icon of the Virgin of Tikhvin*, is a byproduct of this endeavor. It includes a catalogue of twelve Finnish copies of the Tikhvin *Virgin*, giving photographs, measurements, physical descriptions, and, whenever possible, data gleaned from X-ray analysis. An additional seven icons were omitted from the catalogue on the grounds that their inclusion would delay fulfillment of the book's second, parallel purpose: the presentation of the icon of the Virgin of Tikhvin now in the possession of the Orthodox Archiepiscopate in Chicago. Jääskinen examined this painting in 1973 and identified it as the miracle-working palladium from the Monastery of Tikhvin itself, believed lost since 1941. The short catalogue of Finnish copies is, accordingly, accompanied by a longer study of the history and iconography of their famous original.

The Tikhvin *Virgin* was one of Russia's most venerated and frequently copied miracle-working icons. It is a variant of the Hodegetria type, in which the Child turns toward his Mother, lifting his right knee so that the sole of his right foot is visible beneath his himation. According to a colorful legend, which began to take shape in the early 16th century, the panel was the original representation of the Hodegetria itself, painted by Saint Luke and long the palladium of Constantinople. In 1383, anticipating the fall of Byzantium to the Turks, it had fled the second Rome and, in a series of miraculous appearances, had chosen Tikhvin near Novgorod as its new home. Here a series of miracles, climaxing in the rout of invading Swedes in 1613, earned it lasting prestige. A less fantastical account of the icon's origin is supposed at one time to have been inscribed on its back. As quoted in an old Russian manuscript, this inscription attributed the work to one Ignati, a Greek monk of a monastery of Saint Michael, who painted it in 1383 for Yuri Dmitrijević, son of the famous Grand Duke of Moscow. If valid, this tradition would date the panel to the deeply interesting germinative decade of Moscow's late medieval art. Whether the Chicago panel is to be connected with these legends remains uncertain, however. Even after an early 20th-century cleaning, most scholars have been unwilling to accept the existing panel as the original version of the Tikhvin palladium, and attributions of both the existing image and its presumed original have remained unclear.

In her examination of this complex work, the author has concentrated almost entirely on the history of its iconographic type. Her discussion of the Hodegetria in early Russian art makes it clear that the original Tikhvin panel cannot have been created, as legend would have it, as a Russian counterpart to the Hodegetria itself. Although the exact appearance of the Constantinopolitan Hodegetria is not known, the Tikhvin image certainly modified it; purer Hodegetria types were already long known in Russian art, and Russian travelers continued to venerate the original Hodegetria icon in Constantinople after 1383. Fourteenth-century Russia's effort to acquire the traditions and trappings of the second Rome cannot be seen in such blatant terms as those suggested by the legend, but only in broader terms, as in the expansion of interest in the Hodegetria type in general during the period. Even the specific variant of Hodegetria iconography used in the Tikhvin painting was apparently not new to Russian art at this point. A late 14th-century Russian icon at Zagorsk uses the same pose but cannot be interpreted as a copy of the Tikhvin image itself: it is an independent version. The pose was apparently popular in Moscow (the author notes several Muscovite icons of the 15th century that use it), and this popularity persuades Jääskinen to accept the attribution of the original Tikhvin icon to the putative Ignati with his Muscovite associations. The type appears also in Novgorodian art of the later 15th century, but in neither Novgorod nor Moscow is there any indication before the 16th century that it was specifically associated with the Tikhvin cult. This association seems to have been a later phenomenon. Although she suggests that the icon came to Tikhvin very early, probably around 1420 as a gift of Yuri himself, Jääskinen adopts Ivanova's view that it acquired its name and distinctive legend only a century later at the instigation of Saint Serapion, Archbishop of Novgorod from 1506 to 1516. Serapion, a vocal partisan of Novgorod's claim to be the third Rome, was probably the author of the legend identifying the Tikhvin *Virgin* with the Hodegetria. It was only in 1560 that a monastery was consecrated on the site. The major diffusion of copies after the Tikhvin icon seems to have come only after the miracle of 1613. By this time, the icon had been overpainted, an overpainting that determined the style of its copies and that was removed only when the work was cleaned early in this century. Certainly the Finnish copies of the 18th and 19th centuries reflect none of the haunting, emotive quality that characterizes the panel in Chicago.

Jääskinen's account has been developed from a study of the oldest reports of the Tikhvin icon and from recent scholarship; it constitutes a conscientious resumé and bibliography. It has been kept brief, however, and the deliberately dense prose is not always easy to follow. A more serious factor complicating the presentation has been the author's reluctance to deal with the newly rediscovered icon as a work of art in its own right. The panel was not available for radiographic study; Ed Nolan's awkward photographs are an eloquent testimony to the difficulties encountered in examining it. Accordingly, Jääskinen has ventured only the most circumspect hints about its artistic character. She barely indicates that she favors a dating to the mid-15th century, and she does not explain or examine the implications of this dating for our understanding of the panel now in Chicago. It might be a loose copy of the 14th-century original by Ignati, it might be a close copy, it might be the overpainted original. So circumspect is her treatment, in fact, that it becomes difficult to know when she is referring to the original icon and when she is referring to the existing one. Except in the case of an overpainting, a 15th-century date would presumably preclude the possibility that the 14th-century inscription referring to Ignati was on the back of the existing panel. Yet Jääskinen implies that it was on the back of the icon that was at Tikhvin in the 16th century and later. One would like to know the date of the manuscript into which the inscription was copied, but this avenue is not pursued. The Finnish copies make it clear that the stars on the Virgin's *maphorion* do not necessarily retain the same form from copy to copy. Yet the form of the stars is used to defend the icon's Muscovite origin. Does this perhaps refer to the origin of the existing version and not to the original? Is it to Ignati or to the 15th-century painter that the author refers when she sug-

gests that the artist worked from Greek stylistic models, but in Moscow in accord with an iconographic type favored there? Such questions often make the arguments in the text hard to follow.

Jääskinen has been especially noted for her effort to accumulate full physical and radiographic data on the Finnish icons she studies, and one can well understand her reluctance to commit herself in the intricate and ambiguous case of the Chicago palladium. Nonetheless, the presentation of the recently rediscovered work has been given primary importance in her book, and under these circumstances the icon's powerful artistic presence is bound to assert itself. One wants to know how the rediscovery of this panel has affected the story of the Tikhvin palladium. One wants to know, if not the origin, then at least the likely attribution of the work, the reasons for this judgment, and the options that this opens up regarding the icon's earlier history. One wants to know why the widely credited dating to the 16th century was shelved. It is, after all, arguable that Saint Serapion was still dealing with the original, since he knew Ignati's date of 1383, and was apparently operating with an icon old enough to be considered legendary. Jääskinen has intimated that the late 15th-century Muscovite icons using the Tikhvin Virgin's pose may actually be copies of the Tikhvin panel; one would like to know what evidence they might yield on the 15th-century state of the image. One would like to know, too, about the relationship of the icon to its original artistic and ecclesiastico-political milieu. The last two decades of the 14th century when Ignati was painting were a particularly dynamic and variegated period in Muscovite art, as a variety of external influences were welded together by the burgeoning Grand Ducal patronage and the force of a few very powerful artistic personalities. Ignati seems, at least for a time, to have belonged to the inner core of this development: Yuri Dmitrijević, for whom he created the Tikhvin panel, was the son of the prime patron of Theophanes the Greek, and Yuri himself gave Andrei Rublev his first surviving commission. The Grand Ducal circle was busy acquiring the artistic patina of respectable Byzantine political power, and Ignati's Greek background must have recommended him. The extant Tikhvin palladium itself is distinguished by an emotive force that historians have identified consistently as Greek or even Italian, and that finds no convincing place in Muscovite art as shaped by Rublev. The icon has hitherto been placed in the period after Rublev's strongest influence. But one wonders about its relationship to the period before. The recovery of the Tikhvin palladium is bound to raise such questions, and although the evidence remains ambiguous, a recognition of such questions would be reassuring.

Jääskinen's book was undertaken with a dual purpose: the cataloguing of a class of Finnish icons, and the presentation of the Chicago palladium. The two have not been unified by a common method. The careful assembly of physical and iconographic data that characterizes the catalogue could not be applied to the Chicago icon, where radiographic analysis was impossible. Conversely, the broader stylistic and iconological inquiries demanded by the Chicago panel were not carried over into the catalogue. Thus the method required by each section finds a dead-end in the other, and the book emerges at methodological odds with itself.

Despite these difficulties, the book is an interesting one. As one of the very few monographic investigations available in English of a Russian object, it affords a rare glimpse into a sector of current scholarship and a body of popular Russian devotional literature that are not usually accessible to American students. One is grateful for this, and hopes that Jääskinen will continue her study of the Tikhvin *Virgin*.

ANNEMARIE WEYL CARR
Southern Methodist University

ANTHONY LUTTRELL, ed., *Hal Millieri: A Maltese Casale, Its Churches and Paintings* (*Maltese Social Studies*, No. 1), Malta, Midsea Books, Ltd., 1976. Pp. 143; 10 figs., 40 pls. $10.50

The aim of this new series of books, *Maltese Social Studies*, is to "advance the knowledge of the cultures of the Island of Malta as integral links in the development of the greater Mediterranean civilization." The next two volumes in the series are listed as Paul Cassar, *Early Relations Between Malta and the United States of America*, and S. Busutill, *Economic History of Malta, 1939–62*.

As Anthony Luttrell tells us in the introduction to the volume under review, "Hal Millieri is situated in very gently rolling country at the centre of Malta's largest plain, a zone of globerigina limestone lying in the southeastern part of the island. . . . The term Raħal or Ħal, which derived from the Arabic and its Sicilian equivalent *casale*, indicated some sort of settlement or village." According to him, the area is

> now just a stretch of typical Maltese countryside crisscrossed by narrow winding country lanes. . . . There is little obvious sign of the settlement which once flourished there, yet a surprising amount of information concerning this "lost village" has survived from the period 1419–1530 . . . A systematic examination of this material, here attempted for the first time, reveals the size of the settlement and much of its genealogical framework, as well as its social and economic structure. It also throws indirect light on some of the circumstances which caused scores of other tiny Maltese settlements . . . to fade out of existence.

The focus of this collection of five essays is the 15th-century Church of the Annunciation and its paintings. This rectangular structure with an eastern apse "is the best surviving example of the many small unaisled churches which once dotted the Maltese countryside." Indeed the decision to clean the frescoes led to the proposal for this volume. The actual preservation of this church and others "is largely due to the efforts, sustained over a period of years, by members of the Youth Section of Din l-Art Ħelwa," the national association for the conservation of Malta's historic and artistic heritage.

Although the church consists of only one room 7.50m long by 4.50m wide from wall to wall with a shallow-pitched semicircular apse, there are a number of interesting features. The walls are built of stone with a rubble filling. The exterior has carefully squared stones, but the interior surface was originally of unfinished stones "bedded together with wet earth," and covered with "a coating of rough-grained but smoothly-finished plaster mixed with ground pottery sherds." The murals were painted on this surface. The building was covered with stone slabs "some 9 cm. thick with another 17 cm. of cement-like torba on top," and four solid diaphragm pointed arches divided the interior into five narrow bays.

"The Ħal Millieri paintings occupy an outstanding place in Maltese art," Geneviève Bautier Bresc asserts. Restored in 1974, ten more or less life-sized saints stand between the

diaphragm arches. Two mounted figures of Saint George flank the doorway on the western wall. The text analyzes the iconography, which "reflects an archaic pattern of devotion," as well as the style. The work of a single artist, "the frescoes seem above all to have come from the artistic milieu of Southern Italy," as she states.

The volume contains much additional material, including several appendixes, which provide a topographical survey, a marriage contract of 1510, and genealogical tables, as well as descriptions of neighboring churches. Good photographs of the stone remains, and of interesting decorated stones from local houses, and of the murals before and after restoration complete the documentation of the carefully annotated text. Dr. Anthony Luttrell, of the Royal University of Malta, is to be congratulated for his enthusiasm and determination to present this interesting and valuable volume, as are the members of the Youth Section of Din l-Art Helwa and other contributors to the series who have given medievalists a new insight into Mediterranean culture.

SUMNER MCKNIGHT CROSBY
Yale University

CARLO RAGGHIANTI AND GIGETTA DALLI REGOLI, *Firenze 1470–1480, Disegni dal modello: Pollaiolo/Leonardo/Botticelli/Filippino*, Pisa, Istituto di Storia dell'Arte dell' Universita di Pisa, 1975. Pp. 322; 379 ills. (8 in color)

In a series of articles published in *Critica d'arte* in the early fifties, Carlo Ragghianti reexamined the development of Florentine painting in the early 1470's, in particular the relationships of Leonardo, Botticelli, Pollaiuolo, and Verrocchio, and proposed that Botticelli (not Verrocchio as traditionally thought) executed the principal figures in the S. Salvi *Baptism* in the Uffizi. He extended his revision of the history of the period to include drawings, ascribing to Botticelli many works that, on the basis of substantial documentary and stylistic evidence, had been considered as by Verrocchio, and a large series of drawings that Berenson, in his *Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (of 1903 and 1938), had catalogued on less secure grounds as by Davide Ghirlandaio. In this last respect, a *saggio relativo* was promised. Carlo Ragghianti and Gigetta dalli Regoli's new study, *Firenze 1470–1480, Disegni dal modello,* fulfills the pledge to present the relevant evidence in support of this conclusion.

The thesis of the book is as follows: Antonio Pollaiuolo's experiments with movement and action in the 1460's awakened a new interest in the expressive possibilities of the human body. Prominent among those influenced by his example was Botticelli, who, in turn, in the early 1470's (largely between 1470 and 1472) collaborated with Filippino Lippi to produce a series of studies from the model, for action and drapery, done in silverpoint and white on tinted paper. These two hundred or so drawings traditionally ascribed to a wide range of prominent artists, from Masaccio to Filippino, served, according to the authors, to form a single set of volumes or, as they propose, an integrated *Libro di disegni*.

Without going into the implications of this theory, it is worth pointing out the book's achievements. The first is that it has provided a relatively accurate catalogue of this widely scattered material and a corpus of illustrations that will be of value for further study of the drawings. Secondly, although they are by no means the first to do so (see, for example, A. E. Popham and Philip Pouncey, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, I, London, 1950, 88–89), the authors have convincingly demonstrated the fallacy of Berenson's attribution of the group to Davide Ghirlandaio and have recognized the important role of Filippino Lippi among the artists who produced the drawings, noting motives that derive from, or can be associated with, the early paintings of Botticelli. Thirdly, they have shown, quite rightly, that the works were the effort of an entire workshop (or workshops) rather than of a handful of individual artists, the principal one of whom Berenson, in a display of art-historical acrobatics, characterized as: "a rather eclectic draughtsman with his feet in the vicinity of Domenico Ghirlandaio, but reaching out, and at times on tiptoe, as it were, toward Filippino, and more rarely and less violently toward Castagno."

The weakness of the new study lies in its organization and approach. Whereas Berenson ascribed all the drawings in the group to particular followers of Domenico Ghirlandaio, principally Davide, but also Bartolommeo di Giovanni (his "Alunno di Domenico") and Granacci, Ragghianti and Dalli Regoli place the drawings into several broadly defined groups and subgroups on the basis of their physical properties: color of paper, size of sheet, scale of figures, connections to paintings, and other criteria, including, but not more so than other qualities, the style of the drawings and the association of the latter with that of documented or generally accepted works by known artists. Their Group A consists of 83 sheets showing youthful models in rather static, self-contained poses and simple dress, often of standard figure typologies like witnesses, persons in prayer, triumphant warriors (David or Saint George), or defeated victims (prisoner or slave). These examples are executed in expressive pen-strokes with few *pentimenti*, and highlighted in parallel strokes of white on a restricted number of colored grounds, principally yellow-rose, warm brown, and violet-red. The authors point out, furthermore, that the sheets of Group A are usually about two hundred centimeters in height and that the drawn model occupies about one-half of that dimension. They then subdivide this group into three smaller families, which they label A-prime, A-double prime, and so forth, and assign the authorship of the different groups variously to Botticelli and to assistants, the latter being what they call, without being specific, his collaborators. These collaborators of course include Filippino, who in the authors' scheme becomes the creative source for the drawings in Group B. The 15 drawings in the first subgroup, A^1, depict draped figures and heads and are generally unrelated to paintings by Botticelli. Those in the second, A^2, which include nudes as well as draped figures, on the other hand, bear relations to Botticelli's works and are, in the view of the authors, for the most part ascribable to him. The third, A^3, finally, consists of another 40 drawings which have only a few significant ties to paintings and are in turn subdividable into smaller categories; some of these were entirely executed by pupils. Again, the actual identity of the pupils remains a mystery.

Fifty-seven drawings constitute Group B, a category made up of drawings that the authors would assign to Filippino and his "collaborators." The apparent salient features of these drawings are: their sketchiness (heads are barely indicated); the prevalence of young models (often in the so-called "David" or "Saint George" pose); a predominant interest in the figure rather than the drapery; the thin

treatment of the ground, which often recalls the gray and mauve of mature Filippino drawings; and a slight increase in both the scale of figure and the size of the sheet in relation to those in Group A. The first subgroup in category B contains a homogeneous series of drawings with sketchy contours, thin grounds, and autonomous highlighting. This series the authors assign to an artist under the influence of Botticelli, one who, we must infer, was sufficiently independent of him to be considered something more than a collaborator. This conclusion, we also learn, does not rule out the possibility that Botticelli, the master of Group A, intervened as a collaborator here. Subgroup B^2 is similar in quality to B^1 but the drawings have become less sketchy and (for that reason?) may be dated later than those in B^1. Subgroup B^3 which has only seven works, shows a different treatment of light but in other respects is similar.

Already this structure seems diffuse, but the authors create a further category to catch the more finished drawings that, for various reasons, they feel obliged to date after 1480. The effect is to undermine the authors' initial conclusions about the homogeneity and function of the whole series and the relations of the putative *Libro di disegni* with Leonardo and artists working in the 1470's. This Group C includes many of the works that Berenson assigned to Granacci. Its existence serves as a convenient means of including in the *Libro*, drawings by Lorenzo di Credi, Fra Bartolommeo, Bartolommeo di Giovanni, and other artists, and to incorporate works whose subjects or style fall outside those established for Groups A and B. Thus, in Group C, we come upon copies from antique sculpture, from paintings by Fra Angelico and Pesellino, as well as by Botticelli. The authors complete their analysis of the *Libro di disegni* with an appendix that lists a further 121 drawings. These comprise the drawings Berenson listed as by Davide Ghirlandaio, "Alunno di Domenico" (Bartolommeo di Giovanni), or Granacci, which in the opinion of the authors fail to meet the criteria of Groups A, B, or C. Divided into 17 groups, this body of works serves as a wastebasket to capture the overflow from the established categories. Some of the titles are significant. The first includes seven works generically related to the repertory of studies from the model; they were excluded "to respect the complicated organic and homogeneous structure of the catalogue" ("per rispettare la struttura complessivamente organica ed omogenea").

The reason to summarize the above is to demonstrate the inconsistencies and fragility of the hypotheses that the two authors have used to classify and explain the large groups of life studies from the model. In many instances, in fact, the authors themselves have disagreed about where to place a drawing and to whom it should be ascribed. Ragghianti would tend to favor Botticello, Dalli Regoli, Filippino and Credi. As for function, the structure conveniently masks the fundamental questions of whether the majority of drawings were done as independent exercises, straightforward copies, or working drawings; there are arguments in favor of all three conclusions, many of which, however, are mutually incompatible. Finally, as to dating, the authors seem so intent upon establishing an early date for the drawings, that is, within the critical decade of 1470–1480, that they are prepared to reorganize events in the history of the period to support their conclusion. In this process, Signorelli's *Triumph of Pan* is moved forward, as are Leonardo's anatomical drawings and theoretical writings. By the authors' own admission, some of their physical criteria are variable, such as the color of the ground, which will change with age and exposure to light. They also are aware of the difficulty of taking accurate photographs of metalpoint drawings, whose reflection of light makes their proper illumination almost impossible.

What we are left with, then, is a thought-provoking, yet tentative and unconvincing suggestion about both the physical and the theoretical origin of the drawings, which may or may not have belonged at one time to a single set of volumes. The theory is new insofar as it relates the drawings to Botticelli. The theory is plausible insofar as it describes the general properties of many of the works as relating to Filippino. But until more is known of the beginning of Filippino and the drawing style of his older contemporary and master Botticelli (recent studies of Fra Bartolommeo provide a model for this kind of research), further discussion or speculation upon the attribution and function of the series as a whole will serve no useful purpose.

EDMUND P. PILLSBURY
Yale University

MARTIN KUBELIK, *Die Villa im Veneto: zur typologischen Entwicklung im Quattrocento* (Deutsches Studienzentrum in Venedig: *Studien*, I), 2 vols., Munich, Süddeutscher Verlag, 1977. Text and cat. vol., 322 pp., 2 color pls.; plate vol., 919 figs. on 825 pp. DM. 298.

The few Early Renaissance villas built in Tuscany, Lazio, and Lombardy were elegant retreats for wealthy urban dwellers, either entirely removed from agricultural functions, or set alongside vineyards and orchards as privileged enclaves, usually with walled gardens in which nature could be encountered discreetly and odorlessly. The real farms with their courts for storing hay and equipment and their stalls for animals offered no urbane comforts and had no architectural pretensions; only the peasant or the hired farmer lived there, and perhaps the landholder's foreman. In the Veneto, the situation was entirely different both in architectural and in social-economic terms: the villa normally was a farm complex[1] with a cluster of structures of diverse functions, including in many cases a house of modest-to-substantial comfort for the landowner to be used for *villeggiatura* during the summer or occasionally as a permanent residence. The main house seldom was isolated from the functioning of the farm and often was just an extension of its service structures. Thus, what makes Kubelik's subject of special interest is the documentation not of major monuments, but of a unique genre that hovers between the rural vernacular and the style aspirations of high art—a genre that reveals the roots of a way of life and a way of structuring the environment that ultimately evolved into the enormously influential Venetan villa concepts of Sanmicheli and Palladio (of which more later). Also, the villas are evocative physical evidence of the economic and political policies of the Venetian Republic on the terra ferma, policies that generated the suspicion of all of Europe and sparked the war of the League of Cambrai in 1509–1516, which helped to frustrate the further development of Early Renaissance architecture in the Veneto.

[1] "Villa" in Venetian usage could refer to the entire farm, including extended landholdings, the cluster of buildings, or the residence of the owner or foreman.

The subject is therefore not one to be treated by monographs on single buildings; the most effective approach is the one represented in this catalogue. The book originated as an Aachen dissertation in 1976 that was the fruit of three years of meticulous study of innumerable structures over that large area of northern Italy which was ruled by Venice in the period of its greatest expansion. Although the villas of the Veneto have been the subject of many studies over the past 25 years (some of them surveys of the most notable villas from 1400 to 1800, and some provincial catalogues like Renato Cevese's *Ville della provincia di Vicenza*, 1971), this is the first major effort to establish a corpus of the early ones and to devise criteria for dating them. This task demands fine discriminations: with few exceptions, the buildings belong to a vernacular and were not designed by architects or systematically documented; they often grew piecemeal out of pre-Renaissance predecessors and acquired additions over the subsequent centuries. Kubelik's cautious and meticulous method inspires confidence. It is innovative in the extensive use of dendrochronology and of cartographic surveys of the Venetian Republic (which include a hoard of bird's-eye perspectives of farm sites and villages in which individual buildings are clearly delineated). Where his conclusions differ from the earlier literature, the reasoning seems in general more convincing. The publication is extraordinarily lavish where it matters—in the almost 1,000 well-reproduced illustrations, which include maps locating the villas, plans (many drawn for the book), hundreds of details from the cartographic surveys in the state archives, and original photographs by the author.

In the introductory text, Kubelik outlines his method and analyzes the problems of research in vernacular building of this sort. He also discusses the literary sources that help to clarify the evolution of this kind of villa; the most significant of these is the treatise of Pietro de' Crescenzi, a 14th-century writer on agriculture, and three agricultural treatises of the 16th century, by Doni, Gallo, and Falcone. Kubelik reviews the representation of imaginary villas and farm buildings in early illustrated books, which proves to be more extensive and more relevant than I had thought.

The heart of the text is the section on typology, which shows that the composition of villa dwellings was a putting together, often over the span of centuries, of a restricted number of established components (tower, block of rooms, ground-floor portico, arcade-over-portico, two-bay window) in response to the particular needs of the villa complex and to local practices. A very few details, such as portico columns and capitals or window-frames, were bearers of architectural aspirations: they were almost never designed in the usual sense, but were no doubt carved by master stonecutters who had been introduced to the rudiments of Late Gothic or classical ornament by architects in the cities. The chief source of the vocabulary of ornament was the Venetian house and palace and versions of it that were built in major cities of the terra ferma, although indigenous traditions also survived.

The Renaissance taste for symmetry and proportion did not affect the style, although quattrocento structures often were regularized in later centuries to conform to standards set in the Palladian era. Kubelik shows that the symmetrical elevation of the villas, with a central portico block flanked by two projecting wings, was achieved by later additions in all but two cases. This antique villa type (Swoboda's *Portikusvilla mit Eckrisaliten*), transmitted by the medieval Venetian palace, became a stimulus, as I suggested in a paper on the origins of the Renaissance villa,[2] to the villa style of the High Renaissance (e.g., the Belvedere of Innocent VIII, the Villa Farnesina, etc.). Of the two Venetan quattrocento examples, the Ca' Brusà in Lovolo and the Villa Thiene at Quinto, the first appears not to have been built all of a piece, but to be a pastiche of elements of different moments—a conclusion that Cevese also reached. The second seems to be the sole surviving architect-designed villa in the quattrocento Veneto. The evidence made available by Kubelik and others since I wrote convinces me that the antique tradition did not resurface in the vernacular villas but only in those conceived by architects, a conclusion that would accord with the fact that the ancient models were also luxury retreats of the upper classes. Kubelik, defining his responsibilities as a catalogue-maker strictly, did not venture into speculations on the relationship between the vernacular and high art, which must be part of an ultimate assessment of the material. The villas appear to pick up signals from innovations tested in Venetian palace designs a generation earlier, but they preserve indigenous inventions, too, like the characteristic Veronese elevation in which a portico with broad arched bays is surmounted by an arcade with smaller arches. This arrangement, as demonstrated by one such villa in which the columns and arches of the portico wing are unmistakeably Romanesque (Cat. No. 62, Villa La Pavarana in Azzago), has deep roots of which we know almost nothing. In both the text and the catalogue, Kubelik has clarified his presentation by adapting from the social sciences a system of numbering the subject categories such as place, date, typology, etc., with decimal subdivisions for subcategories. He frequently carries this means of precision to the point of belaboring the obvious (a randomly chosen example: "6- Typological layout of the villa in the Quattrocento . . . 6.7- proposed social classification; 6.7.1- owner: Vicentine nobleman; 6.7.2- inhabitant: Vincentine nobleman/farmers.")

My chief substantive criticism of the book is that it fails to cover the whole of what I consider to be its subject: the architectural style or styles of the Venetan Early Renaissance villa, which extended well beyond the 1400's. Granted that the majority of villas of this kind were built before 1500, it was not until the 1530's that an alternative style appeared. Although an extension of the catalogue to that decade would not significantly alter the insights provided by Kubelik's work, one building of 1508, the Villa Giustinian at Roncade, stands out as the most impressive surviving example of the intersection of the Venetan villa tradition with the grander ambitions of the luxury villas of Tuscany and elsewhere.[3] The Villa Giustinian can be classified only as Early Renaissance, and our understanding of earlier castle-villas, such as the largely destroyed Barco della Regina of Caterina Cornaro (Cat. No. 22) and the Villa da Porto-Colleoni at Thiene (Cat. No. 211), would have been expanded by comparison with it. One wants of a catalogue primarily a grasp of the entire corpus, and it is fairly certain that no other writer will now

[2] "Sources of the Renaissance Villa," *Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, II, Princeton, 1963, 6f.

[3] Carolyn K. Lewis, *The Villa Giustinian at Roncade* [Ph.D. diss., Harvard, 1971], New York, 1977.

take up the villas of the last decades that represent the tag end of the style.

The question that stimulated the first critical soundings into the subject by Rupprecht, Rosci, Prinz, Forster, and others, concerns the relationship of the quattrocento villa to the luxury villas of the age of Sansovino, Sanmicheli, Serlio, and Palladio.[4] I had proposed in the early sixties that the celebrated villas of the 16th century reflected a radical change in the villa economy and culture of the Veneto, a change characterized by the commitment of the richest families to agriculture and land reclamation, and one underscored by their decision to build on their farms the sort of dwelling in which they could both direct agricultural activities and maintain the standard of living that they enjoyed in Venice, Vicenza, or other major centers.[5] Most subsequent writers were critical of this proposition, suggesting that the large number of quattrocento villas, including some of great elegance, proved that the phenomenon we described originated in the 15th century.

New research on the subject, culminating in Kubelik's ample documentation, now seems to me to support a position somewhere between these two interpretations. But it can be formulated, I am convinced, only by starting with a distinction that Kubelik does not emphasize, between the vernacular villa and the walled *castello*-villa of the type of Thiene and Roncade, in which the dwelling is a rural palace, presumably architect-designed. The vernacular villa described by Kubelik decidedly did not support a patrician style of life; the dwelling was not separated from the noise, dust, and smell of the farm; it often directly abutted utility structures, and there probably was no distinction between farm workers and household domestics. It is hard to believe that the dwellers were persons of great wealth and high position, even recognizing the affectation of austerity on the part of the Venetian patriciate before 1500. Powerful families presumably would build a *castello*-villa that could support a courtly life while the farm functions were exercised at a discreet distance. The still-unanswered question is why there were only a handful of these when we know from the archives and maps that many if not most of the richest and noblest families of Venice had vast holdings on the terra ferma.

Because the patrons of Sanmicheli and Palladio were for the most part grandees who would have built a *castello*-villa half a century earlier but rarely did so (evidently because they were not eager to settle in the country), and because their villas were not just in a different taste (in the sense that the Villa Giulia in Rome differs from the Villa Farnesina), but radically different in form and function, I continue to believe that the later villas represent a break with tradition. Sansovino may have aimed to respect the *castello* ancestry in designing Villa Garzoni (1535) as an independent palace-block behind a crenellated walled precinct that contains separate *barchesse*, but Sanmicheli and Palladio in their first works seem almost to have wished to emphasize the break with the past in designing severe blocks that avoid classical allusion and decoration (the Villa Corner at Piombino Dese by Sanmicheli, 1539–1542,[6] and the Villa Godi at Lonedo, 1540). In later designs, Palladio picked up features of the vernacular tradition such as towered dovecotes, porticoes, and walled enclosures, and used them as design elements with a vestigial function. There is also a technical continuity in the use of brick surfaced in stucco.

The quattrocento vernacular villa must have done its job well, because it served through the centuries, sometimes adjusting to later taste, sometimes not. It is astonishing how much the views of farms and farm-villages reproduced by Kubelik from the surveys of the Republic resemble the appearance of the same and similar complexes in the present-day Veneto. Villa forms have survived, like the language of Dante, as a standard set in a distant past, yet one still functional today, and flexible enough to bend with successive changes in use. It struck me in reading this book that future studies of vernacular building of the kind—and of the urban vernacular as well—might be enriched and structured by adapting linguistic and semiotic methods to the similar problems of composition, evolution, and meaning. This is not proposed as a criticism; Kubelik has produced an admirable work that will be a resource to all future students of villa architecture.

JAMES S. ACKERMAN
Harvard University

JANE SCHUYLER, *Florentine Busts: Sculpted Portraiture in the Fifteenth Century (Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts)*, New York, Garland Publishing, 1976. Pp. 327; 132 ills. $27.50

VIRGINIA BUSH, *The Colossal Sculpture of the Cinquecento (Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts)*, New York, Garland Publishing, 1976, Pp. 496; 329 ills. $32.50

PETER KINNEY, *The Early Sculpture of Bartolommeo Ammanati (Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts)*, New York, Garland Publishing, 1976. Pp. 373; 269 ills. $27.50

As long as doctoral dissertations remained buried in university libraries, they were typically regarded from a dual perspective, thought of either as intricately constructed monuments, superior in their thoroughness and caution to the scholar's entire subsequent production, or as "just dissertations," timid exercises in scholarly method, and graduate work at best, fully deserving oblivion. Then came University Microfilms and the enterprise that gave dissertations a partial professional status by making them available to distant writers pursuing related investigations. And now, along has come Garland Publishing, reducing still further the gap between graduate and professional scholarship. With the inauguration in 1975 of its first series of "outstanding dissertations in the fine arts," Garland promised to make more widely available important scholarship by exceptional graduate students. The publisher's intention to insert these stud-

[4] B. Rupprecht, "Ville venete del '400 e del primo '500: Forme e sviluppo," *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Storia dell'Architettura*, VI, 1964, 239; M. Rosci, "Forme e funzioni delle ville venete prepalladiane," *L'Arte*, No. 71, 1968, 27f.; *idem*, "Ville rustiche del '400 veneto," *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Storia dell'Architettura*, XI, 1969, 78f.; W. Prinz, *Anfänge des oberitalienische Villenbaues*, Darmstadt, 1973; K. Forster, "Back to the Farm," *Architectura*, 1974, 1f.

[5] In *Palladio*, Harmondsworth, 1966, chap. 2, anticipated by M. Muraro, *Civiltà delle ville venete* (privately duplicated), Venice, 1964.

[6] See D. Lewis, "The Rediscovery of Sanmicheli's Palace for Girolamo Corner at Piombino," *Architectura*, 1976, 29f.

ies into the mainstream of art-historical literature is demonstrated by the selection process: leading American scholars were asked to recommend dissertations that "would have been published by university presses and art publishers in the affluent 1960's." Scholarship so positioned by its publisher and its referees deserves, then, straightforward critical scrutiny, with no allowances made for youth or inexperience.

Garland's books hold a technical edge over University Microfilms' Xerographic copies. The books have entered the card catalogues under subject headings, making their fortuitous discovery infinitely more likely. The pool of doctorate-granting institutions is broadened to include Harvard, a major university that does not participate in the Ann Arbor program. The Garland publications are, however, more expensive than those of University Microfilms, costing one half again as much, or more. This is partly justified by Garland's use of more durable paper and more legible illustrations, although the physical difference between the texts in the two publishers' formats is slight since both consist of photocopied typescript, reduced in size and difficult to read. Is Garland's series more valuable for making available work of superior quality? Its list of outstanding dissertations has now swelled to a third series of 142 books. As the project threatens to become exhaustive, it increasingly resembles the totally democratic University Microfilms, and its original élitist premise is substantially undermined. In my opinion, the venture would have been more distinguished if conceived as a smaller set, a genuinely élite selection, and if published as printed books, better illustrated and properly indexed. Garland, however, has undoubtedly found its market in university libraries, and as long as libraries routinely acquire books but not Xerographic copies, there is no reason, from Garland's point of view, not to extend the series indefinitely.

The three books here under review all concern aspects of Italian Renaissance sculpture, a field of art history that remains somewhat neglected. For that reason, one welcomes the appearance of the titles; in two cases, however, the results are very disappointing. In a dissertation of 1972 for Columbia University, Jane Schuyler promises the first systematic investigation of the origin and purpose of the quatrocento portrait bust. She delivers instead an arbitrarily focused study, alternately visionary and pedestrian, whose central theses are very dubious indeed. The trouble begins in the first chapter, when the writer flatly asserts that Florentine portrait busts "are not studies of individual personalities and give no indication of temperament, foibles or neuroses." Rather, she says, they stress good character and "present one type, moderate, benevolent, disciplined." To demonstrate, Schuyler compares three busts by Mino da Fiesole, those of Niccolò Strozzi, Piero de' Medici, and Diotisalvi Neroni (Piero's attempted assassin), and finds them all essentially the same, with no expressive distinction between the "good" Piero and the "bad" Diotisalvi. But what would one expect? Diotisalvi's bust would not have been commissioned by an enemy! Schuyler ignores the obvious consideration of patronage as it affects character portrayal, even though she devotes a great deal of space to the purposes and uses of sculptured busts.

Schuyler's categoric approach precludes recognition of individual differences, the very thing one would expect to have interested her. In this particular group of three busts there are significant variations among the subjects: Diotisalvi smiles and is dressed *all'antica*, Piero scowls and wears contemporary clothes, Niccolò's bust combines these elements. So graphic a differentiation of personalities by the same artist urges a connection with the body of theory in which physiognomy reflects character type.[1] In *Della pittura*, Alberti contended that in the melancholy person, the forehead is wrinkled, in the angry, the eyes are swollen, and so on. In two treatises on physiognomy that were known in the Renaissance and attributed to Aristotle (works assumed by Schuyler without explanation to have been ignored in the 15th century), shapes and sizes of faces were considered important keys to character. She notes that Pliny the Elder was widely read in the quattrocento, even quoting his observation that "everyone should always have the desire to know what sort of person a certain individual was," and could learn this from studying his portrait. Yet in Schuyler's view, Florentines were content to know their contemporaries only to the extent that they conformed to a homogenized version of Albertian *virtù*.

Central to the history of the quattrocento portrait bust is the question, who introduced the genre into Florence and when? Schuyler rejects the presently held view that Mino da Fiesole was the innovator in this field, turning instead to Donatello, the candidate of earlier scholars. Her claim, if substantiated, would indeed be a major contribution to Renaissance studies, but her arguments are extremely unsound. We must dismiss as a classic faulty syllogism her suggestion that Donatello ought to have done portrait busts because they are an antique type and he was known for his interest in the antique. Schuyler's case for Donatello rests largely upon her acceptance of the identification of the terracotta bust in the Bargello as Niccolò da Uzzano, who died in 1433, and of its 18th-century attribution to Donatello. She offers weak circumstantial evidence, such as the fact that Niccolò's mother was related to Donatello, and the observation that the figure's sunken eyes resemble those of the artist's *Magdalene* in the Baptistery at Florence. Nowhere does she directly address the numerous, persuasive arguments of the many scholars who have rejected both the Niccolò identification and the Donatello attribution, including Ciardi Duprè, Schlegel, Lanyi, Planiscig, and Janson.

The frequent appearance of Donatello attributions among individualized busts reflects a widespread belief that Donatello's interest in psychic expression must have spilled into portraiture, an expectation voiced by Pope-Hennessy in *Italian Renaissance Sculpture* when he says that "logically the reanimator of the portrait bust should have been Donatello." This seems to me to misrepresent the nature of Donatello's genius. The bronze *David*, the *Judith*, the Campanile *Abraham* are masterpieces of psychological complexity, but they are not specific individual personalities; rather, they are heroic archetypes emotionally particularized by the sculptor, somewhat like a certain actor's interpretation of Hamlet or Lear. Donatello's ability to turn an abstract type into a hauntingly

[1] See Peter Meller, "Physiognomical Theory in Renaissance Heroic Portraits," *The Renaissance and Mannerism: Studies in Western Art: Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, Princeton, 1963, II, 53f., and Philipp Fehl, "On the Representation of Character in Renaissance Sculpture," *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Spring, 1973, 291f.

complex persona bespeaks a talent for making creative use of the observation of human nature, but not necessarily an interest in recording the physiognomies of living individuals.

Schuyler is least equipped to provide what is most needed in a study of the portrait bust: fresh critical analysis of our working assumptions. Having promised to revise some interpretations of Pope-Hennessy and Irving Lavin, the principal modern scholars who have examined portrait busts from a conceptual point of view,[2] she confines her criticism to minor factual corrections. For instance, Schuyler demonstrates that, contrary to an assertion by Lavin, many if not most Renaissance busts were displayed on bases. This observation weakens Lavin's theory that the *totus homo* (the term is used by Manetti and Luther), or the complete individual plus his individual potential, is consciously evoked in the bust without a base, a "deliberate fragment" that called to mind the whole through its arbitrary termination and connection with its setting. Schuyler, however, makes no attempt to carry the discussion beyond the facts, and retains the notion that the *totus homo* was an intentional allusion of the portrait bust. Tougher questions might be asked of Lavin. With the traditions of antique busts and medieval reliquaries behind it, could the Renaissance portrait bust really have appeared to contemporary viewers to represent less than the whole man, if not justified in some special way?

Schuyler's dissertation is not entirely without merit. There are useful discussions of the roles of life and death masks in the creation of busts, and she includes, albeit arbitrarily, a fascinating final chapter on fakes and forgeries of Renaissance busts, with appropriate emphasis on the career of the 19th-century forger, Giovanni Bastianini. Yet these contributions are heavily offset by flaws and weaknesses. There is careless scholarship, such as her perpetuation of the old attribution to Verrocchio of the National Gallery bust of Lorenzo de' Medici, an attribution persuasively refuted by Passavant in 1969. There is a long and tedious chapter on the antecedents of the Renaissance bust, which takes us from the Neolithic Jericho heads through the Middle Ages in an overly detailed history which sorely needs firm conceptual shaping to establish its relevance to the quattrocento situation. Such flaws could be ignored in a study that presented sound original ideas. What is disturbing here is that a methodologically unsound dissertation should have been chosen by Garland as one of the first 34 "outstanding" ones. Let me illustrate with a summary of Schuyler's argument for a proposal described by author and publisher as one of the dissertation's two most important contributions, namely, her discovery of new evidence for the identification as a portrait of Ginevra de' Benci of the Bargello *Lady with the Flowers*, attributed to Verrocchio.

Schuyler finds support for this identification in a poem of about 1476 written by Alessandro Braccesi and addressed to his patron, Bernardo Bembo, who was Ginevra's lover. A description of Ginevra in the poem shares with the bust three presumably telltale features: fingers, flowers, and breasts. Leaping from the poem's possible dependence on the bust, which requires the identification of violets without aid of color, Schuyler discovers Ginevra's image again in Botticelli's *Birth of Venus*, in the Hora of Spring who rushes in from the right. Proof that this figure doubles as Ginevra de' Benci is found in the blue flowers on the garment she carries and the violet ones in the tree behind her. The association between the Horae and flowers, however, goes back to Ovid. Besides, if violets were Ginevra's unmistakable emblem, one wonders why Leonardo made such a point of the juniper connection. Finally, if, as Schuyler asserts, Ginevra's inclusion in the *Birth of Venus* was meant to provide Bembo, Ginevra's "knight," with a living guide to the higher sphere of love (as recommended by Landino in a poem of the same time), would it now follow that it must have been Bembo rather than Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici for whom Botticelli painted the picture? Yet documents confirm that it was the latter. Schuyler does not see this as a problem, and neither does she make any effort to reconcile her new interpretation of the *Birth of Venus* with any of the existing iconographic analyses by Warburg, Panofsky, Gombrich, Wind, *et al.* We have too many conflicting interpretations of Botticelli's mythologies as it is. The least one can expect of yet another one is that it be compatible with one of the older interpretations, or else afford a new comprehensive view.

Virginia Bush's dissertation of 1967, also for Columbia University, is the best of the three books reviewed here. Like Schuyler, she focuses upon a class of sculptures, in this case colossal statues of the cinquecento, a choice that leads her likewise to deal with monuments commemorating individuals. Bush, however, is considerably more sensitive to the role of patronage. Indeed, she distinguishes three types of propaganda manifested in 16th-century colossal statues, and these three categories define the subjects of the last three of her six chapters. The first three chapters are also well conceived; the first offers a broad but precisely formulated overview, the second is devoted to technical and aesthetic problems, and the third to surviving antique colossi, a legacy of overwhelming importance for the 16th-century colossus.

Bush begins by tracing the term "colossus" back to pre-Hellenic origins, when it had nothing to do with size but referred to statuettes of ritual significance. First attached to large-scale statues in connection with the Colossus of Rhodes, the term began after 304 B.C. to be used exclusively for oversized statues. The measure-conscious writers of the Renaissance gave the colossus a more precise definition: a figure of extraordinary size was defined as colossal only when measuring three times lifesize, according to Pomponius Gauricus and Cellini. Bush accepts as colossal anything twice lifesize or over, as did later cinquecento writers. Her intention is to redress neglect of this category of Renaissance sculpture, a neglect that derives from the failure of art historians to understand "the aesthetic criteria that the works presuppose and the symbolic importance they held for their contemporaries." Whereas most writers have treated colossi as vulgar aberrants in the *oeuvre* of Michelangelo, Giambologna, and others, Bush provides a new, positive perspective, examining the colossal statue from the viewpoint of the motivating artistic and political ideas behind it.

One of the *desiderata* for a clossus was that it be monolithic. Pliny claimed that the *Laocoon* and the Farnese *Bull* were each carved from a single piece of marble, even though they were not, and the same erroneous assertion was made by other

[2] J. Pope-Hennessy devotes chapters to the portrait bust in *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, London, 1958, revd., 1971; and in *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, Washington, D.C., 1963. See also Irving Lavin, "On the Sources and Meaning of the Renaissance Portrait Bust," *Art Quarterly*, XXXIII, 1970, 207f.

antique writers for colossi they had seen. This exaggerated respect for the organic wholeness of the block was carried into Renaissance theory and, when possible, practice. Although Bush interprets the attitude as an expression of valuation of a precious commodity, like the farmer's attitude toward the land, one is also reminded that the idea of a unitary block enhances the animistic echo that survives in Renaissance sculpture and is so often alluded to in Renaissance *topoi*, the sense that the sculpture contains a living presence. The effect of anthropomorphic presence is, of course, radically intensified in a colossus, and Bush properly emphasizes that the primary aesthetic effect of a colossal statue is the sense of its extraordinary size in relation to our own, provoking feelings of marvel and awe. She discusses the implications of bulk, pointing out that "a colossus twice the height of a man has eight times the volume." Especially useful for the student of Renaissance sculpture is her discussion of the problems of proportion and compensatory perspective adjustment, which were much more difficult for the colossus than for normal-sized sculpture.

Another virtue of Bush's change of focus is that her own insights stimulate the reader to ask new questions and to see familiar monuments in a different light. For instance, it is evident from her account that the colossi of antiquity were known throughout the Middle Ages, and were used as sources of inspiration by artists a full century before sculptors began to emulate their scale. Why were there no quattrocento colossi, apart from those destined for architectural settings? The question deserves better than an orthodox Wölfflinian response. Bush recognizes the pivotal importance of Michelangelo for the history of the Renaissance colossus, for in the first two decades of the 16th century he made three colossi and planned several others. The colossal scale of the marble *David* and its dependence on several colossal antique prototypes have been duly acknowledged in the literature. Yet recent discussions of the placement of the *David* have centered on the political implications of the change of site from a buttress of the Cathedral to the Piazza Signoria.[3] No one, not even Seymour, seems entirely to have grasped that possibly the most important result of the relocation of the *David* was its transformation through that act into a colossus in the antique sense. It is not clear from the record of deliberations of January, 1504, who first thought of moving the statue from its intended location at the Duomo, where it would not have seemed oversized, to the square, where it became a unique, isolated giant. Bush's shift of emphasis obliges us, however, to reconsider the question of Michelangelo's own influence on the proceedings, and the possibility that the decision may have been affected as much by aesthetic as political concerns, given his preoccupation with colossi around this time. How else can we interpret Condivi's story of Michelangelo in Carrara in 1505, fantasizing the carving of a large mountain into a colossus? But whether or not the new aesthetic character of the *David* was understood before it was placed in front of the Palazzo Vecchio, once there the statue created a new standard of reference for normal-sized sculpture. Thereafter, merely to match the *David's* size, and everyone did, was no longer marvelous but ordinary.

Having been stimulated by Bush's line of thinking to see these points, I cannot then accept her classification of a number of works as colossi. Cellini's *Perseus* is not a colossus, since it does not attempt to surpass the *David* in scale, as did Bandinelli's *Hercules and Cacus* and Ammanati's *Neptune*. Similarly, when a work is created for a large architectural setting, it loses its individual power to provoke marvel, and thus the 16th-century statues designed for the S. Lorenzo façade, along with Michelangelo's bronze *Julius II* at S. Petronio, Bologna, should not form part of this study, or at least should be differentiated. In a rich and informative section on the colossal statues collected on the Capitoline, Bush argues that Michelangelo put together the *Marcus Aurelius*, the *River Gods*, his planned *Jupiter*, the balustrade statues, to make "everything . . . larger than life." But when everything is colossal, nothing seems so, as she elsewhere explains about St. Peter's. By the same token, many antique colossi, the *Marforio*, the Quirinal *Horsetamers*, the *Marcus Aurelius*, were not really gigantic in their antique architectural settings, but came to appear colossal as architectural scale diminished in medieval and Early Renaissance Rome. Bush effectively describes the sense of fallen glory and of a superhuman golden age that the surviving colossi conveyed symbolically to their Renaissance inheritors, leaving the reader to ponder the implications of a statue's growth in proportions measured against a shrunken or changed environment.

The interesting questions suggested by Bush's discussion of colossi in general are, unfortunately, poorly served by the chapters on particular works. Tiresome, unenlightening rehashes of the literature on such warhorses as Michelangelo's Tomb of Julius II or the *David* contribute little besides bulk to the author's thesis. Throughout the second half of the book, one misses the interpretative links that would connect this catalogue of documented examples with the insights offered in the first half. Toward the end of the 16th century, colossal scale was indeed commonplace, and Bush's later chapters resemble all too closely the existing histories of 16th-century sculpture in which inflated scale is simply assumed rather than analyzed as an aesthetic and social phenomenon.

Yet the promise of original thought extended at the beginning of this dissertation is fulfilled in the development of an idea that hovers on the periphery until the time is right to make the point: the intimate connection between the colossal and the comic, between exaggeration and wit. Early on, Bush tells the story of Michelangelo's joking proposal to Clement VII for a colossus that would double as barbershop and campanile. It was in the nature of colossi, both in antiquity and the Renaissance, that the mere envisioning of them was nearly as satisfying as their execution. This is well illustrated by Deinocrates' proposal to Alexander the Great to carve Mt. Athos into a portrait of the king, who would hold in one hand a city of ten thousand inhabitants. The *meraviglioso* of the imagination is equally conveyed in Francesco Colonna's description in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of a bronze colossus 60 paces long, whose interior anatomy could be explored through an entrance in the mouth. Thus the

[3] Charles Seymour stimulated inquiry with his *Michelangelo's David: A Search for Identity*, Pittsburgh, 1967; the significance of the relocation of the *David* is further examined by Saul Levine, "The Location of Michelangelo's *David*," *Art Bulletin*, March, 1974, 31f., and by N. Randolph Parks, "The Placement of Michelangelo's *David*," *Art Bulletin*, December, 1975, 560f.

unrealized joins the unfinished as a positive aesthetic category, and it is an interesting speculation to what extent the colossal fantasies of Claes Oldenburg (which came to prominence while Virginia Bush was writing her dissertation) have sharpened our appreciation of unrealized or lost Renaissance colossi. In the last chapter, Bush draws on modern psychology to examine the comic effects of abnormal size, and she puts forth a convincing case for the positive values of the grotesque in colossi. She concludes, inevitably, with Giambologna's marvelous *Apennine* as the climax of the cinquecento colossal tradition, but effectively defines its historical importance as the realization of Deinocrates' and Michelangelo's fantasies of a mountain carved into the image of a man.

Peter Kinney's *Early Sculpture of Bartolommeo Ammanati*, a dissertation of 1974 for New York University, contributes modestly to our knowledge of an important 16th-century sculptor. He has gathered more detailed information on Ammanati's early activity, including some new documents, than is presently available in any other single source. Yet as a model of scholarship, this dissertation is as appallingly deficient in sound thinking as Schuyler's. Kinney focuses on the first 20 years of Ammanati's sculptural activity, principally spent in Florence, Urbino, and the Veneto, before he moved to Rome in 1548. The better-known monuments of these years, the Sannazzaro Tombs in Naples, the Nari Tomb in Ss. Annunziata, Florence, the Benavides colossal *Hercules*, are examined in some depth, as are less well-known works such as the reliefs of the Benavides triumphal arch, and the lost fountains executed for Girolamo Gualdo, Ammanati's patron in Vicenza. A secondary concern of the study is the definition of Ammanati's relationship with other 16th-century sculptors, chiefly Bandinelli and Jacopo Sansovino, both for a time his teachers, and Michelangelo, with whom he had indirect but significant contact.

The book makes a poor initial impression. No introductory overview is given; instead, after a sketchy biographical first chapter, we are abruptly introduced to Ammanati's sculptural style through two highly questionable attributions. The book is also marked by an editorial carelessness that should not have gotten past a thesis advisor. Footnote form is inconsistent, with *op. cit.'s* that should be *loc. cit.'s;* titles are underlined throughout by hand. Figure numbers in the text often do not match those under the illustrations. Frequent minor errors (16th century for 17th century) and misspellings abound. There is really no excuse for a specialist in Italian Renaissance sculpture to be unable to spell Pope-Hennessy's name correctly. Also distracting is an inconsistency of tone. Kinney ranges from using colloquialisms like "we can't be sure" to old-fashioned English, as in "the design moved the Pope so greatly that. . . ." The latter rendition reveals, beyond an insensitivity to language, an uncritical reading of Vasari, since this interpretation and others like it are accepted at face value.

Ammanati's early career is problematic because the touchstones are too few and too varied to provide a secure stylistic framework. Kinney sensibly accounts for the absence of a clear evolution by suggesting that the artist shifted direction in response to temporarily ascendant influences and to the needs of specific commissions. Yet when defending attributions, he resorts to arguments that presume an internally coherent stylistic development marked by discrete phases. The first work of art discussed is a stone *Neptune* in the Palazzo Strozzi in Padua, attributed to Ammanati by Fiocco in 1954, an attribution Kinney supports, dating the work before 1533 (predating the earliest certain work by Ammanati, the Pisa lunette of 1532–34) and claiming the combined influence of Michelangelo and Sansovino. These are logical influences to expect, but no appropriate comparisons are suggested, and I do not know of a single Sansovino sculpture from before 1533 that faintly resembles this figure. Structurally, it is closer to later Sansovino, and the figure's vigorous movement, fluid modeling, and inflated musculature might even point to a 17th-century origin. For Kinney, however, the *Neptune* is stylistically analogous to another attributed work, and their common qualities are used in turn to bolster both attributions. He gives to Ammanati the standing *Leda and the Swan* in the Victoria and Albert Museum that Keutner has ascribed to Vincenzo Danti.[4] Inasmuch as Kinney here concocts an early "warm, sensuous, naturalistic" phase for Ammanati wholly out of new attributions, a phase that is, as far as I can tell, totally undetectable in the Pisa lunette or the Sannazzaro Tomb, it is worth looking at his argument. Standing somewhere between the London *Leda* and its Hellenistic prototype is a drawing in the Boston Museum that is identified by Kinney as a preparatory sketch for the sculpture (he echoes Pope-Hennessy in making this connection, but does not follow his attribution). Although the drawing bears no resemblance to the known figure drawings by Ammanati,[5] it is unhesitatingly claimed by Kinney to be "certainly by Ammanati," because to the author it appears to be a study for the sculpture of *Leda*. Yet the attribution of the *Leda* to Ammanati is itself without visible means of support.

Kinney is equally unconvincing in his characterization of Ammanati's sculptural style. He finds saturated atmosphere and shimmering optical effects in such works as the Pisa relief and the *Justice* of the Del Monte Tomb, qualities that to me are impossible to see. In the case of the *Justice*, there is only a very intellectualized rendering of fluttering drapery, and in the Pisa lunette I wonder if he is not misled by the shadowy atmosphere in front of the darkly recessed relief. The styles of Sansovino, Bandinelli, and Michelangelo are blandly characterized by labels like "classicism" and "abstraction," and their relationships with each other are greatly oversimplified, even distorted. Kinney makes an especially indefensible case for Ammanati's influence on Sansovino. He correctly observes formal analogies between Ammanati's reliefs on the Benavides arch and Sansovino's tribune reliefs in S. Marco. But to suggest that Ammanati was the innovator here, whereas Sansovino merely "revealed his solution to the relief problem at an earlier date," is a curious way to dismiss the fact that Sansovino's second set of tribune reliefs was completed three years before the Benavides arch was begun.

Credit should be given Kinney, however, for having explored the Sansovino-Ammanati relationship more fully than

[4] H. Keutner, "The Palazzo Pitti *Venus* and Other Works by Vincenzo Danti," *Burlington Magazine*, C, 1958, 431f. Kinney rejects the attribution to Ammanati of the Bargello *Leda*, based on Michelangelo's *Leda* cartoon, connecting the London *Leda* instead with the work described by Borghini.

[5] A useful discussion of Ammanati's figure drawings is found in A. M. Gabrielli, "Su Bartolommeo Ammanati," *Critica d'arte*, II, 1937, 94, n. 20, and pls. 77–78.

anyone has done so far. The chapter on Ammanati's figures executed for Sansovino's Venetian Library is distinguished by good judgment in the questions he poses about the nature and extent of Ammanati's contribution to the Library, and by a thorough examination of such problems as the division of hands and sequence of execution. Kinney has also published some 28 documents pertaining to Ammanati's early sculpture, many for the first time. Of particular importance are documents he has found for the Nari Tomb that establish its *terminus post quem* as October 18, 1539, when Mario Nari was buried after his death in a duel, and that fix the completion date of the tomb as before August 30, 1542. Although many of the sounder ideas advanced by Kinney seem to have come to him from others, especially Kathleen Weil-Garris and Charles Davis, a convincing suggestion of his own is that the colossal *Hercules* executed for the learned Paduan jurist, Marco Mantova Benavides, allegorically represents Benavides himself. The argument is too heavily dependent on slight facial resemblances, and it could have been effectively reinforced by comparison with such clearly analogous work as Bandinelli's and Bronzino's formulations of *Andrea Doria as Neptune*. Still, the proposal is important. Kinney seems to have had a nodding acquaintance with Bush's dissertation, and readers interested in the Benavides *Hercules* will find a wealth of material in the two dissertations, often presented from points of view that unintentionally conflict, since the later writer did not fully take the earlier author's work into account.

In his introduction, Kinney promises that his study of Ammanati's early sculpture will throw light on the artist's career as a whole, yet in the end he draws no significant connections between the early and later work. One wonders whether it was wise to limit the study chronologically and to exclude the four or five major sculptures produced after Kinney's cutoff point. Ammanati's later years were increasingly taken up with architecture, and in the final decade of his life, he renounced his earlier sensuous nudes under Counter-Reformation influence. Given the difficult and ambiguous character of Ammanati's total sculptural *oeuvre* it hardly helps to limit the analysis to a fragment. As Kinney attempts to make sense of the development, he describes Ammanati's career as not progressive and linear (here rejecting Kriegbaum's earlier interpretation), but as "oscillating," depending on the degree of stimulus received at any given time from other artists. Yet the underlying assumption here is that Ammanati was driven in these diverse directions by "a dedication to formal problems." Why there should be so little stylistic consistency, or even coherence, in the work of an artist supposedly so inventive and original in his solutions to formal problems is a question lamentably not addressed. Kinney comes closest to a clarification of the artist's intentions when he speaks of Ammanati's "obvious will not to repeat himself," and his "self-consciousness," since it is a self-conscious ungainliness that seems most to distinguish Ammanati's figure sculptures from the more stylistically suave forms of many of his contemporaries, both painters and sculptors. Kinney does not attempt to define Ammanati's position in relation to *maniera*, which is a shame, because a reexamination of Ammanati at close range might prove a very effective test of 20th-century interpretations of Mannerism.

In his final footnote, Kinney explains that time did not permit a complete documentary, iconographic, and stylistic study of each project, characterizing his own work as a "kind of interim report on work in progress." One hopes that the study is continuing, and that more mature scholarship will result. But given the likelihood that all of these writers will eventually want to put the meat of their dissertations into print, I must return, in closing, to questions properly addressed to the publisher, not the authors. Is such preliminary work worth publishing? In what sense does it deserve to be called outstanding? This is not the place to question present standards of expectation in our best graduate schools, although Garland's series may be an unwitting vehicle for such an investigation. Suffice it to say that if the dissertations discussed here genuinely are the cream of the crop, the Cassandras who have bewailed the decline of academic standards in contemporary America may well have underestimated the problem.

MARY D. GARRARD
The American University

ARTHUR K. WHEELOCK, JR., *Perspective, Optics, and Delft Artists Around 1650 (Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts)*, New York and London, Garland Publishing, 1977. Pp. 11 + xii + 345; 107 ills. $40

In recent years the literature on Vermeer, Carel Fabritius, and other Dutch painters has dealt increasingly with questions of perspective, optics, and "optical aids." In particular the question of Vermeer's possible use of the camera obscura seems as ubiquitous as that of Piero's egg and has probably had a much greater impact, for better or worse, on what students are told.[1] One of the many virtues of Arthur Wheelock's several contributions to this literature is his emphasis on the partial or circumstantial nature of the evidence, and consequently the hypothetical nature of our conclusions. (By contrast, the latest article on Vermeer and the camera obscura confidently attributes what amounts to most of Vermeer's stylistic qualities in 75% of his *oeuvre* to the camera obscura; Daniel Fink's conclusions are extensively questioned in Wheelock's section 7.3, the best discussion in print to date.)

Reservations notwithstanding, Wheelock and others are on to something, and it is much more than a "contraption"[2]; indeed, it is a neglected but very significant aspect of the development of realism in European art, of the central role played on this stage by Dutch artists, of their important relationship to the extraordinary scientific achievements of the time, and of the place of all this in the evolution of a modern, empirical view of the world. At first glance, Wheelock's title may seem rather restrictive, but it is precisely the breadth of his horizon that makes this book basic reading for the history of art since the Early Renaissance (it is also, incidentally, a good remedial text for scholars who still feel that perspective is not integral to the aesthetic effect of a work of art). Far from restricting himself to a few artists dabbling with devices, their lens-grinding neighbors and ax-grinding theorists, Wheelock discusses some of the most essential achievements of the Delft School and attempts, with considerable success, to place them in the context of an original survey of the development of optics and perspective—in fact, the knowledge of how we see—from ca. 1400 to 1700, with references back to Euclid and implications for art that are still

[1] See especially Charles Seymour in *Art Bulletin*, XLVI, 1964, 323f.; Heinrich Schwarz in *Pantheon*, XXIV, 1966, 170f; Daniel Fink in *Art Bulletin*, LIII, 1971, 493f.

[2] S. Slive in *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, Berlin, 1968, 452, happily stressing, however, that Vermeer's essential achievement is the work of art.

important today. That so much was attempted in a dissertation (Harvard, 1973) and is here published in the unrevised Garland manner is the source of the book's many strengths and several weaknesses, but its importance (especially for the literature of Dutch art) is in raising, not dismissing questions. Whether or not scholars will agree with all of Wheelock's conclusions, they will all be considerably in his debt.

The book is organized into seven chapters, each of which is divided into sections bearing descriptive titles. This is especially useful in chapters 1–4, in effect "Part One," on optics and perspective in the period ca. 1400–1700. Chapters 5–7 are on Carel Fabritius, the relationship of Houckgeest and de Witte around 1650, and Vermeer. The plan is sketched in the introduction, which also states the thesis of the whole work: as summarized by Wheelock in a recent letter to this reviewer, "My whole point is that a very fluid relationship existed between optics and perspective and that these artists drew from both traditions as aids for naturalistic representations." In an admirably sustained effort to clarify the overall pattern of a complex development, Wheelock's crisp style is complemented by a tendency to describe optics and perspective as opposed, rather than as related in a "very fluid" manner. Such a relationship more aptly characterizes the state of the theoretical writing on, and practice of, perspective in the 17th century, and especially the approach of Delft artists in their exploration of the immediate environment. The goal of fidelity to actual viewing experience required an intensified attention to qualities of light, atmosphere, and even focus (an "optical" approach that tempered the "tactile" emphasis on form and texture), and demanded especially a fresh consideration of how we perceive space. In the domestic interiors, courtyards, church interiors, and townscapes to which the leading Delft painters devoted most of their attention, the problems of optics and perspective discussed by Wheelock were of more than academic interest.

Nonetheless, treatises played an important part in clarifying for artists "the conditions under which the orthodox system of linear perspective was an effective representational technique,"[3] that is, its limitations, which 16th- and 17th-century studies in optics were revealing to be those of a more arbitrary system—given the complexity of actual vision—than Alberti could have envisioned, and (as discussed by Wheelock in chap. 3) than several leading 16th-century authors (Barbaro, Serlio, Vignola, de Vries) cared to acknowledge.

In chap. 1 ("Theoretical relationship of perspective to optics"), which outlines the basic developments in optics and perspective from Alberti to the early 17th century and which contains far more on ancient, medieval, and Renaissance beliefs about the structure and function of the eye than can be summarized here, Wheelock describes how Alberti based his aesthetics in good part (the concepts of beauty, imitation, and *istoria*) on perspective, and takes pains to demonstrate the latter's foundation in optics. This scientific orientation was critical to Alberti's argument that painting was a Liberal Art and that sensual impressions were, contrary to Platonic philosophy and medieval beliefs, reliable as a source of knowledge. Alberti supported his argument and his explanation of perspective with reference to the Ancients, namely Euclid's *Optics*, and later, more comprehensive writers on optics such as Galen (131–201) and Alhazen (962–1038); the latter's treatise was first published in 1572 but was assimilated in the 13th-century treatises on Bacon, Witelo, and especially Peckham. From these Alberti gleaned what he found useful, declared problematic questions of physiological optics to be beyond the scope of his treatise, and "judiciously avoided mentioning the concept of the revolving eye because it was incompatible with basic tenets of single-point perspective" (p. 36). This and other questions raised by Alhazen were central to later theories of perspective and its relationship to optics, but few of the controversies in optics were resolved until the late 16th century (and on a popular level often much later; Samuel van Hoogstraten could still state in 1678 that the eye emitted visual rays, an idea Alhazen dismissed).

Alberti's practical demonstration of linear perspective (made all the more accessible by his metaphor of the framed window, which was popularized as a mechanical aid, especially by Dürer's engravings of actual devices in this form) had meanwhile "become entrenched in one hundred and fifty years of tradition" (p. 40). In the early 17th century, by which time the publication of Alhazen and the dissections of Vesalius had inspired Columbo, Plater, Maurolycus, della Porta (who compared the eye to a camera obscura), and finally Kepler (1604) to publish fundamental revisions of optical concepts, the most widely used treatises on perspective (Vredeman de Vries, Hondius, and the many editions of Marolois) concentrated almost exclusively on its geometrical properties and its application to architecture. Wheelock concludes that "none of these treatises really accommodated the rather major advances in optics" (p. 7), and that in fact a consequence of the growing uncertainty about the relationship of perspective to optics was what might be described as a reactionary emphasis on its mathematical aspects (especially in Bosse and Desargues).

Wheelock acknowledges that formulating "an alternative system of perspective," based not on Euclid's[4] but on Kepler's conception of optics, would have been a formidable task, and that the need was not felt because "traditional perspective theories [*scil.*, practice] worked satisfactorily for most problems and the theoretical necessity for grounding perspective in optics was not as important a concern for Dutch artists of the seventeenth century as it was for Italian masters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries." What, then, was the importance of these studies in optics for Dutch artists? Wheelock convincingly demonstrates that, first, "If Kepler's discoveries did not affect perspective treatises, they did symbolize [*scil.*, reflect] a renewed interest in the study of optics"; second, that among artists and amateurs[5] as well as

[3] W. Liedtke, "The 'View in Delft' by Carel Fabritius," *Burlington Magazine*, CXVIII, 1976, 71, quoted by Wheelock, 5 in his new preface (the introduction, alas, begins the page count again from 1), which is largely a response to my article. In fact the divergence of our views on optics and perspective (pp. 4–6) is largely nonexistent, and is more a case of uncertain terminology, and what Wheelock charitably calls my "assertive tone." The latter, I agree, was inappropriate, and I apologize to Wheelock and our readers.

[4] Wheelock fails to do justice to Euclid's "conception of optics" in that he never mentions Theorem VIII, which, as noted by Gioseffi, "does utter a clear warning against the extension to optics proper of a rule which is fundamental for perspective, and which was clearly in the minds of earlier theorists on scenographic optics; according to Euclid, parallel objects of the same size at different distances from the eye are not seen in proportion to the distance" ("Optical Concepts," *Encyclopedia of World Art*, X, col. 763). See also G. ten Doesschate, *Perspective*, Nieuwkoop, 1964, chap. V.

[5] See now A. Wheelock, "Constantijn Huygens and Early Attitudes Towards the Camera Obscura," *History of Photography*, I, 1977, 93f.

scientists this interest took the form of experimentation with optical instruments ("convex mirrors, wide-angle lenses and camera obscuras"); and finally and most important, that artists came to realize that "many of the dictates of perspective laws were built upon the limited assumptions of geometrical optics, and that these assumptions should not bind the artistic choices available to them." These new interests and changing attitudes are especially evident in the work of Delft artists during the 1650's. It should be stressed that although questions of optics and perspective are basic to a discussion of the Delft School, they should be seen within the broader context of the development of style and even iconography in the mature decades of Dutch painting. Conventions of style (of which perspective is one) and subject matter were adopted from an increasing number of sources and renewed, modified, or rejected in the light of a deepening interest in empirical observation.[6] Not since Haarlem in the early decades of the century, and then mostly in drawings, had the principal representatives of a local school been so attuned to the immediate environment. One wonders whether the exceptional scarcity of surviving drawings from the Delft School has anything to do with the fact that paintings had in good part assumed the goal of study "from life" to an extent rarely found before outside of preparatory work.

Wheelock recounts the historical development of optics and perspective with great clarity on the whole, but the connections between some of his lines of thought are nevertheless somewhat ambiguous. For example, although "Dutch artists were particularly untheoretical," "certain artists in Delft" had a "persistent awareness of the roots of perspective theory in optics" (p. 7). The latter point is linked, albeit tenuously, to the statement that "current discoveries in optics . . . further eroded the validity of perspective's fundamental assumptions" (p. 124). Thus the work of artists in Delft and, it would seem, even their interest in optical aids, are seen as inspired in part by their awareness of theoretical problems in perspective.

Although one is not tempted to discount this hypothesis, it might be wondered how comprehensively it is to be applied. Wheelock's own view seems to vary according to his choice of words. His essential point about Dutch artists is that "their primary interest was in their visual impressions of the physical world, in representing this world in terms of light and space. In short, their interests were optical" (p. 7). Optical aids such as convex mirrors, wide-angle lenses, and the camera obscura were valued as *aides recherches*[7] in observing effects of light, color, focus, and wide-angle viewing conditions in the actual environment. By contrast, perspective had limitations that could interfere with "the practical needs of artists" (p. 7), that is, of those artists especially interested in empirical observation.

Paradoxically, this cogent thesis would seem rendered somewhat diffuse by the rather close association of Delft artists and studies in optics; we recall, for example, that Samuel van Hoogstraten, who shared a special interest in perspective with his colleague under Rembrandt, Carel Fabritius, was misinformed on the question of light entering the eye (in fact, contemporary physicians were evidently not unanimous on this question either; see p. 68). Optical research is probably better described as part of a general background in an age that was increasingly interested in empirical observation in many fields, and thus produced numerous parallels between the optical discoveries of artists and those of "natural philosophers" (it would seem less necessary to relate Aert van der Neer's conspicuously curved horizons, to cite an example outside the scope of Wheelock's study, to the fields of optics, cartography, and others that dealt with this and similar problems,[8] than to the simple fact that the Dutch in general were using their eyes with fewer preconceptions than their predecessors).

Indeed, it seems probable that Wheelock intends his survey of optics and perspective as a general background, although one whose wealth of ideas allows numerous insights into 17th-century art. Whether intentionally or not, however, one is given the impression that optical aids were appreciated by Dutch artists as alternatives rather than complements to the use of linear perspective.[9] Thus in section 5.1 Wheelock is inclined to interpret Carel Fabritius's *View in Delft* as

[6] The theme of "renewal" is broadly employed in A. Blankert, *Johannes Vermeer*, Utrecht and Antwerp, 1975 (e.g., pp. 33, 36). One of the principal insights of Gombrich's *Art and Illusion*, as I understand it, is that realism, in particular a sophisticated realism based on empirical observation, depends not only on the "struggle against *schemata*" (L. Nochlin, *Realism*, Harmondsworth, 1971, 20, where Gombrich's thesis seems represented in a truncated form), but on the artist's awareness of a wide range of alternatives, or "sources," in the art of the past and of his time. From Giotto to Rubens to Courbet and Manet, this broad knowledge of conventions is found among the most innovative artists of major periods of Western realism, and among artists who represent the most mature stages of those developments (e.g., Velázquez, Vermeer, the later Rembrandt).

[7] Nochlin, *ibid.*, 18, applies this term, distinguishing it from *aides mémoires*, to Cozens's renderings of clouds which were adopted by Constable.

[8] See ten Doesschate, as cited in n. 4 above, chap. IX on "Schickhardt's Problem."

[9] Upon reading this review in manuscript, Wheelock felt that he did not suggest "that this oppositional relationship existed so much for artists, even Fabritius," but agreed that in respect to theorists "one might feel that the emphasis was more on the opposition of perspective and optics than on their complementary character." Supporting the latter point is Wheelock's frequent reference to the "false assumptions" of linear perspective and to the 16th- and 17th-century theorists' questioning of "the validity of perspective's foundations in geometrical optics" (p. 132, and *passim*). Such phrases may well lead the reader to suspect that there is something dubious about linear perspective as practiced from Alberti to the present, but it is, in fact, "for one eye in a fixed position . . . the only exact representation of the uniocular field of view" (M. H. Pirenne, *Optics, Painting and Photography*, Cambridge, 1970, 62, citing Zanetti; see also ten Doesschate, as cited in n. 4 above, chap. XXVII, on the "limited [*scil.*, limiting] assumptions," as they are elsewhere more correctly described by Wheelock, and E. H. Gombrich's excellent "Mirror and Map: Theories of Pictorial Representation," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, CCLXX, 1975, 119f., on the "quarrel about the curvature of the phenomenal world" that has "bedevilled the discussion of representation for a long time" [*ibid.*, 143], citing Panofsky and White). The reader's uncertainty at particular points in Wheelock's discussion would seem to be a problem of vocabulary, e.g., the liberal use of the word "theory" throughout the book, which occasionally means theory but often refers to the "practice" of perspective and its conventions. Similarly, compositions have "emotional impact," when what is meant is an effect expressive of the subjective experience of a wide-angle view (p. 244). No doubt, difficulties of this kind are a hazard in Garland's publishing format, in which the imprecisions of a dissertation written under pressure are preserved.

a deliberately distorted image because in this form it can express the wide-angle viewing experience at the actual site.[10] He rejects my reconstruction of the painting (supported by earlier writers) as a curved image mounted in a perspective box,[11] which results in a distortion-free (and remarkably faithful) record of the actual site, projected in conventional perspective, but designed to present an illusion of three-dimensional space as well as a mobile viewing experience of the picture similar to that of the actual site. In my view, it is the latter reconstruction that best supports Wheelock's basic thesis that the "roving eye" and other concepts of optical treatises (see my fig. B from Vignola) were of interest to artists in Delft. Equally persuasive evidence of contemporary interest in the roving inspection required of an actual wide-angle view is found in Saenredam's tower sketch and the related series of sketches dated 1650 representing the New Church in Haarlem.[12] True, convex mirrors and perhaps concave lenses addressed the problem of the wide-angle view, and the camera obscura dealt with other optical effects, and in this light Wheelock's experiment with a double-concave lens at Fabritius's vantage point in Delft is an informative demonstration. But a stronger emphasis on how orthodox perspective was employed in new ways in response to actual visual, that is "optical" problems (e.g., Houckgeest's "two-point" scheme applied to wide-angle views of church interiors; see 221f., and 152f. on de Vries and Hondius) would seem to offer a more balanced historical view of what happened in Delft, and, happily, one that would entirely support Wheelock's "whole point" as defined in his letter quoted above. The relationship between optics and perspective in the art of Delft was not only "very fluid" but often strained or contradictory, a pattern that emerges, *inter alia*, because of the different ages, training, and personalities of the most innovative artists (e.g., Houckgeest and de Witte, in their closely interrelated church interiors of 1650–51), and the contemporary intensification of interest in both empirical observation and classical style and aesthetics (the dynamic interplay of these two trends in good part defines the course of Vermeer's mature work).

In this space one can barely map out the wealth of information about 15th- and 16th-century treatises on perspective that is brought to bear on the questions discussed above (chaps. 2–4). Chap. 2 considers the "Limitations of perspective theory arising from its optical basis." It deals with Piero della Francesca's discussion of the limits on the angle of view and his influence on subsequent treatises, with the recognition by artists of the problems of lateral foreshortening and subjective curvatures (one regrets that Fouquet and other earlier artists who would seem to have been aware of them are not brought into the discussion), and with Leonardo's defense in the *Paragone* of visual information and his exploration of problems concerning the relationship between natural perspective (how we see the world) and picture plane projection.[13]

Chap. 3, on the "Distrust of optics and the search for an alternative basis for perspective theory," is a fascinating account of the confusion (indeed ignorance) of 16th-century perspective theorists about the nature of vision and the information it receives (p. 107). The science of optics that inspired Alberti's confidence seemed in the 16th century hardly exact, and this encouraged perspective theorists to seek different areas of support. As Wheelock points out in his valuable section on the "Impact of Neoplatonism on perspective" (3.2), the 16th-century philosophical climate was both a source and a salvation (by providing a nonempirical foundation for perspective) for doubts about perspective's relationship to optics. Critical of nature as a poor reflection of the world of ideas, Neoplatonism stressed mathematical and geometrical qualities that were embodied in architecture and linear perspective, and helped to perpetuate perspective practices of the Early Renaissance even after their theoretical foundation had been put in doubt. Of course one could add that the great importance of printing, which resulted in the wide distribution of information (including basic instruction in perspective), the rise of academies and the "learned artist," and the increasing specialization of science likewise contributed to the standardization of perspective practice in the later Renaissance. But rarely before has perspective been so lucidly related to 16th-century philosophy, and never, to my knowledge, within a broader context that clarifies the place of this relationship in the development of 15th- to 17th-century pictorial art. Rounding out this picture is Wheelock's account of the contemporary rise of the reputation of Vitruvius as an ancient authority on perspective in Barbaro's important *La pratica della prospettiva* (1569) and other 16th-century treatises (Sec. 3.3).

Neoplatonism and Vitruvius were not influences destined to widen the horizons of 16th-century theorists, but nevertheless Barbaro himself, and Egnatio Danti in his commentary on Vignola's *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica* (1583), did introduce new optical information into the literature of perspective (discussed in chap. 4, "Attempts to resolve conflicts between perspective and optics"). Especially important were Barbaro's discussion of the camera obscura and the commentaries on the nature of vision by Danti (who "unlike Barbaro . . . recognized that the eye operates upon the same principles as the camera obscura"). In the early 17th century the camera obscura became "familiar to everyone," as Con-

[10] This section was published in slightly different form as "Carel Fabritius: Perspective and Optics in Delft," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XXIV, 1973, 63f. Blankert, as cited in n. 6 above, 115, n. 43, has questioned the idea that in this period an artist so interested in empirical observation would have, as Wheelock put it in this article, "felt free to utilize [the wide-angle effect's] expressive characteristics without concern for the distortions it created."

[11] See n. 3 above.

[12] W. Liedtke, "The New Church in Haarlem Series: Saenredam's Sketching Style in Relation to Perspective," *Simiolus*, VIII, 1975–76, 145f.

[13] This important section is greatly clarified by a concurrent reading of Martin Kemp's excellent study, "Leonardo and the Visual Pyramid," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XL, 1977, 128f. Whether one would prefer to call Leonardo's exploration a "resolution," as Wheelock does in the title of this section (2.3), depends on the debated question of whether or not Leonardo invented a system of "synthetic perspective." Cf. B. A. R. Carter, "Pictorial Space," review of John White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*, London, 1957, in *Burlington Magazine*, C, 1958, 446, and C. Pedretti, "Leonardo on Curvilinear Perspective," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance*, XXV, 1963, 69f. Carter's review and his article, "Perspective," in the *Oxford Companion to Art*, Oxford, 1970, should be in Wheelock's bibliography, as should Gioseffi and ten Doesschate (cited in n. 4 above). Otherwise it is excellent, citing 97 original and 174 secondary sources.

stantijn Huygens put it, and various optical aids captured the interest of a considerable number of Dutch artists (Sec. 4.4). Wheelock commendably notes the difficulty in detecting whether a mirror, lens, camera obscura, or perspective frame was of any consequence for an artist's work, but the circumstantial evidence is persuasive enough to suggest that eyes were opened and occasionally guided by optical devices. Many of their effects revealed or at least addressed the nature of actual visual experience, for example, wide-angle views in the case of the convex mirror and concave lens, and motion, effects of light, and relationships of color and tone in the camera obscura. The latter, according to Van Hoogstraten, could give "no small light to the sight of young artists."

Chap. 5 on Carel Fabritius has been mentioned above and discussed at length in my article cited there.[14] Wheelock's new preface does not add a great deal to the argument about the *View in Delft*.[15] Suffice it to say that whichever reconstruction is accepted, Wheelock is right in regarding Carel Fabritius as a remarkable pioneer, profoundly interested in empirical observation and the capacity of art to record it.

Chap. 6, on architectural painting in Delft around 1650, discusses those "characteristics of style" (Sec. 6.1) in the work of Gerard Houckgeest and Emanuel de Witte which reveal their interest in responding to the demanding viewing conditions found on location in the two important churches in Delft.[16] The "two-point" recession dominated by an obliquely receding colonnade, which Jantzen described as a "perspektivische Schrägansicht" and the essential feature of the "Delft type" of architectural painting,[17] was employed by them to establish an illusionistic space that spreads in a natural, fluid manner from a very close point of view. On page 222 Wheelock concisely makes this point about wide-angle (and high-angle) viewing and the way in which the approach of Houckgeest and de Witte "deemphasizes the rigidity of a strict perspective construction." The rest of the chapter is devoted to a historical discussion of their work, which perhaps goes beyond the scope of the book but was a necessary corrective at the time it was written, long after Jantzen's study and shortly after Manke's distorted view of Houckgeest and de Witte's relationship, but still before the appearance of Lyckle de Vries's long article on Houckgeest.[18] Especially valuable is Wheelock's Section 6.3 on "The Tomb of William the Silent, and its significance in 1650–51." The monument was evidently the first subject of architectural painting in Delft and may well have inspired the very existence of the genre of real church interiors in that town.

This raises the question of the "influence of Pieter Saenredam" (Sec. 6.2), for both Wheelock and de Vries have felt the need to enlist Saenredam to explain the sudden shift to real subjects and a realistic style around 1650. Their comparisons of the Delft painters' work with that of Saenredam are for the most part either broad or tenuous; the most persuasive similarities (Wheelock, p. 234) are best described as the consequence of Houckgeest's earlier response to Saenredam[19] and his quite independent exploration of similar sites in Delft.[20] The history of architectural painting in Delft involves many complex problems of attribution, dating, and influence, not to mention the neglected part played by Hendrick van Vliet. My forthcoming book, *Architectural Painting in Delft*, will discuss all these questions at length and will deal with the few shortcomings, chiefly of attribution, found in Wheelock's chapter.[21]

A comprehensive survey of architectural painting in Delft would have been out of place in Wheelock's study, but an opportunity missed would seem to be that of relating de Witte's painterly style, unprecedented in the genre, to the new emphasis on empirical observation and the contemporary discontent with the limitations of conventional perspective practice. No genre was as dependent on the latter as architectural painting, and no painter did more (before the 19th century) than de Witte to transcend the genre as a perspectivist's specialty. The "optical" interests of Dutch artists could hardly be better illustrated than by the mature de Witte's interpretation of architectural forms and spaces as essentially a pattern of light, and his consequent ability, unthinkable in the case of a Hendrick van Steenwyck or Pieter Neefs but paralleled in the contemporary work of Carel Fabritius and Vermeer, to turn from subject to subject (e.g.,

[14] See n. 3 above.

[15] The points raised by Wheelock in respect to my reconstruction do not seem to argue against it or to respond to the considerations that most strongly support it. Not mentioned by Wheelock, and in my view a decisive feature of my reconstruction (and the last, incidentally, to be discovered) is the shape of the viola da gamba as it would project beyond the lower edge of the painting if the latter were mounted on a curved surface (see figs. 11–13 in my cited article). Similarly, the alignment of the trellis with the wall, the recession of forms throughout the picture, and the projection of the shadows are all far more consistent and realistic when the image is curved. Wheelock, p. 9, questions the reliability of comparing certain forms in the picture with those at the site, but offers no comment on the fact that when the picture is curved, many of the forms are clearly more faithful to the actual view (the angle of the canals, the width of the street on the right, etc.). The shape of the lute, which is unavoidably pinched in the reproduction of my curved reconstruction by virtue of its projection on a flat page, is barely different whether the painting is curved and mounted in a perspective box, or whether it is flat, and the shape is very close to that of an actual lute photographed in this position (Wheelock, fig. 107). The roving eye required to appreciate Fabritius's picture as I have reconstructed it strongly supports Wheelock's suggestions that the artist was aware of this central element of natural perspective, and that Fabritius had the expertise and imagination to overcome the limitations of linear perspective in a very innovative manner.

[16] This chapter was published in *Simiolus*, VIII, 1975–76, 167f., where a few 17th-century passages quoted in Dutch in the present book are translated into English.

[17] Hans Jantzen, *Das niederländische Architekturbild*, Leipzig, 1910, 96f.

[18] Ilse Manke, *Emanuel de Witte 1617–1692*, Amsterdam, 1963, 15f. Her argument that de Witte, not Houckgeest, established the Delft-type church interior is rejected by Wheelock, 223f., by Lyckle de Vries, "Gerard Houckgeest," *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen*, XX, 1975, 25f., and in my dissertation, "Architectural Painting in Delft," Courtauld Institute, 1974.

[19] De Vries, 25f.; Liedtke, chap. 2.

[20] Discussed in my paper delivered at the CAA annual meeting at Los Angeles in 1977.

[21] To cite the most important examples: the two de Wittes, figs. 40–41, rejected by Wheelock, p. 225, are genuine works of the artist of ca. 1651. Wheelock, 242, correctly supports Jantzen's attribution of the *Interior of the Old Church with the Tomb of Piet Hein* in the Rijksmuseum (storage), fig. 56, to Houckgeest, as the Rijksmuseum catalogue of 1976 should have.

market scenes and marines) without a significant change in style.

Chap. 7 on Vermeer is principally concerned with the role of optical aids in his work (previous discussions are usefully surveyed in n. 7), but opens with a brief review of the literature, Vermeer's family background,[22] contemporary appreciation of his art,[23] and some refreshing thoughts on his training. Not only Maes but Bramer and the very neglected Isaac Koedyck are related to Vermeer's formative period, an approach that commendably contrasts with the interpretation of Vermeer's paintings as direct transcriptions of what he saw (represented in different ways by Swillens and Fink).[24] Wheelock's interpretation is one that owes more to the rich back pages of Gowing's monograph than has been acknowledged in recent years,[25] and that is extended by Blankert's monograph on Vermeer and forthcoming studies of contemporary genre painters.

Vermeer's relationship to contemporary and earlier Dutch painters active both in and out of Delft is never obvious but was nonetheless close (compare, for instance, his Frick *Cavalier and Girl* to Honthorst's *Procuress* in Utrecht). Here, and in his lecture at the annual meeting of the College Art Association in 1976, Wheelock has maintained a largely convincing balance between a careful discussion of what Vermeer evidently came to perceive through the use of a camera obscura, and what, by contrast, he perceived in the styles and subjects of other artists and then transformed into his own quieter but more intense images. The instinctive aversion to the whole idea of "optical aids" that some scholars must feel in the case of Vermeer (and Canaletto, Bernardo Bellotto, and others) stems from their intuition that "whatever the nature of his original visual impression . . . Vermeer refined and purified his composition to an extraordinary degree" (p. 281; several compositions are described and in two cases diagrammed in support of this observation).

Given this refinement and Vermeer's broad knowledge of compositional conventions, Wheelock notes that "any conclusions about his precise use of optical aids in his mature work must remain tentative" (p. 281). This caution in considering all of the possibly relevant factors is indeed more evident in Wheelock's discussion of the mature pictures than in his analysis of the *Girl Asleep* in the Metropolitan Museum, the Frick *Cavalier and Girl*, and the Dresden *Letter Reader*, not to mention Rembrandt's early *Artist in His Studio* in Boston. Wheelock relates all of these paintings to the use of a mirror or lens chiefly because they exhibit strong contrasts in scale between the foreground forms and a key figure in deeper space (like Parmigianino's *Self-Portrait*, compared to the Rembrandt on p. 209). In my view, this argument (an extension of Wheelock's interpretation of Fabritius's *View in Delft* as an image distorted by a double-concave lens) has merit in so far as it illustrates that Vermeer was keenly interested in actual viewing conditions. Nevertheless, comparisons of these paintings, and the Fabritius to works like Adam Pick's *Smoking Man* (evidently painted a few years earlier in Delft),[26] to Houckgeest's rapidly receding colonnades of 1650–51, and indeed to such dramatically staged compositions by Rembrandt as the *Artist in His Studio*, illuminate the fact that Vermeer was modernizing a long-established Baroque pattern that one can trace back through countless variations to compositions like that of the "easel" pictures on either end of the Farnese ceiling and many earlier examples. As Wheelock has admirably demonstrated in a number of cases, the intensity of Vermeer's observation wonderfully obscures his stylistic conventions, "the means by which Vermeer achieved his seemingly inexplicable results."[27]

Indeed, in Section 7.3 Wheelock takes as his point of departure the observation that "Fink frequently fails to distinguish between optical characteristics of the camera obscura and general tendencies of style in the third quarter of the century."[28] By means of a patient pursuit of "points of correlation" that fail to correlate and by the demonstration that Fink's list of specific optical effects "grossly underrates Vermeer's perceptive awareness of the visual environment" (p. 287), Wheelock controverts most of Fink's analysis and arrives at his own cogently considered observations of effects evidently related to Vermeer's use of a camera obscura. Expectedly, these are effects of light: the intensity of color and the silhouetted appearances of figures (p. 295), the seeming lack of focus (p. 277, 298), and the halation of highlights observed by Seymour (chap. 7, n. 7). Several examples demonstrate that the globules of light that Vermeer dotted over surfaces (his *pointillé* technique) are an arbitrary device effectively suggestive of glistening sunlight.[29] The paintings that Wheelock relates to the camera obscura with some assurance are the two exterior views, and three exceptionally small and close-up studies in figures: the *Lacemaker* in the Louvre, and the *Girl in a Red Hat* and *Girl with a Flute* in Washington. Wheelock now rejects, with Blankert, the latter picture as not from Vermeer's *oeuvre*, but properly does not follow Blankert's rejection of the *Girl in a Red Hat*.[30]

In conclusion, the only broad reservations one might have

[22] See now Blankert, as cited n. 6 above, and J. M. Montias, "New Documents on Vermeer and His Family," *Oud Holland*, XCI, 1977, 267f.

[23] Wheelock correctly notes that a convention of Bleyswijck's *Beschreyvinge der Stadt Delft*, 1667 (and other such "Descriptions"), is the discussion of only those native artists who were deceased. Hence Houbraken's omission of Vermeer must depend on his hasty reading of Bleyswijck (p. 265 and chap. 5, n. 4).

[24] See chap. 7, n. 1 on Swillens's monograph of 1950, and Sec. 7.3 on the article by Fink cited in n. 1 above.

[25] Lawrence Gowing, *Vermeer*, London, 1952, (e.g., 109, n. 60, for the Koedyck comparison).

[26] Blankert, as cited in n. 6 above, 50, fig. 25, comparing it to Vermeer's *Letter Reader* in Dresden.

[27] Wheelock, 261. The dark cloud at the top of the *View of Delft*, for example, is as much a device to enhance the suggestion of receding space and to strengthen, through its shape, the monumentality of the view as the curtain in the *Art of Painting* (Vermeer's late compositions are not different in kind but in obviousness).

Kurt Bauch, *Der frühe Rembrandt und seine Zeit*, Berlin, 1960, 140f., has related the scale of the easel in the foreground of Rembrandt's *Artist in His Studio* (considered by Wheelock to be the distortional effect of a mirror) to its possible emblematic significance.

[28] Wheelock, 287.

[29] Compare the similar interpretation in J. Rosenberg, S. Slive, E. H. ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture: 1600–1800*, Harmondsworth, 1966, 121.

[30] See Wheelock's review of Blankert's *Johannes Vermeer* in *Art Bulletin*, LIX, 1977, 439f.

about this book are that it did not appear, as its importance merits, somewhat later in more polished form, that it was not published according to standards of book production acceptable for art-historical monographs,[31] and that it is absurdly expensive because Garland Publishing, Inc., calculated that only 250 copies could be sold to the libraries and few individuals who simply must have it.[32]

WALTER A. LIEDTKE
Ohio State University

MARÍA ANGELES MAZÓN DE LA TORRE, *Jusepe Leonardo y su tiempo*, Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Católico de la Excelentísima Diputación Provincial, 1977. Pp. 471; 55 ills. Pta. 900

JULIÁN GÁLLEGO AND JOSÉ GUDIOL, *Zurbarán, 1598–1664*, New York, Rizzoli, 1977. Pp. 415; 521 ills. $60

JORGE BERNALES BALLESTEROS, *Alonso Cano en Sevilla* (*Arte Hispalense*, XI), Seville, Excma. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1976. Pp. 184; 16 ills. Pta. 300

ANTONIO MARTÍNEZ RIPOLL, *La iglesia del Colegio de San Buenaventura* (*Arte Hispalense*, XII), Seville, Excma. Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1976. Pp. 175; 16 ills. Pta. 300

JULIÁN GÁLLEGO, *El pintor de artesano a artista*, Granada, Universidad de Granada, Departamento de Historia del Arte, 1976. Pp. 283. Pta. 290

MERCEDES AGULLÓ COBO, *Noticias sobre pintores madrileños de los siglos XVI y XVII* (*Documentos para la historia del arte*, I), Granada, Departamentos de Historia del Arte de las Universidades de Granada y Autónoma de Madrid, 1978. Pp. 269. Pta. 600

Each year a goodly number of books on Spanish Baroque painting appear. And, as the years go by, the number seems to become ever greater. Art history in Spain is booming, although there, as elsewhere, professional opportunities have not kept pace with the growing number of art historians. It is impossible to give an account of the most recent harvest in a single review. But these six books, published in the last year and a half, are a reasonable sample, and between them represent the various methodologies at work.

First are the monographs, beginning with Mazón's book on Jusepe Leonardo. Leonardo (1601-ca. 1653) was an Aragonese painter who worked in Madrid during the 1620's–1630's. Towards 1644, he became insane and spent the last decade of his life in an asylum in Zaragoza. During his productive years, Leonardo seems to have found a comfortable niche in the art world of Madrid. His fame rightly rests on the two battle paintings he executed in 1634–35 for the Hall of Realms of the Buen Retiro Palace, the *Surrender of Juliers* and the *Siege of Brisach*, both in the Prado. The rest of his *oeuvre*, which in any case is quite small, reveals him to have been a satellite of the prevailing court painter. During the 1630's he followed the Italianante style of Carducho and Cajés, the latter of whom appears to have employed him as an assistant. In the next decade, Leonardo came under the influence of Velázquez, whose paintings provided the stimulus for some of Leonardo's best work (notably the *Birth of the Virgin* at the Escorial). In all, about 35 of Leonardo's works survive—a modest *oeuvre* and a modest talent, although clearly deserving of study.

How, then did Mazón's monograph come to be 471 pages long? For Leonardo is not Giorgione. The answer is revealed in the preface, where it is noted that the book was the author's doctoral dissertation. It seems that the crucial, irreplaceable process of rewriting that turns an art-history student's last academic exercise into the first professional publication was omitted. The verbiage is simply staggering. Every single opinion about every single aspect of the artist's life, work, and fame is included, simply to demonstrate that for the last 200 years no one has known a great deal about the subject. Every single detail of every single composition is described. Every single fact that the author discovered in the course of her research is recorded. For instance, Mazón found numerous documents about Leonardo's relations, near and distant. We are informed about them all, although they lived ordinary lives in the town of Calatayud. The ponderous pursuit of facts for their own sake and the lack of discrimination almost obscure the author's contribution to knowledge. For the book is not without its merits.

These merits reside primarily in the useful archival discoveries that establish Leonardo's date and place of birth and also provide a documented framework for his career. There is also a good section on documents concerning many of Leonardo's contemporaries. (The most important were published by the author, along with Leonardo's *partida de bautismo*, in the *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1971). Finally, Leonardo's *oeuvre* is put into reasonable order. A few unknown or little known works are plausibly entered into Leonardo's column, especially the *Construction of Solomon's Temple* in the collection of the Duchess of Andria, which, from the reproduction, looks like an imposing painting.

There are also, however, some questionable attributions and reattributions. First is the attempt to reassign two paintings of the Kings of Castile in the Prado to Leonardo at the expense of Alonso Cano. The documents for this commission to decorate the *salón dorado* are at best inconclusive about authorship and do not justify the reattribution. The style of the paintings, however, is unmistakably Cano's. Another unconvincing attribution to Leonardo is the *Portrait of a Young Woman* in the Detroit Institute of Arts (formerly in the Harry Boyd Earhart Foundation and still so listed by Mazón). To my eyes, the picture is neither Spanish nor Baroque. I agree with the opinion expressed to me by Dewey Mosby, the curator of paintings at Detroit, that it is an English or Scottish picture of the 19th century. Also inexplicable is the tentative reattribution of Velázquez's *Sibyl* in the Meadows Museum to Leonardo.

Jusepe Leonardo y su tiempo is thus a paradox. It rescues this capable artist from the semi-obscurity of neglect only again to submerge him, this time in words. Had the book been half so long, it would have been twice as good.

Zurbarán by Julián Gállego and José Gudiol is really two books in one. The first part is a critical essay written by Gállego, the second is Gudiol's handlist of the works. Given

[31] See the comments on the Garland series in Eric Jan Sluijter's review of James D. Burke's *Jan Both* in *Oud Holland*, XCI, 1977, 296, in Stephen Gardner's review of Tania Bayard's *Bourges Cathedral: The West Portals* in *Art Bulletin*, LX, 1978, 164, and in Christiane Andersson's review of Craig Harbison's *The Last Judgment in Sixteenth-Century Northern Europe*, *ibid.*, 553.

[32] Thanks are due to the following scholars for their very helpful comments: Christopher Brown, B. A. R. Carter, Eric Jan Sluijter, Peter Sutton, Kim Veltman, and Arthur Wheelock.

their disparate nature, I will discuss each section separately. Julián Gállego is one of the most imaginative and broadly cultured historians of art in Spain. Hence, I approached his essay on Zurbarán with high hopes, only to feel rather disappointed after reading it. I hasten to add that Gállego was not very well served by the publisher. To begin with, the translation was done by someone unfamiliar with the vocabulary of art history. To take one small but telling example, the section of reproductions at the end of the book is entitled "Engravings," a mistranslation of "*Laminas*." Then, on p. 32, we read this sentence: "Iconographically, they [the paintings of the *Inmaculada*] may be said to tend towards the sculptural." The errors in translation, plus the overall lack of fluency, make the text seem diffuse and verbose. Spanish critical writing on art of the sort found in this essay still retains a 19th-century belles-lettrist flavor that cannot and should not be translated into English, as has been done here.

The second burden the text bears is the decision to eschew footnotes. As a consequence, Gállego, who properly wishes to acknowledge the views and contributions of other writers, is forced to clutter the text with the names of scholars to the point where they become obtrusive and distracting. From the point of view of style and format, the essay is not easy to read.

The content is also uneven. After a brief biographical sketch, there is an interesting chapter entitled "Iconographical Considerations," in which Gállego assesses the importance of Zurbarán's monastic clientèle. As I shall mention below, this is an aspect of Zurbarán studies that is badly in need of attention. Gállego makes a useful start, but there is still a long way to go before this topic is satisfactorily explored.

In the remaining six chapters, Gállego analyzes Zurbarán's style by compositional type or format: Large Compositions, Single Figures, Still Lifes, Typology of Objects, Interiors and Exteriors, Color and Material. The decision to organize the book in this way leads to a certain amount of repetition, as when the author wishes to discuss topics that cut across his divisions. It also means that important subjects, for instance the sources of Zurbarán's style, have to be squeezed into chapters where they do not seem to belong.

Gállego's conception of Zurbarán's style and evolution somehow fails to do justice to the artist. Like others before him, Gállego is aware that Zurbarán was not a facile painter and he often draws attention to the artist's weaknesses, especially his difficulty in composing many-figured subjects and in constructing a credible pictorial space. He sees Zurbarán's great and unusual talent in his penetrating, "objective" vision of nature, both animate and inanimate. This analysis is correct, if not novel. But, as it emerges from the text, the evaluation seems to me to overemphasize the negative. For instance, Gállego writes of the *Labors of Hercules* (p. 64): "The *Labors of Hercules*, which were indeed labors for their painter, pose so many new questions . . . that it is not surprising Zurbarán did not achieve a very brilliant result; but this does not mean that, if properly examined, they do not represent a milestone in the painter's career." I believe this is known as damning with faint praise.

Perhaps the cause of the problem lies in the confusion about the intended audience for the book. Those who know little or nothing about Zurbarán will find it hard to gain a clear understanding of his art from this essay. Those who are already familiar with the artist, while appreciating a number of observations, will not find the essay to be a major step forward in Zurbarán studies.

This lack of novelty deserves an additional comment. Gállego is obviously thoroughly familiar with the literature on Zurbarán and implicitly situates his analysis within the framework defined by such important *zurbaranistas* as Caturla, Soria, Guinard, and Pemán. Inevitably, this framework, which was built to contain information on Zurbarán's life and work, has become something of a prison. Gállego's approach unintentionally demonstrates that a long and important phase of Zurbarán studies has come to an end. Most of the factual questions posed by the pioneer students have been satisfactorily resolved. A review of the literature of the last 15 years proves the point. Since the tercentenary of Zurbarán's death in 1964, very little of great significance has been added to the bibliography. To me, this indicates that the time has come to ask different questions about the artist, questions that will help to broaden our understanding of his achievement.

One area of inquiry that seems to have the highest priority is Zurbarán's position in the art and thought of his time and place. In art-historical terms, this would entail a close study of his stylistic sources and his iconography. But the answers to these questions have wider implications than these somewhat limiting terms might suggest. Virtually all writers on Zurbarán have stressed the individuality of his style and the special nature of his monastic patronage. Without denying the general validity of these points, it should be possible to be much more precise about how Zurbarán's style was formed and how it was put to use by Seville's religious communities. Once this has been accomplished, we may have a clearer understanding of how Zurbarán developed a style and approach to subject matter that curiously and compellingly combined the "out-of-date" with the "up-to-the minute."

Gállego, in discussing the first of these questions, advances the prevailing view that Caravaggio played a decisive role in the formation of Zurbarán's style. But the superficial similarities between the two artists can no longer be taken as evidence of a direct connection. In recent times, students of early Baroque painting have established that Caravaggio was part of a widespread movement toward a more naturalist art, not the cause of this movement. Zurbarán's case helps to prove the point.

This is not the place to discuss the question of Zurbarán's sources in detail. I will only say that I believe that the answer lies not in Rome but in Seville itself, where Zurbarán was an apprentice from 1614 to 1617. This unique blend of conservative and progressive elements in his style accurately reflects this critical moment in the history of Sevillian painting. During his first stay in Seville, Zurbarán would have studied the altarpieces of Roelas, Pacheco, and Mohedano done in a provincial Italianate, reform Mannerist vein. And he would also have seen the first revolutionary paintings of Velázquez. Primarily from these disparate sources he confected his own individual manner. A close study of painting in Seville from 1590 to 1620 is one of the most important needs of the history of Spanish art. Only after this has been done will we be able to see clearly the sources of Zurbarán's style and how he transformed them.

Gállego touches briefly and intermittently on the area of subject matter, but the format and intention of his essay do not permit the kind of close study of Zurbarán and his patrons that is required to clarify the matter. As the book by Martínez Ripoll on the Colegio de S. Buenaventura shows (reviewed below), this approach can greatly increase our understanding of Zurbarán's art. No painter of the time, in Spain or elsewhere, so thoroughly penetrated the essence of

monastic Catholicism. The fact is obvious, but the secret of his success will be revealed only by the analysis of individual pictorial cycles and the Orders that commissioned them.

Gudiol's "catalogue" of Zurbaran's *oeuvre* is best dealt with briefly. Suffice it to say that on a technical basis it is inadequate. The entries, which are arranged chronologically, consist of the title, dimensions, and provenance. There is no discussion of the problems presented by a picture, although numerous attributions and dates are highly controversial. For example, Gudiol dates the paintings for the Charterhouse of Triana much later (1641–1658) than they have ever been dated before. He offers not a word of explanation for this radical change in chronology. More troubling still are some of the attributions. In the first place, no distinction is made between the work of the master and his assistants, even when the pictures have been clearly established as shop-work. Second, a sizable number of patently unauthentic paintings have been assigned to Zurbarán. It does not require specialized training to see that the pictures illustrated as plates 3, 43, 54, 59, 226, 272, 275, and 387 are not by Zurbarán. At the risk of being obvious, I advise the continued use of Guinard's catalogue of 1960 for questions of authenticity.

In sum, this expensive book on Zurbarán should be read for the introductory essay, which is serious and informed. The abundant illustrations also make the book worth having for reference purposes.

Jorge Bernales Ballesteros's book on Alonso Cano is one of a new series about art in Seville published by the Diputación Provincial de Sevilla. The series, called *Arte Hispalense,* is much to be applauded both in conception and execution. An effort has been made to give young scholars a chance to present new information on painters, sculptors, and architects of all periods about whom little has been known. The books are attractively produced, contain a number of useful color reproductions, and are very reasonably priced. The only objection concerns the lack of a scholarly apparatus; there is a bibliography but no footnotes. Specific references have been omitted because the books are apparently aimed at a general public. The decision not to frighten the public with scholarly footnotes is both ill-considered and condescending. I can see the point of wanting to exclude lengthy, pedantic footnotes; they should probably be excluded from specialized writing as well. But informational footnotes ought to be available to those who would like to find out more about a specific fact or idea. They can easily be ignored by those who do not wish to be distracted.

Alonso Cano en Sevilla is, regrettably, not one of the best books in the series. The subject is interesting and important, but difficult because so few works from Cano's Sevillian period have survived. Cano came to Seville from Granada with his family in 1614 and lived in the city until 1638. His arrival, by the way, coincided with Zurbarán's, who was older than Cano by only three years. It is fascinating to see how these two painters absorbed and adapted the diverse strains in the artistic milieu of Seville in the 1610's. As writers on Cano have long noted, the artist developed a graceful, elegant style, a style that contrasts with the roughhewn, virile manner of Zurbarán.

Bernales is much concerned with defining Cano's style and with tracing its origins in earlier art and theory, but goes about it in an idiosyncratic way. To the author, Cano is a sort of latter-day Bronzino (p. 88). As he also says on page 70, "Cano es un pintor retrasado, del siglo XVI. . . ." In another section (pp. 53–57), he seeks to explain Cano's style by reference to 16th-century Neoplatonic art theory. Implicit to this analysis is the assumption that all mannerism is Mannerism, and this of course is not true. Cano's art, however graceful, is thoroughly grounded in the normative, more realistic style made popular in Seville by Velázquez, whom Cano knew well.

In the realm of facts, Bernales is more reliable, although he breaks no new ground. His account of Cano's years in Seville offers a complete summary of the biographical information. There are also informative discussions of all the known commissions and attributions. It is curious that the corpus of surviving works is so small. Twenty-four years of activity are represented by 15 or 20 works of painting and sculpture. Some pieces inevitably have been destroyed. But there must be others still in existence that have not been recognized. In the catalogue section, Bernales provides a helpful list of *obras perdidas* (pp. 117–121), which is a compilation of attributions from 18th- and 19th-century sources and sale catalogues. It may be that authentic paintings will emerge from time to time. Just a year ago, for example, the Louvre acquired two small but splendid early paintings, *Saint James* and *Saint John the Evangelist* (both measure 53.5 x 35.5cm). The latter is identical in composition to the painting once in the Castell Collection in Barcelona, although it is only about half as large. Whether the authenticity of the ex-Castell painting will hold up in comparison to the Louvre picture remains to be seen.

This is also an opportune moment to attempt to restore to Cano two beautiful pictures in the Ringling Museum, Sarasota, which Bernales, following Wethey, excludes from the catalogue. There are *Saint John's Vision of God the Father* and *Saint John's Vision of the Lamb of God.* The two paintings were part of the Altarpiece of Saint John the Evangelist of Sta. Paula, Seville, commissioned in November, 1635. At first ten, but later only eight pictures, were destined for the altarpiece. On January 3, 1638, Cano, who had been called to Madrid by the Count-Duke of Olivares, ceded the commission to his friend Juan del Castillo. At that time, Cano, in his own equivocal words, said he had completed "la mayor parte de los lienços de pintura y faltan algunos por hazer." Three of the eight paintings have survived, the two in Sarasota, the other in the Wallace Collection, which is one of Cano's masterpieces. The document establishes that Cano had done at least five pictures (the "greater part"), but does not specify which they were. In principle, the Sarasota paintings could have been done as well by Cano as by Castillo. The quality, however, is vastly superior to the known works by Castillo, who painted in a brittle, hard-baked manner. The sureness of the drawing, especially in the hands, the studied elegance of the poses, and the subtlety of the pastel colors indicate to me that the paintings were done by Cano.

The three books reviewed above take what I have elsewhere called the *vida y obras* approach to their subjects. Their common aim is to establish reliable biographies and canons of works for the artists under study. No one will question the value and necessity of this method. Neither would anyone claim that this is the only fruitful approach to the history of art. Studies of Spanish Baroque painting, however, until quite recently, did not much exploit the alternatives to the monograph. That situation is now changing, as both Spanish and non-Spanish art historians are beginning to establish a wider framework for the field. Two recent books are excellent examples of this trend.

The first, which also belongs to the *Arte Hispalense* series, is about the decoration of the church of the Colegio de S. Buenaventura. Its author is Antonio Martínez Ripoll, a mem-

ber of the Department of Art History at the University of Córdoba. The Colegio de S. Buenaventura was a Franciscan college established in Seville in 1600–03. Within a short time, the Colegio became famous as a center for theological studies. According to the documentation discovered by Martínez Ripoll, the church of the college was built between 1622 and 1626. Its decoration, which forms the subject of the book, was executed in two stages. First were the nave and cupola frescoes by Francisco de Herrera the Elder, done in 1626–27. Then, in 1628–29, Herrera and Zurbarán each did four large paintings of scenes from the life of Saint Bonaventure for the walls of the nave. Martínez Ripoll has written a penetrating and incisive study of this important decorative project. As the subtitle indicates, the book has two focal points: the iconography of the decoration and an evaluation of the style of the two artists who made it. By masterfully interweaving various strands of evidence, Martínez Ripoll makes the project come alive again.

The analysis of the frescoes is interesting from several points of view. Simply by calling attention to their existence (I do not believe that they have been seriously discussed since Thacher's article of 1937 in this journal), Martínez Ripoll performs a valuable service. A major work by Herrera is given the attention it deserves and does much to increase this artist's stature. More important still is the searching iconographical discussion, which fully explains the fascinating emblems and the gallery of Franciscan scholars in the nave and the portraits of Franciscan saints in the cupola. By a thorough analysis of the frescoes in relation to Franciscan theology, we are brought to understand the roles played by reason and faith in the attainment of Christian knowledge as conceived by the Franciscans. Martínez Ripoll also convincingly identifies the authors of the program with two members of the Colegio.

The discussion of the important series of scenes from the life of Saint Bonaventure is equally excellent. The basic meaning of the series is self-evident in its context, but Martínez Ripoll sharpens the interpretation of several details. The real novelty here is the evaluation of the artistic relationship between Herrera and Zurbarán. Martínez Ripoll, who wrote his doctoral dissertation on Herrera (soon to be published in this series), sets out to prove the superiority of his hero, who has usually been given second place in the competition. On December 30, 1627, Herrera, having completed the frescoes, was given the commission to paint six scenes of Saint Bonaventure's life. By the middle of the following year, he had completed four of the pictures on schedule. Then, mysteriously, and after a lapse of some months, Zurbarán was assigned to execute the remaining two pictures plus two more. No one knows why the commission was enlarged and transferred to another painter. Martínez Ripoll suggests that Herrara had overcommitted himself by accepting other work and thus found himself obliged to relinquish the Franciscan contract. Whatever the reason, two of Seville's leading painters were brought, as it were, face to face across the nave of S. Buenaventura.

Martínez Ripoll begins his defense of Herrera by noting, as others have done, that Zurbarán and Herrera used similar compositions for certain scenes, suggesting that one artist was imitating the other. The documents make it clear that Herrera's pictures were done before Zurbarán started to work. Thus Zurbarán undoubtedly based some of his compositions on those of Herrera. This point can be scored for Herrera, but what about the match? The decision on the outcome is of course partly a matter of taste. In my view, Herrera's style is an acquired taste. Herrera is an aggressively realistic painter, at times deliberately and perversely seeking the ugly. His pictures fairly crackle with raw power. His immense vitality, because so undisciplined, can be distracting. By comparison, Zurbarán, who was no weakling himself, always managed to exert sufficient control over his style, achieving a sober monumentality that seemed to elude the frantic Herrera. Thus, I find Zurbarán's stately manner to be more appropriate and effective for depicting scenes from the life of a saintly, scholarly man. But I welcome Martínez Ripoll's spirited advocacy of Herrera's case, which has the effect of compelling one to reconsider a whole range of questions that are important to understanding the development of painting in Seville. In sum, Martínez Ripoll has written a truly excellent book that is both satisfying and stimulating. He also demonstrates how much is to be gained by reintegrating Spanish Baroque painting with the nonartistic forces that helped to shape it.

Equally fine is the book by Julián Gállego, entitled *El pintor de artesano a artista*. This work, according to the notes on the jacket, is the author's second doctoral dissertation. The first, in art history, was done at the Sorbonne under the direction of Pierre Francastel and published in 1968 as *Vision et symboles*. . . . The Spanish edition of this important book, published in 1972, was awarded the prestigious Premio Eugenio D'Ors. Shortly thereafter, Gállego was invited to take up a professorship at the Universidad Autónoma, Madrid, only to be informed later that his French degree could not be recognized as equivalent to a Spanish doctorate. He was therefore compelled to do a Spanish Ph.D. degree. Understandably, Gállego decided to go outside Madrid and the field of art history to perform the necessary but redundant chore. The result is this book, which was written for the Faculty of Law at the University of Zaragoza.

The choice of a law school as a base was by no means capricious. *El pintor de artesano a artista* deals with a major problem of 17th-century artistic life in Spain with both legal and sociological aspects—the social status of the painter and the art of painting. Throughout the 16th and 17th centuries, Spanish painters were required to pay a sales tax on their works called the *alcabala*. This tax was both a financial burden and a symbol of the low status in which painting was held. Painters firmly believed that theirs was a product of the mind, not the hand, and fought fiercely to have their works exempted from the tax.

Over the years, the importance of this dispute has come to be recognized as one of the central issues in the history of Spanish art, but no one has ever attempted to give it the proper attention. With Gállego's book, the definitive treatment of the question has been accomplished. The book is based on a fundamental archival discovery. In his treatise on art, Palomino refers to several actions taken by painters during the 17th century to free themselves of the *alcabala*. In 1696, Palomino had copies made of the documents produced in these cases and deposited them with a notary public. Gállego had the good fortune to discover this material in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos, Madrid. With this information in hand, it became possible to reconstruct a detailed account of the struggle when it reached its height in the 17th century.

This Gállego has done, and a good deal more. Whereas many a scholar might have been content to publish the documents with only minimal comment, Gállego has set them in the widest of frameworks. In effect, he has written a many-faceted history of the social and intellectual status of paint-

ing in Spain from the 16th to 18th century. Rather than review its contents in detail, I shall only say that this book will be indispensable to art historians and social historians alike, and not solely to those who are concerned with Spain.

The last book under review represents another approach to the field, a traditional one. This is Mercedes Agulló's *Noticias sobre pintores madrileños*, which is the first volume of a projected series entitled *Documentos inéditos para la historia del arte*. Mercedes Agulló is an archival researcher *par excellence*. By common consent, she is the heir to the mantle worn successively by Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, the Marquis of el Saltillo, and María Luisa Caturla, all of whom labored long and hard in the unforgiving notarial archive in Madrid, seeking documents on artists. This compilation of documents requires no words of praise from me or anyone. Its value is self-evident, for without documents to guide us we quickly lose the way.

Still, I cannot overcome the temptation to offer a few remarks that were inspired as I read through the volume. First, I want to mention that the book has an excellent index. It is the only one of the six books under review that has a comprehensive index. Second, I was struck by a surprising relationship of this book to Gállego's *El pintor de artesano e artista*. Only a few of the painters in Agulló's book belonged to the ranks of the famous. In fact, time and again I racked my brain to think of even a single work by some of the artists. Even granting the imperfect state of my knowledge, it becomes clear that the reason for obscurity in most cases is not the tendency to attribute paintings to the best-known artists, but rather that most of these painters were more like artisans than artists. In other words, the sociological value of the documents is at least as great as their art-historical value. Most painters in Madrid, it would seem, lived reasonably comfortable lives as members of a working class. They rented houses, seldom owned them. They supplemented their income by making estate evaluations and restoring pictures. They kept company with tradesmen and each other. For every artist of talent, there were dozens of humble practitioners of the art. It is no wonder, then, that the aristocracy regarded painters as social inferiors and that the painters had to fight so long and hard to raise their status.

Also included in this book is a section of inventories of collections, mostly belonging to court officials who lived in the 17th and 18th centuries. With one or two exceptions, notably that of Teodoro Ardemans, the court architect, these are modest collections that cannot rival the richness and variety of the great aristocratic holdings. (For a newly published inventory of a major nobleman's collection, see A. E. Pérez Sánchez, "Las colecciones de pintura del Conde de Monterrey [1653]," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, CLXXIV, 1977, 417f.) Nevertheless, these inventories are a reminder of the fabulous wealth of European painting that was assembled in Madrid before 1800. Works by Titian, Rubens, Brueghel, Dürer, Barocci, and many other non-Spanish artists are listed here (although the reliability of the attributions obviously cannot be taken for granted). The history of collecting in Spain during the 16th and 17th centuries still awaits its author. This person, when he or she appears, will certainly owe a debt of gratitude to patient archival researchers like Mercedes Agulló.

It would be unwise to generalize about the state of studies of Spanish Baroque painting from these few examples. I will only note in closing that the increasing diversity in the methods of approach to the subject is a very welcome development and one that promises to deepen our knowledge and understanding of this great period of artistic achievement.

JONATHAN BROWN
New York University, Institute of Fine Arts

OLIVER MILLAR, *The Queen's Pictures. The History of the British Royal Collection*, New York, Macmillan, 1977. Pp. 240; 250 black-and-white ills. $35

This well-presented book is the first full account of the history of the British Royal Collection. Books of this type are a rare genre —where is a comprehensive history of the picture collection in the Louvre or the German Electoral Picture Galleries? Uniquely, the author speaks from the inside, as it were, being Surveyor of The Queen's Pictures, and he has therefore provided the reader with a considerable quantity of anecdotal material, especially about Queen Victoria. Recent trends in art history have been so much concerned with the interpretation of meaning in painting that there has been a tendency to ignore what little information has survived concerning how individual collectors considered their own possessions and the ways they went about building their collections. The British Royal Collection is reasonably well documented, even though certain pictures now regarded so highly, like Vermeer's *Music Lesson*, entered the collection of George III under a different attribution.

Unlike every other great European royal collection, the British one cannot be assessed as a whole because it is still scattered around various palaces, not all of which are open to the public. Therefore the chronological survey that the book gives does not reflect the atmosphere in, say, the State Apartments at Windsor, or the recently redecorated rooms at Kensington Palace. In the latter, there are pictures that range from Artemisia Gentileschi to John Martin. The author has carried out his formidable task conscientiously, with the result that the book will be useful for historians of taste in different periods. For Charles I, they will have to refer to the same author's publication of Van der Doort's inventory of that monarch's great collection. A large amount of information is given about George III and George IV, both significant collectors, whose abilities stand comparison with many of their European contemporaries, except of course Catherine the Great.

The book's real achievement lies in its account of Queen Victoria's reign. The author is rightly cautious about that redoubtable monarch's abilities as a connoisseur, and it is clear that she responded chiefly to the emotional impact of a picture. Her real interests were depictions of animals (Landseer) or of herself and her family (Winterhalter). Comparison with roughly contemporary collections like the Wallace or Waddesdon pictures may raise a sigh that, in spite of Prince Albert's enthusiasm for the Old Masters, Queen Victoria did not have the breadth of taste to acquire pictures of the first quality or to buy what was best in living art (e.g., Turner, Constable). Yet in her defense one can make a point not raised by the author. Comparison with almost all other 19th-century collections of contemporary art, especially those made for public display, show to modern eyes an appalling lack of sensibility. The Pre-Raphaelites were left alone by Queen Victoria, although an important work by Dyce was acquired, and Frith was patronized. But this pattern was true of almost all the museums founded in the middle years of the 19th century. A glance at the type of pictures acquired in the early years of most British art galleries would make Queen Victoria's patronage appear broadminded.

The section on the 20th century is more of sociological than of artistic interest. Amusing insight is given into successive monarchs' attitudes towards their collections and to Sir Oliver's predecessors in the surveyorship. It is easy for skeptics to laugh at royal attempts to follow the modern movement (John Piper, Sidney Nolan) or to be condescending about such conventional pictures as Sir William Nicholson's, but current changes in taste, reacting against that of the 1950's and 1960's, are likely to be less severe about royal ignorance of abstract art.

It is usually considered the reviewer's task to note shortcomings. The author's scrupulousness in art-historical matters is such that I have found only one blemish. This concerns the Rembrandt *Self-Portrait* in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. There is now some doubt whether this is the picture actually owned by Charles I, although the description fits almost exactly, and several writers, including the present reviewer, have accepted the identification in the past.

The book is lavishly presented, with a number of decent color plates. There is a danger that this attention to elegance on the part of the publisher will cause the student reader to shun the contents as coffee-table material. Conversely, readers of genuine coffee-table volumes, whoever they are, might find Sir Oliver's meticulousness and inclusion of a large amount of detail too great a challenge. In fact, both the general reader and the specialist should derive a good deal of pleasure from this book.

CHRISTOPHER WRIGHT
London

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, *Selected Papers, Traditional Art and Symbolism*, Vol. I; *Selected Papers, Metaphysics*, Vol. II; ROGER LIPSEY, *His Life and Work*, Vol. III (*Bollingen Series*, LXXXIX), Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1977. Vol. I, 580 pp.; $30. Vol. II, 470 pp.; $30. Two-vol. set, $50. Vol. III, 312 pp.; $17.50

Coomaraswamy is popularly known as the author of *The Transformation of Nature in Art* (1934). As a historian of Indian art, his "most important single contribution," as Roger Lipsey says, was his discovery of Rajput painting.[1] He is also well known for his critique of Western industrialism. Ruskin's phrase, "Industry without art is brutality," quoted like Scripture by Coomaraswamy, is one of the touchstones of his thought, and Lipsey gives him credit for coining "the very term Post-Industrialism."[2] Hand in hand with this goes Coomaraswamy's Blakean conception of "idealistic individualism," and his belief in a "Nietzschean aristocracy": those who, transvaluing Christian values, nonetheless discover their moral connection with other men, in a new culture. Art would be of its essence: in Blake's words, art would cleanse "the doors of perception," so that "everything would appear . . . as it is, infinite."[3]

Coomaraswamy was obviously a man of parts: art and cultural historian, social and moral philosopher. The papers Lipsey has collected, from Coomaraswamy's prime years, 1932–1947, when he was curator in the Department of Asiatic Art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (where he built the first large collection of Indian art in this country), and the biography Lipsey has written, show the centrally determining part, the intention that gave unity to the variety of Coomaraswamy's activities. In a brilliant critique of the criticism of intentional analysis launched by Monroe C. Beardsley and W. K. Wimsatt, Jr. —among the originators of the New (literary) Criticism —in their famous essay on "The Intentional Fallacy," Coomaraswamy wrote, "The only possible literary criticism of an already existing and extant work is one in terms of the ratio of intention to result."[4] Accepting this, I mean to determine the ratio of intention to result in Coomaraswamy's thought, particularly in those areas where his method becomes self-conscious and militant, *viz.*, his sense of modern art and art history. His negative view of both, although having a certain validity, shows the limitations of his own intention, and makes us realize that his results are open to question.

Coomaraswamy's intention is outspokenly metaphysical and religious. He means to make clear the metaphysical nature of art, its mediation of basic truths. "The practice of an art is not traditionally, as it is for us, a secular activity, or even a matter of affective 'inspiration,' but a metaphysical rite."[5] Coomaraswamy's identification of this view as traditional is a self-identification: he viewed his own ideas as "nothing but the Christian and Oriental philosophy of art, expressed anew."[6] As Lipsey says, it was the return to first principles that mattered to Coomaraswamy. Any art that did not convey them, that did not bespeak the *philosophia perennis*, and any art history that did not educate us, that is to say, lead us to the principles embodied in the art, was not worth the name, and was misguided from the start. The expectation and pursuit of first principles leads directly to Coomaraswamy's rejection of modern art and art history. Neither of them, according to him, are concerned with first principles; neither pursue a vision of metaphysical truth. The one errs on the side of subjectivity, the other on the side of objectivity. Modern art is merely a matter of "aesthetics" (always used pejoratively by Coomaraswamy), i.e., an expression of taste or natural sensibility, a response to the natural restlessness or irritability of the senses and emotions.[7] Art history tends to take the visual symbol for the metaphysical substance, making the visual reality the exclusive reality of art. For Coomaraswamy, modern art and art history are guilty of the same surface-orientation, the same over-objectification of the work of art into its matter-of-

[1] Lipsey, 74.

[2] *Ibid.*, 111.

[3] *Ibid.*, 108f.

[4] Coomaraswamy, I, 274. Coomaraswamy's critique is actually in response to the Beardsley-Wimsatt article on "Intention" in the *Dictionary of World Literature* (1944). There they developed ideas which crystallized into their conception of "The Intentional Fallacy," in *The Verbal Icon* (1954).

[5] Coomaraswamy, I, 164.

[6] Lipsey, 185.

[7] For Coomaraswamy, "restlessness is essentially uncultured," and contrasts with "recollectedness or detachment, a capacity for stillness of mind and body" (quoted by Lipsey, 52). Modernity encourages restlessness, tradition cultivates stillness. For Coomaraswamy, the aesthetic involves an appeal to the irrational or "sensibly-perceptible," and can be identified with "what the biologist now calls 'irritability'" (Coomaraswamy, I, 13, n. 2.). The modern aesthetic is concerned, in Whitehead's words, "to excite emotions for their own sake" (quoted by Coomaraswamy, I, 14). Modern aesthetics tend to substitute "psychological explanations for the traditional conception of art as an intellectual virtue and of beauty as pertaining to knowledge" (*ibid.*). In general, the aesthetic reduces art to "a mere pleasure of the senses," which from the traditional point of view is "madness" (Coomaraswamy, I, 68f).

factly given surfaces, the same reduction of the work of art to the object of art, the same elimination of the work by which the art becomes "principled" for the sake of the object which merely appears.

Coomaraswamy repeatedly attacks modern art and art history for their refusal to recognize that "aesthetic surfaces are . . . 'visible meanings.'"[8] Correlatively, he condemns modern art and art history as "fetishistic." That is, they "stop at the enjoyment" of the surface of the art, reifying it absolutely, and so never "get to the underlying truth" the art mediates.[9] Because of this, modern art and art history tend to empty art of meaning. A major example of this for Coomaraswamy is the "degeneration of meaning" of the ornamental or decorative into the cosmetic or sophistic, the flattering, in modern art and life.[10] Similarly, there is a degeneration of iconographic meaning in art history, which studies iconographies because they transmit "stimulating . . . cultural data" or "because their representation at a given time and place is beautiful," rather than "out of a need to reconstitute the traditional world-view and to experience what effect it can have on modern temperaments."[11] In general, the modern world is "increasingly emptied of meaning" for Coomaraswamy, i.e., of metaphysical and religious meaning.[12] For him, modernity comes to mean the articulation of meaningless fact, fact whose principle and point for human life are willfully uncomprehended, and so fact that is ultimately unintelligible.

Coomaraswamy's critique of aesthetic positivism in modern art and iconographic positivism in art history, of the two dominant kinds of formalism in contemporary art studies, is to my mind masterly if not always systematic, trenchant if not always tactful. Although usually presented in the course of other inquiries in an offhand, even seemingly arbitrary manner (and certainly prejudiced, as Lipsey acknowledges, and without theoretical clarification), Coomaraswamy's critique of modern positivism as it appears in the art context is nonetheless admirably consistent. Thus, his admiration for Stieglitz's photographs has nothing to do with their aesthetic quality, their surfaces, but with the view that they "are in the great tradition," stressing "precisely the right values," using "symbols . . . correctly," and so becoming an "'absolute' art, in the same sense that Bach's music is 'absolute' music."[13] One senses that one kind of absolutism is used to combat another, leaving us free to recognize the lack of absolute character in both surface and meaning, however empirical the one and primordial the other.

Lipsey takes great pains to emphasize, again and again, Coomaraswamy's "habit of erudition, his high valuation of factual knowledge,"[14] the "erudite, detailed, impartial" character of his scholarly work,[15] his "early scientific training."[16] (Coomaraswamy, trained as a geologist, discovered a new mineral, thorianite, in 1904.[17]) All of this seems designed to soften the impact of Coomaraswamy's critique of positivism, to redeem his scholarship for some conventional conception of art history by suggesting that, however "tendentious" his scholarship may be, it is still sound. Over and over again, scholarly impartiality is held up by Lipsey as both a mythical ideal and a concrete necessity. He does not seem to realize that it is subject to the same critique as the one Husserl made of scientific exactitude. Lipsey can ask: "If the impulse [behind Coomaraswamy's scholarship] is religious, is it not perhaps to the same degree lacking in scholarly impartiality?," as if every kind of significant scholarship did not have, wittingly or unwittingly, some ulterior human motive behind it, a motive Coomaraswamy dared to acknowledge openly, as if to gain firm control of it and its effect.[18] Lipsey only obscures the issue: it is not whether the

[8] Coomaraswamy, I, 66, n. 65. Coomaraswamy constantly reiterates this idea, or else its correlate, that "art is not a mere matter of aesthetic surfaces" (*ibid.*, 124). Again: "The aesthetic surfaces are by no means terminal values [as he thinks modern art thinks], but an invitation to a picture of which the visible traces are only a projection, and to a mystery that evades the letter of the spoken world" (*ibid.*, 168). For modern man, the "'aesthetic' approach stands between us and the content of the work of art, of which only the surface interests us" (*ibid.*, 179). In discussing the "aesthetic shock" "induced by some physically or mentally poignant experience," he characterizes it as "the realization of the implications of what are strictly speaking only the aesthetic surfaces of phenomena that may be liked or disliked as such. The complete experience transcends this condition of 'irritability'" (*ibid.*, 182).

[9] Coomaraswamy, I, 283, n. 35. This is an adaptation of a quotation from Meister Eckhardt. Quoting Clement Greenberg's assertion that the "modern painter derives his inspiration from the very physical materials he works with," Coomaraswamy (I, 31f., n. 70) argues that what this "actually means is that the modern artist may be excited, but is not inspired." He quotes with approval (I, 48) Guénon's assertion (which he characterizes as having a "bitter clarity") that "in the whole of medieval art, and otherwise than in modern art, we meet with the embodiment of an idea, and never with the idealization of a fact." Continuing his condemnation of modern art and the modern attitude, he insists that "from our individualistic position which aims at the greatest possible freedom for oneself," we cannot possibly understand traditional philosophy and art, which "also aims at a greatest possible freedom; but *from* oneself," (*ibid.*, 50). He argues that prehistoric or primitive art "was a more intellectual art than our own" (*ibid.*, 53), and that it was a more truly abstract art than our own, for it was "adapted to contemplative uses and implies a gnosis" (*ibid.*, 152). He believes that modern art, whether representational or non-representational, is essentially naturalistic ("aesthetic"), and that "naturalism has always and everywhere been a sign of religious decay" (*ibid.*, 102). He attacks the whole idea, which he attributes to "modern consciousness," that "art is an individual creation, produced only by persons of peculiar sensibilities working in studios and driven by an irresistible urge to self-expression," rather than "the *form* of our civilization" (*ibid.*, 104). Finally, he thinks the difference between the traditional and the modern is the difference between the aristocratic and the democratic: "It has been well said that civilization is style. An immanent civilization in this way endows every individual with an outward grace, a typological perfection, such as only the rarest beings can achieve by their own effort (this kind of perfection does not belong to genius); whereas a democracy, which requires of every man to save his own soul, actually condemns each to an exhibition of his own irregularity and imperfection; and this imperfection only too easily passes over into an exhibitionism which makes a virtue of vanity, and is complacently described as self-expression" (*ibid.*, 120). As for fetishism, it involves "an attribution to the physically tangible symbol of values that really belong to its referent or, in other words, a confusion of actual with essential form" (*ibid.*, 159).

[10] Coomaraswamy, I, 241f.

[11] Lipsey, 194.

[12] Coomaraswamy, I, 241.

[13] Quoted by Lipsey, 159.

[14] Lipsey, 140.

[15] *Ibid.*, 136.

[16] *Ibid.*, 11.

[17] *Ibid.*, 14.

[18] *Ibid.*, 195.

ulterior purpose pollutes or interferes with the scholarly method, but whether the purpose is what it claims to be, and whether it realizes itself through the scholarship—that is, makes the scholarship illuminating and itself articulate. Also, it is important to see how well the ulterior purpose, with its entourage of meanings, does in fact prevent the bifurcation of meaning and fact, intellectual and informational intention, that scholarship is all too prone to. On both these counts, Coomaraswamy leaves something to be desired, however much he is to be cheered for insisting, to paraphrase Lewis Mumford, that factual information about art is not to be equated with artistic existence.[19]

In reading Coomaraswamy, one becomes aware of a discrepancy between the papers on art, applied metaphysics, as it were, and those on pure metaphysics, a discrepancy that signals a problem with Coomaraswamy's realization of metaphysics. The papers on art are spirited, those on metaphysics seem to pay more attention to the letter than the spirit, to a letter that, in Coomaraswamy's rendering of it, hardly seems to communicate spirit. In the papers on art, the dialectical character of both the metaphysical pursuit and the artistic enterprise is brilliantly rendered. There is a sense in which artistic sign spontaneously converts to metaphysical marker, in which the spiritual impulse behind the practical symbol reveals itself. As Lipsey beautifully puts it, describing Coomaraswamy's narrative powers, there is "the characteristically swift Buddhist movement from fact to principle."[20] In the papers on metaphysics, there is simply principle, with no sense of how it was arrived at. Presented as such, principle seems to be more quoted than conceived, dogmatically given rather than diligently pursued, doctrine rather than moving force. There is a sense of the tradition being preserved, in the best scholarly fashion, but also a sense of the one-dimensional, authoritarian character of the metaphysics, which altogether belies its point. Coomaraswamy is acutely conscious of the way art presents itself metaphysically and of the way metaphysics presents itself artistically, but he is less conscious of the way metaphysics presents itself as such, and thus of the way it can seem to falsify its character by presenting itself directly, non-dialectically. In the papers on art, there is a sense of dialectical initiation into metaphysics.[21] In those on metaphysics this sense is missing, and they appear mechanical. The polarities at stake do not seem self-evident. All of this signals a dialectic not fully at Coomaraswamy's command: spirit that has not been truly realized.

That Coomaraswamy's conception of metaphysical truth is explicitly dialectical is easily shown. The highest formulation of metaphysics involves the concept of transcending opposites, release from conflict, whether conceptual or perceptual, whether in the contemplative life or active life.

> 'The will of the Paradise in which thou dwellest,' he (Nicholas of Cusa) says, 'is composite of the coincidence of contraries, and remains impenetrable for all who have not overcome the highest Spirit of Reason who keeps the gate' (*De visione Dei*, ch. 9). These 'contraries' (past and future, good and evil, etc.), in the traditional symbolism of the Janua Coeli, are the two leaves or sides of the 'Active Door,' by which, as they 'clash,' the entrant may be crushed. The highest spirit of Reason must be overcome (cf. John 10:9 and JUB 1.5) because all rational truth (cf. BU 1.6.3 and Īśā Up. 15) is necessarily stated in terms of the contraries, of which the coincidence is suprarational. Liberation is from these 'pairs' (*dvandvair vimuktah*, BG xv.5).[22]

Metaphysical truth means liberation from the seemingly inescapable dialectic that pervades life and thinking, but by a realization of this dialectic, a working through it. Art affords an opportunity for this realization simply by the attempt to work through its aesthetic surfaces to its spiritual meanings, and thereby to make concrete their reconciliation. For Coomaraswamy, the Buddhist realization of the Immateriality and, finally, Emptiness of all Principles perhaps makes the dialectical point and the trans-dialectical purpose of the metaphysical spirit most explicit. "Emptiness is like this: let one conceive, 'Whatever is in motion or at rest (i.e., the whole phenomenal world) is essentially nothing but the manifested order of what is without duality when the mind is stripped of all conceptual extensions such as the notion of subject and object.'"[23] In a letter to Coomaraswamy about his essay on the Symplegades, Mircea Eliade remarks: "You have admirably presented the multivalence of the myth, and the concluding analysis—the transcendence of the human condition by means of passing through all the polarities—is worthy of a master."[24] Commenting on this, Lipsey writes: "Eliade's distinction between a masterly work of scholarship and a concluding passage where Coomaraswamy spoke with the voice of a spiritual master is a fundamental one to be made."[25]

Did Coomaraswamy truly transcend the polarities, however, truly work his way through them, thereby becoming a spiritual master? Did he realize the metaphysical truth of reconciliation? His art-historical studies suggest that he did; his view of modern art suggests that he did not. He came, in practice, to reconcile himself to art history, even though in theory he believed: "Of art itself there can be no more a history that there can be of metaphysics: histories are of persons and not of principles."[26] He never came, either in theory or practice, however, to reconcile himself to modern art. His own principle, to read surface as meaning, fell away when it came to modern art. Its aestheticizing sur-

[19] Lewis Mumford, *The Pentagon of Power*, New York, 1970, 317.

[20] Lipsey, 17.

[21] Lipsey, 190, notes that Mircea Eliade, "with whom Coomaraswamy maintained a warm correspondence," "has analyzed the taste for difficulties and obscurities in modern art and literature as an unconscious nostalgia for initiatory experience," using James Joyce as a major example. For Lipsey, "this speculation sheds light on Coomaraswamy's most intricate essays. Coomaraswamy cannot be said to have had an *unconscious* nostalgia for spiritual initiation; he explicitly looked upon his research and writing as 'intellectual preparation' for a spiritual initiation that was unfortunately unavailable in the West."

[22] Coomaraswamy, I, 235, n. 5.

[23] *Ibid.*, 135f. Compare this with p. 124, where "already in the Upanisads the physical ecstasy (*ānanda*) of union is an image of the delight of the knowledge of Brahman: 'As a man united to a darling bride is conscious neither of within nor without, so is it when the mortal self embraced by the all-wise Self knows neither what is within nor what without. That is his very form.'" "Ananda," incidentally, is Coomaraswamy's first name.

[24] Quoted by Lipsey, 213, n. 17.

[25] *Ibid.*, 213.

[26] Coomaraswamy, I, 44. For Coomaraswamy, the only "use for 'history' as such" was to give us a "lively sense" of the work of art, to make it "a part of our life forever" (*ibid.*, 65). Thus, "the study of 'influences' should be regarded as one of the least important aspects of the history of art," since it is not part of the "in-knowing" of the work of art (*ibid.*, 228).

face was never more than a masquerade of meaning for him. He hardly dared acknowledge the "significance" of modern art, and he would hardly have known how to begin to investigate it should he have acknowledged it. The integration of surface and meaning was too immediate in modern art. The art could no longer have contemplative use, lure us to a meaning beyond, an unexpected possibility of an unexpected spirit in us. One senses here a refusal of reconciliation, a satisfaction with contradiction, which altogether belies Coomaraswamy's own proclaimed metaphysical spirit and transcendental purpose. It is as though, to flourish, tradition needed to postulate a permanent opposite, an absolute enemy, a straw man it might constantly attack to show its strength. From such a battle there can only come a Pyrrhic victory. The irony of Coomaraswamy's concept of the metaphysical tradition that informs art, and that makes the slightest craft a religious practice, is that modern art is denied any participation in this tradition. The very thought would be grotesque to Coomaraswamy, however much one might acknowledge that the tradition is distorted and disquieted in modern art. By refusing modern art the spirit of transcendental reconciliation as articulated by the metaphysical tradition, Coomaraswamy betrays, even violates and fails it, that is to say, he even undermines the power of the tradition. Coomaraswamy's refusal of the modern and, correlatively, his confinement of the metaphysical spirit to tradition, suggests a sudden lapse into the involuntary, the operation of a memory trace, the loss of genuine individuality and autonomy of thought in the face of an inchoate personal factor. One cannot but become personal and wonder if Coomaraswamy's attribution of a monopoly on the metaphysical to the Oriental and medieval Christian traditions represents an effort to deny the Anglo-American world he inhabited most of his life, an ancestry he had, but one he never fully explored or exploited until he entered that world. Son of a Ceylonese father and an English mother, he delved to the depths of his father's world after he had grasped, in his youth, the "scientific" surface of his mother's world. Persistent identification with the tradition of the father led to a loss of insight into the modern world of the mother.

For whatever reason—and I don't claim the reason I offer is anywhere near sufficient, although I do claim that it is a necessarily personal or psychological reason—Coomaraswamy does not sufficiently realize the dialectical spirit of the metaphysical tradition he endorses, and the dialectical situation of his own life and mentality. He remains bogged down in the tension between tradition and modernity. To escape from this unresolved tension, which is unresolvable because of the poverty of his conception of the modern, Coomaraswamy becomes a dogmatic traditionalist, that is, an absolutist in the name of a supposedly lost ideal, one he looks for nowhere but in tradition. Clearly, the dialectic was misconceived in the first place. The notion of radical discontinuity between tradition and the modern is generally too readily taken for granted, and its "resolution," if that is what one can call the turn to, and absolutization of, tradition, is clearly lopsided. Coomaraswamy has gotten caught, if not altogether crushed, in the clash of the opposing sides of the Active Door of the dialectic of his own life.

A word should be said about Lipsey's biography. Lipsey is masterly both in his scholarly handling of the data of Coomaraswamy's life and in his grasp of Coomaraswamy's ideas. For all its brilliance and clarity, however, Lipsey's biography seems to me to fail in an area where no biography should fail, or at least fail to make a serious effort: this is in the attempt to recover the personal life of the subject. Lipsey's failure to do so becomes particularly evident in his prudish, reticent treatment of Coomaraswamy's love life, particularly his affair with Stella Bloch and his private life with his various wives. Admittedly, the writer offers us an intellectual biography; but he also dwells, at some length, on Coomaraswamy's personality and the erotic side of his life. Lipsey ought therefore to have been as analytic about these aspects of the man as about Coomaraswamy's ideas. A good biography, it seems to me, should do everything possible to recover repressed material, or at least to adumbrate it. It must become intimate, even if that means becoming speculative if it is not to become superficial. Lipsey's presumptive moral judgments about the "unbecoming" character of some of Coomaraswamy's behavior,[27] or his assertion that Coomaraswamy "loved knowledge more than women, and women probably loved him precisely for that reason,"[28] are clichés that block rather than help recovery of the man. They do not truly serve Coomaraswamy, to help us understand how his ego was created. Such judgments are neither informative nor analytic, and are to my mind rather unsubtly repressive of psychological analysis. They are in fact more speculative than the results of any intelligent psychological inquiry are likely to be.

The evidence Lipsey reports is undoubtedly pre-selected (and thus compromised) so as not to offend the surviving family, but even so, on its basis it is not hard to see that Coomaraswamy was sexually unsettled much of his life, and that his commitment to tradition was perhaps a response to his inability to make a durable emotional commitment to a woman. Tradition gave him a stability he obviously needed, saved him from all kinds of personal conficts: tradition was so obviously "settled." Although this, if it is true, does not bring into question the authenticity of Coomaraswamy's commitment to tradition, it does shed light on the stubbornness with which that commitment was held, and the way it became a weapon against the modern, against the world Coomaraswamy in fact inhabited. And also, as noted, it makes us aware that Coomaraswamy may not really have understood in the best scholarly fashion the dialectical spirit of tradition, however much he acknowledged it. We must ask whether Coomaraswamy's monolithic conception of tradition and the art informed by it does justice to both. There is the possibility that he offers still another, if more sophisticated, archaizing approach to both (bearing in mind his own conception of "archaism" as "servile . . . reproduction" and "proof of a deficiency"[29]). Until these questions are answered, one can only acknowledge the ceremonial majesty of Coomaraswamy's scholarship, the fervor of his commitment to a mythologized conception of tradition, and the absurd ferocity of his attack on, and view of, modern life and art; and—following the logic of his own pursuit of symbolic significance—one can speculatively view his commitment to scholarship and tradition as initially a sublimation and finally a repression of his all-too-modern, that is, dialectically inconclusive life.

DONALD B. KUSPIT
State University of New York at Stony Brook

[27] Lipsey, 155.

[28] *Ibid.*, 145.

[29] Coomaraswamy, I, 259.

Letters to the Editor

Madam:

Major problems may be confused by more than one word. D. G. Scillia's attempt to separate C. van Mander's use of the Dutch *discipel* and *leerling* in her article "Van Mander on Ouwater and Geertgen," published in the *Art Bulletin* (LX, 1978, 271–73), presents the reasonable conclusion that Van Mander is not a reliable source for maintaining that Albert van Ouwater was the teacher of Geertgen tot Sint Jans. She points out correctly Van Mander's unreliability for periods before the second half of the 16th century, also. The Dutch word for *also* (*ook*, formerly spelled *oock*, *oick*, *oik*, *ooc*, etc.), however, was employed with unimpeachable precision by Van Mander, and one does not need to use translations or later editions to find this out. (Why is the first edition, Haarlem, 1604; repr. Utrecht, 1969, not cited?)

Scillia mentions Cornelis Cornelisz. Kunst as the son and "Discipel" of his father Cornelis Engebrechtsz. Continuing the discussion, his brother Lucas Cornelisz. Cock is mentioned and Van Mander is quoted (in Dutch only) as having said "he was trained in art by his father, *also*" [my translation and italics] ("hij heeft de Const oock bij Cornelis Engelbrechtsz zijnen Vader gheleert"). The "also" refers to Lucas's brothers. Scillia's argument hinges on this "also," a word so overlooked that it appears unfortunately mis-set (run together with *Const*) here and in its second text occurrence (as *bock*, p. 273).

I do not disagree with the author's conclusion that Geertgen may have been described by Van Mander as a follower of Albert van Ouwater, not as an apprentice or pupil (*leerling*, etc.). The example of Cornelis Cornelisz. Kunst is nevertheless contradictory to the tendency of the article, because sons studied with their fathers if learning the same trade. The parents were thereby freed from specified guild fees per apprentice, as Van Mander certainly knew. Since all guild members knew this, the sentence, "When there was some question, as with Cornelis Cornelisz, he [Van Mander] did not assume that the son was the apprentice of his father and he called the son a *discipel* of his father," allows the reader a first reservation about the article's point.

The second reservation arises from the linguistic habit, dating from the late 15th century and continuing through the 18th century, of using pairs of synonyms, a style very noticeable in legal documents where the same pairs recur in boring repetitions of entire paragraphs. The pair at issue is Van Mander's description of Frans Floris as a "Discipel oft Leerlinghe" of Lambert Lombard (p. 272; *oft* means "or" which is *of* in modern Dutch; in the phrase quoted it had the significance of "i.e."). Van Mander is not making a clear statement of his own presumed uncertainty. He is using two words in a common literary style. "That Van Mander employs both *discipel* and *leerling* precludes their having the same meaning," as stated in note 11, is simply not true. The stylistic use of explanatory synonymous pairs has been hypothetically linked with the introduction into Dutch of words derived from clerical and legal Latin and from diplomatic French and mercantile Italian, by the Leiden archivist and historian B. N. Leverland (verbal communication).

I think that no distinction between *discipel* and *leerling* was being made and that the author's advice that we take care in translating Van Mander's text is reasonable, especially since the Haarlem archives have not been in any way thoroughly studied by archivally capable art historians for the period discussed. Personal acquaintance with the unpublished and mostly unused records in that municipal archive (not to mention the archives related to the surrounding area and to relations with various ecclesiastical and governmental bodies) convinces me that that is a job which would require years of laborious and informative transcription and translation.

JEREMY D. BANGS
Leiden

Reply

Madam:

I am familiar with Jeremy Bangs's extensive work in the archives at Leiden, and I have followed with interest his earlier appearances in these pages. His letter reveals, however, a misunderstanding of the intent of my article as well as the verifiable difference between a generic and a specific term. I must take issue, therefore, with his criticisms. I shall answer them in the order raised by Bangs:

(A) My "attempt to separate" Van Mander's use of *discipel* and *leerling* rests on the evidence presented in the text of *Het Schilderboek* and on the distinctions recorded in the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, The Hague-Leiden (second ed.), 1912– in progress (as I remark in n. 1). (Here, as in my article, I refer to the edition of 1617 of *Het Schilderboek*. The Haarlem edition of 1604 [repr. Utrecht, 1969] was not available. No differences, aside from pagination, appear in the relevant texts of the two editions.) *Discipel*, the more generic term, may include the meaning of "student," i.e., in the sense of an adult or mature student. *Leerling*, however, is the more specific term, and refers to a student of school age, i.e., a "pupil" or an "apprentice." I shall return to this distinction below.

Nowhere do I make the statement that Van Mander is an unreliable source for periods before the second half of the 16th century (cf. p. 273). This is Bangs's interpretation. I argue that Van Mander transmitted accurately the information available to him. That this information may have been questionable or inaccurate does not negate Van Mander's accuracy —a subtle distinction, but an important one.

(B) Bangs's argument on the meaning of *oock* ("also") in the Life of Lucas Cornelisz is confusing for at least two reasons. First, the conflation of *const* and *oock* occurs in the text of the edition of 1617, although I did not mark it as such. (The appearance of *oock* [i.e., *boch*] on p. 273 also correctly transcribes the original. I apologize for neglecting to mark this word as well.) Second, if the ambiguous and highly unusual placement of "also" in the Life of Lucas Cornelisz. (cf. the placement of *ook* [*sic*] in the passage from the Life of Albrecht Dürer as transcribed in n. 8) suggests that Cornelis Cornelisz. Kunst "also" studied with his father, this interpretation does not, in itself, determine the exact nature of Cornelis's relationship, but only indicates, in general, a situation that the generic term *discipel*, by definition, includes (cf. n. 1). (Van Mander does not use either *discipel* or *leerling* in his brief mention of the third brother, Pieter Cornelisz. Kunst, on fol. 133r.) Cornelis was the "zoon en Discipel" of his father (fol. 139r). Thus, the passage on fol. 139v may be read as I suggest (pp. 271f and 273).

(C) Bangs knows the linguistic habits and conventions of

legal writings of this period. He ignores, however, a significant distinction in his interpretation of Van Mander's opposition of *Discipel oft Leerlinghe* on fol. 159v. Carel Van Mander did not write in the style of contemporary legal documents. He was neither an archivist nor a lawyer. Beside being a skillful painter, Van Mander was a playwright and a poet. Bangs's interesting hypothesis that the *Discipel oft Leerlinghe* on fol. 159v reflects a "pairing" style which stems from "clerical and legal Latin, or from diplomatic French, or from mercantile Italian" overlooks the likelihood that Van Mander's source, in this instance, was the writings of Giorgio Vasari. I mention (n. 11) that he most probably drew upon Vasari for his Life of Lambert Lombard and I cite other instances where Van Mander's words parallel Vasari's (n. 11).

Let us examine, however, Bang's thesis that Van Mander equated *discipel* with *leerling* on fol. 159v in order to mean "discipel, i.e., apprentice." Such an interpretation ignores the context in which these terms appear. For example, one might ask why, then, did not Van Mander use a similar "pairing" in his earlier discussions where *discipel* alone appears (e.g., those found between fol. 123r and 130v; see nn. 4, 8, and 16)? Also, why did he refrain from using *leerling* in his later discussion of the *discipulen (sic)* in Floris's workshop on fols. 160r–161v? It is stated in that discussion and evident from the description of their activities, that these *discipelen* were advanced workshop assistants who had come to Floris after their initial training with others (see fol. 161v) and therefore were certainly not *leerlingen*. Clearly, on fol. 159v, the same distinction between the two terms was intended.

For, when Van Mander referred to Frans Floris as a *Discipel oft Leerlinghe* (i.e., a "disciple or apprentice") of Lambert Lombard, he included the possibility that Floris was still in training, but that he may have been something more than an apprentice. In general, an apprentice would be, according to guild practice and according to contemporary social conventions, a young person between the ages of 15 and 20 years who received his initial training under an experienced master. A journeyman artist, the next step towards master, would be a slightly older student-artist, who had already completed the first stages of his training and who was competent enough to be trusted with portions of his master's commissions. Moreover, a journeyman artist traveled about to different centers during his *wanderjahr*. The description of Floris's *discipelen* (p. 272) fits this definition. Furthermore, what Van Mander tells us of Frans Floris at the time of his activity in Lombard's shop squares with the above description of a journeyman artist. That Van Mander used "disciple or apprentice" (in this context "disciple" may be understood as "journeyman") to describe Floris at this time suggests that the artist was of an age (that is, about 20 years) when he might have been either. Indeed, Floris was about 20 years old (p. 272, nn. 10 and 11). Rather than foist a style upon Van Mander that is foreign to him (no matter how common it is in the archives), and in light of the textual evidence, I prefer to read his rare combination on fol. 159v as meaning that the two words stand for two related, but distinct, ideas.

(D) Because Van Mander is so important a source for scholars of Northern European art, special care is needed to avoid reading specificity where generality exists. *Discipel* is a more ambiguous word than *leerling*. It applies primarily to adults rather than to minors (see *Woordenboek*, III, 2650). *Discipel* can mean an "intellectual or a religious follower" and an "adult student" in a non-structured sense. *Leerling* means a "young pupil" or an "apprentice" with all the implications of guild regulations, etc. (cf. *Woordenboek*, VIII, 1334–36). These meanings are clear in those examples from the late 16th and 17th centuries cited in the *Woordenboek*. Thus, the distinction between *discipel* and *leerling*, as used by Van Mander and his contemporaries, was also recognized by the philologists who compiled the multi-volumed dictionary of the Netherlandish language. That distinction should be acknowledged in translation.

Finally, in note 11, "Key" was dropped from the title of G. J. Hoogewerff's article, which should read as follows: "Werken van Willem Key," *RBAH*, XVII, 1947–48, 41–49. I take full responsibility for this omission.

DIANE SCILLIA
Chambersburg, Pa.

Madam:

Catherine Wilkinson in her article "El Escorial and the Invention of the Imperial Staircase" (*The Art Bulletin*, LVII, 1975) fails to convincingly reattribute the main staircase of the Escorial to Juan de Herrera. Her argument for her reattribution hinges on her interpretation of a document dated January 28, 1571, which reads:

> En un memorial se envio a mandar por orden de Vra. Magd. que lo que se ha de deshacer y hacer en la escalera no sediese a destajo sino que labrase a jornales. Ha me dicho Fray Antonio que entiende en su consciencia que la obra no sera mejor, y que se perderan en ello mas de dos mil ducados.

Wilkinson completely misinterprets this document. First, she contends that it proves that the steps themselves (after interpolating that it was the stairway, not the stairwell, on the basis of other documents) were taken down and rebuilt in 1571 following a new plan. She fails to consider the nature of this document. It was one of thousands of letters, not contracts, to and from Philip II concerning the construction of the Escorial. Anyone who has worked extensively with these documents know that not every plan mentioned in any particular one actually came to pass. Wilkinson shows no further proof, in the form of documentation discussing such an alteration in progress, to substantiate her claim that this rebuilding actually occurred. On the contrary, there are many documents in the Escorial archives concerning construction of the overstairs (which she claims this document cannot refer to) from 1751 on.[1]

Secondly, Wilkinson misinterprets the reason for the objection by Fray Antonio concerning the potential loss of 2,000 ducats on the project. Wilkinson believes that the proposed remodeling itself was going to engender this loss, but the statement prior to Fray Antonio's objection contains two elements: reference to Philip II's order concerning the remodeling on the staircase; and the statement that this remodeling was to be done by daywork not piecework (night work). Daywork was much more expensive than night work. Therefore, it could be either of these things to which Fray Antonio objects, and, in fact, it is most likely the latter, for daywork is the main topic of discussion, not the remodeling, as the sentence is constructed. The document reads in translation:

[1] G. Andrés, "Inventario de documentes sobre la construción y ornato del monasterio del Escorial existentes en el Archivo de Su Real Bilioteca," *Archivo español de arte*, XIV, No. 177, 1972, suppl. 1—33 and continuing in other issues.

I have photocopies of many of these documents, and in them only the overstairs is mentioned in connection with construction work.

> In a memorandum drawn up by order of Your Majesty that that which has to be undone and done in the staircase, was not to be done by piecework but was to be done by day. Fray Antonio has told me that he believes in his conscience that the work will not be better and that more than 2,000 ducats will be lost on it.

In other words, 2,000 ducats would be lost if the work were done by day.

In the light of the vagueness of the document, Wilkinson's succeeding arguments concerning which part of the stairway (the walls, overstairs, or the steps themselves) was to be remodeled are without foundation. There is no way to tell from this document exactly *what* section of the stairway was to be remodeled. Since there is no proof that the steps were in fact actually redesigned, there is no proof for her argument that Herrera was the architect of the main stairs rather than Bergamasco, as reported by Sigüenza. There has been a tendency in modern scholarship (a tendency to which Wilkinson subscribes) to disregard Sigüenza and to rely solely on the documents. With his clear and concise prose, Sigüenza, however, is a far more reliable source than the old documents, which are nearly always ambiguous and vague (as I discuss in detail in a forthcoming article).

There are also many errors in Wilkinson's article, especially concerning the book *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España* by Eugenio Llaguno y Amirola and Juan Austin Ceán Bermudez. Llaguno wrote the main text, and after his death, Ceán edited it, adding his own footnotes in arabic numbers (Llaguno's are in asterisks) and the sections entitled *Adiciones*.[2] These men were *not* collaborators. Wilkinson confuses the two. On pages 79–80 of her article and in n. 52. she states that Llaguno accepted Sigüenza's attribution of the main stairs to Bergamasco "on the premise that Bergamasco must have been called in to replace Juan Bautista de Toledo in the spring of 1571," and she quotes part of the *Noticias*. The statement and quotation come from one of Ceán's *Adiciones*, not from Llaguno's text.[3] In n. 13, Wilkinson states that the *Noticias* was published in 1889, but in fact it was published in 1829. The only explanation of these errors is that she did not examine the book herself but relied instead for her information on Portabales Pichel (see n. 52 in her article), an author of very questionable scholarship.

One further correction: the addendum number of the document in the British Museum referred to in n. 25 should read Add. 28350 fol. 249 (not 28355).[4]

In conclusion, I reiterate that Catherine Wilkinson's article does not in any way convincingly reattribute the main staircase of the Escorial to Herrera, and that in Portabales Pichel she has picked the least reliable source on which to depend.

PATRICIA MARX
[*University of Maryland*]

[2] E. Llaguno y Amirola and J. A. Ceán Bermudez, *Noticias de los arquitectos y arquitectura de España*, Madrid, 1829, I, xi–xiii.

[3] Llaguno and Ceán, *Noticias*, III, 8.

[4] Personal communication with George Kubler. He confirms that there was a misprint in his article, "Galeazzo Alessi e l'Escuriale," *Galeazzo Alessi e l'architettura del cinquecento*, Genoa, 1975, 602, n. 18.

Reply

Madam:

I hope it is clear to anyone reading my article of four years ago that my main intention was not to reattribute the famous staircase at the Escorial as much as it was to define its place in architectural history. It was in fact this place more than anything else that determined my conviction as to Herrera's authorship of the final scheme. I also believe that this authorship will always remain conjectural. Nevertheless, the documents that survive contain important supporting evidence for the attribution, notwithstanding Patricia Marx's half-informed comments.

The principal document in question is not at all "one of thousands of letters" that Marx supposes were casually exchanged between the Prior on the site and Philip II. The long memorandum of January 28, 1571, of which Marx quotes only one item (No. 8), is not a legal document but an official response to orders from the king.[1] The marginal notations, in Herrera's and King Philip's hands, most unfortunately neglected by Marx, represent the new orders on how to proceed with the work. These orders were probably written up in a letter by the king's secretary and sent to the Prior, and were probably explained as well to Pedro de Tolosa, one of the two *aparejadores* in charge of stonework at the Escorial and responsible for assigning workmen to construction. In the absence of further documentation, the annotations to the memorandum are as close as we can get to official orders since they were written by the king and his architect. No evidence entitles us to suspect that Philip II was regularly disobeyed.

About the substance of the memorandum and of item 8 in particular, I did not go into detail in my article because I followed the sensible conclusions of Iñiguez that an important remodeling was decided upon in or shortly before January, 1571 and that it involved the demolition of existing stonework. Marx's challenge, however, forces me to go into more detail, although a full discussion of the documentation is, unfortunately, impossible in a short letter.

Marx correctly points out that the objection of the Prior is ambiguous. It is not quite clear whether he and Fray Antonio objected to the remodeling that had been ordered or to the way it should be carried out.

What was this objection? I believe that I should clarify matters and reassure readers of *The Art Bulletin* that the Escorial was not built at night. Piecework *(obra a destajo)* and day labor *(obra a jornal)* are two different systems of contracting. In the first, the work is paid by the piece, that is, so much for a given job, the price of which is established beforehand. In day labor, the work is paid according to the time it takes. The working hours were the same for piecework and day labor at the Escorial: daylight hours with specified breaks for rest and meals. With his usual pedantry, Philip II had set the breaks himself.[2] Even before the death of his first architect, Juan Bautista de Toledo, Philip II had been agitating

[1] The text of the document, including the marginal notations, was published by F. Iñiguez Almech, *Las trazas del monasterio de S. Lorenzo de El Escorial*, Madrid, 1965, 128ff, n. 103.

[2] J. Zarco Cuevas, *Documentos para la historia del monasterio de San Lorenzo El Real de El Escorial*, III, Madrid, 1918, 42.

for the use of piecework over day labor in hopes of saving money. In his instructions to the administration at the Escorial in 1569, the king stipulated that everything at the Escorial was to be contracted as piecework.[3]

The orders to which the memorandum is an answer asked for demolition and rebuilding of existing stonework and that the job be done as day labor, against the explicit rule. The question is whether the Prior objected to a change in design that required demolition of existing construction or whether he and Fray Antonio were merely upset by the extra cost of day labor.

In my article, I tried to remain ambiguous myself because the choice of one alternative would not seriously affect my thesis. Marx decides firmly that the latter solution is the proper one, that the Prior was objecting to day labor. All considered, and although the answer is not so easy as Marx seems to believe, I think she is probably right. My main reason for agreement is that the marginal notation implies objection to day labor. The answer to item 8, in Herrera's hand but certainly reflecting consultation with Philip II, orders a compromise: have the stonecutting let out as piecework and the setting done as day labor.[4]

From Marx's position, of course, the document has greater weight in favor of my thesis: (1) in her reading, the demolition and reconstruction are not even questioned; (2) more important, if the estimate of 2,000 ducats represents not the cost of the whole work but the difference between piecework and day-labor, then the work in question is enormous indeed.

The question that remains is what part of the staircase was to be remodeled, the steps or something else, and whether the general character of the staircase was changed. The *sobre-escalera* cannot be a candidate because a notation at the end of the memorandum of 1571 clearly indicates that this *structure* was a separate issue and that its form was still awaiting the king's final decision.[5]

I used to think that what is called the *sobre-escalera* included everything above the second-floor level, but I was probably mistaken. The term probably includes only the interior of the stairwell above the upper arches.[6]

Could a better case be made for the remodeling of the stone arches above the flights? There is one dated document that concerns them. On April 9, 1571, a partial payment for their construction was made to Diego de Velayos, Pedro Serna, and others (Escorial II, 132, fol. 1r). There is no indication that earlier payments had been made, but it is possible that this payment was not the first. An undated set of specifications for this work does survive (Escorial II, 90). Gregorio de Andrés assigned the set to 1570. Velayas and Serna were to work on contract for the preparation of the stone (amounting to 476 ducats for 14 arches) and were to be paid a daily wage for its setting. The combination of piecework and day labor conforms to the marginal note to item 8 of the memorandum of 1571. Could this be the remodeling referred to in item 8?

If the specifications for the arches are to be identified as those of the remodeling, they would have to be dated shortly before January, 1571 when the remodeling was decided. But we would then expect them to reflect the demolition work that is described in item 8. The specifications do not mention any work that had been or was to be taken down.

On the other hand, if Gregorio de Andrés' dating of the document in 1570 is correct, then the arches ordered redone in January, 1571 should be described as *different* from the remodeled and final version. But this is not the case either. The specifications conform to what is built.

Finally, the total cost of the arches with additional masonry walls above them was 1,550 ducats, so that a 2,000-ducat increase in cost simply to cover the expense of day labor would be totally out of the question. Without being absolutely conclusive, the evidence is against identifying the remodeling with the upper arches of the stairwell. The stairwell itself can be excluded for reasons explained in my article; this leaves only the steps.

I did assume that the remodeling involved a change in design because the chances are negligible that a large portion of existing construction was faulty; and in any case the cost of replacement would normally have been charged to the contractors. But there is some further indirect documentary evidence that the character of the staircase was altered. There is no doubt that the project for the *sobre-escalera* (the covering of the stairwell above the upper arches) was changed and, in fact, was aggrandized between 1570 and 1573.[7] This transformation is understandable if the staircase was changed and given greater visual impact. If indeed there was a drastic remodeling of the staircase in 1571, as is suggested by the documents, only Herrera could have been responsible for the new design.

In reviewing all the documentary evidence, I have found no serious reasons to retract what I have written. Regarding Sigüenza, I was most reluctant to contradict his authority. It must be pointed out, however, that unlike Vasari, who himself made occasional mistakes, Sigüenza was not primarily concerned with artists and their works. Although his *Historia* is a considerable help in reconstructing the building history of the Escorial, the book's great importance as a

[3] Zarco Cuevas, *Documentos*, No. 9, 29.

[4] Iñiguez, *Las Trazas*, 129: "Que Tolosa llevó resolución de lo que se ha de hacer, y es que se dé la piedra a labrar a destajo y todo lo que tocare al asentar a jornal, con la condición que Tolosa dice."

[5] *Ibid.*, 130: "En la escalera, se ha de poner luego por obra, como lo llevó entendido Tolosa, todo aquello que se pudiera hacer hasta la cornisa, y así mismo la misma cornisa, lo cual durará, según se dice, hasta Pascua, y esto sirve para cualquier propósito que su Majestad escogiere, en la forma de la sobre-escalera. . ."

[6] Marx seems to think, as I did, that the upper arches were part of her "overstairs," by which I assume she means the *sobre-escalera*.

[7] Construction of the *sobre-escalera* was held up between 1570 and 1573, perhaps because of the remodeling of the staircase below, and during this time the plans were changed. "Las condiciones de la sobre escalera principal que se ha de hacer de carpinteria," Escorial II, 82, three folios, are dated November 10, 1570, but on March 12, 1573, a new agreement was drawn up—"Escritura de destajos y otras tocantes a la fábrica . . . con Pedro Alonso, maestro de carpintería, para hacer la sobrescalera," Escorial III, 5, fols. 117v–120v—in which Pedro Alonso and his associates were compensated for the time they had lost and for their increased expenses due to the king's introduction of a new design for the *sobre-escalera*. There is no mention of any work taken down, but there are several explicit references to the change in scheme. Among them is "El Pedro Alonso y sus oficiales se an ocupado y enbarasçado mucho tiempo en la obra tocante A la dha sobrescalera de que se le a seguido y Recresçido mucha costa y despues su Mag^d mudo paresçer mando se hiziese por diferente traza y cõ otras cõdiciones de manera que lleba mucha mas labor y obra la dha sobrescalera que Antes," fol. 17v. The total cost of the work, including 150-ducats compensation, was set at 350 ducats.

Spanish classic, recognized by all, lies elsewhere. Sigüenza's interpretation of the Escorial as a royal and national symbol of Catholicism was based upon his contemporary observation and understanding of the program as it took shape. He saw the whole enterprise of the Escorial as well as its style as the culmination and convergence of three histories: of Renaissance art, of his Order, and of the Spanish monarchy. Without his brilliant view integrating these different perspectives upon the great monument, our understanding of the significance of the Escorial would be sadly circumscribed.

CATHERINE WILKINSON
Brown University

P.S.: I must apologize for the inexcusable carelessness of my reference to Ceán as Llaguno's "collaborator" and for the misprint in the date of publication.

Madam:

In light of the contribution of Linda Nochlin's "Lost and *Found:* Once More the Fallen Woman" (*Art Bulletin,* March, 1978), I think it is important to amplify the precise iconological context of Rossetti's *Found.* One possible influence on Rossetti is the illustrated editions of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village.* In this poem we find the same contrast of rural innocence and urban depravity as in *Found.* Also similar is its representation of a young girl, her virtue fled, literally in the posture of the fallen. Nochlin has pointed out the use of this motif by Morland in plate six, *The Fair Penitent,* in his Laetitia series of 1789, but this work exists within a narrative framework of captions that provides a justification for the fall of his heroine and a resolution of her problem, which is absent in either Goldsmith's or Rossetti's conceptions. As in Rossetti's conception, we find "the poor houseless shiv'ring female . . . Now lost to all; . . . her virtue fled."

Victorian versions of this work are close to Rossetti's conception. In an edition published by the Etching Club in 1841, J. C. Horsley illustrates "the poor houseless shiv'ring female." Horsley's protagonist does seem to shiver and shake, pulling her thin cloak around her as she crouches against a grating. Certainly Horsley's illustration lacks the power and intensity of Rossetti's conception or dramatic confrontation between the girl and the young drover. Nevertheless, he does show us a woman in a very similar pose who seems to shrink from the gaze of the rich revelers departing from their coaches, in the same way that the woman in *Found* cringes away from her lost love. One important distinction remains: the heroine of *The Deserted Village* maintains her identity as an innocent country girl, while the female in *Found* is unmistakably a prostitute. The identity of the woman in *Found* as a prostitute, as distinct from the mistress of Hunt's *The Awakening Conscience* or the adulteress in Egg's *Past and Present* must be emphasized because it is one of the unique aspects of Rossetti's iconography. The profession of Rossetti's heroine makes the iconological implications of *Found* distinct from these paintings. There were prominent contemporary prose sources and even visual ones available to Rossetti as a precedent for this iconography.

Rossetti builds upon the conceptions of an earlier visual tradition and also alludes to the concerns of the contemporary social reformer. Interest in the prostitute as someone who deserved, not only the sympathy of the Victorian public, but their aid, became quite strong in the years immediately preceding Rossetti's original drawing for *Found.* John Armstrong wrote of the need for shelters that could reform fallen women ([John Armstrong,] "Female Penitentiaries," *The Quarterly Review,* LXXXIII, Sept., 1848, 359–376). His attitude is one of slight disgust and he states that "Woman falls . . . never to rise again" (p. 360). His final call, however, is for "true charity" (p. 376). Rossetti shows much more sympathy for his prostitute, but the basic themes, the difficulty of raising these women and the need for true charity, are, nevertheless, identical. The following year, and in 1851, Henry Mayhew described some of the sufferings of these women and the reasons for their fall in a series of anonymous letters to *The Morning Chronicle.* The strength of the personalities of those he interviewed and their feelings of shame must have made the plight of these women very immediate to those who read the interviews. They certainly moved W. R. Greg, who wrote a lengthy article in 1850, discussing the problems of prostitution and quoting liberally from Mayhew's letters ([W. R. Greg,] "Prostitution," *Westminster Review,* LIII, July, 1850, 238–268). Nochlin mentions these sources, but fails to delineate a precise relationship with *Found.* Greg's attitude is far more radical than Armstrong's. Instead of simply finding the prostitute deserving of assistance, he feels that the Victorian attitude that she is irretrievably fallen is wrong. Her degradation is not simply a moral question; it is the fault of society because of poverty and because of the attitude of men towards these women. ". . . Society should recur to a sounder and more merciful judgement of female frailty; that the first false step . . . should no longer be considered irretrievable. . . . If the same harsh rule . . . were applied to the stronger and the guiltier sex; . . . society would be infested with, and almost made up of, desperadoes" (p. 267). It is precisely this attitude which we find in *Found.* Rossetti's young drover, who can be seen as a kind of Everyman, attempts to raise the prostitute from her fallen position, to restore her to a moral and social standing that she has lost.

Within this context, it is also possible to suggest an interpretation for the calf in the cart in the middle ground of the picture. This detail has elicited several different explanations, all of which hinge on the undeniable correlation between the animal and the woman herself. An image that Greg uses fuses two conceptions—the calf as a symbol of purity and the prostitute as a victim of society. It also adds a further resonance, because it alludes to the act of prostitution and the fault of society's attitude. Greg writes that "Among cattle, the sexes meet by common instinct and a common wish;—it is reserved for the human animal to treat the female as a mere victim for his lust. The peculiar guilt of prostitution, then, consists . . . in its being *unnatural;* a violation of our truer instincts—not a mere frailty in yielding to them" (p. 239).

Social reformers are not the only precedent for Rossetti's treatment of the theme of the prostitute. In the clamor to establish the precedence of Hunt or Rossetti or the Pre-Raphaelites in general in depicting the theme of the fallen woman as a contemporary social issue, earlier Victorian visual examples have been ignored. There were, in fact, some examples of this theme in painting and engraved illustration that predate *Found* and may form a precedent for it. In 1845, a poem was published entitled "Within and Without," which contrasts the innocence of the rural origins of a young girl with her fate, to be a harlot in the city of London, precisely the relationship implied by Rossetti. (Barry Cornwall, "Within and Without—A London Lyric," *The Illustrated Family Journal,* I June 14, 1845, 232–33). The lyric also echoes the opinion of Greg in condemning the seducer and asking for sympathy for the one betrayed, the accompanying illustra-

tion emphasizes the contrast in the poem by comparing the homeless wandering of the girl out in the middle of a cold storm with the almost regal splendor of her seducer. The lower portion of the illustration, which shows the prostitute, has several similarities to the composition of *Found*. Near the form of the girl is an iron fence enclosing trees, which parallels the enclosed graveyard in the drawing of 1853. Similarly, the pose of the woman, with her arms crossed at the wrist as she leans against a lamp post, with her bonnet pushed back, prefigures Rossetti's conception.

A work entitled *The Streets of London—A Female Dombey* by J. Holmes was shown in 1848 at the Royal Academy. The review in *The Athenaeum* recounts that it depicted a young sailor, out walking with his sweetheart, who aids a distressed female. The identity of this woman as a prostitute is supported by the revulsion of the reviewer who calls it "forced and tasteless" ("The Royal Academy," *The Athenaeum*, April 15, 1848, 394). The basic components, therefore, the London street scene, the young man attempting to aid the fallen woman, and the juxtaposition of the innocent and the fallen, suggested by Rossetti with the calf and the prostitute, are present in the picture.

The reviewer in *The Athenaeum* notes that such ideas originate in "the sentimentalities of certain popular writers." This brings us to the problem of a probable literary source for Holmes's composition. The obvious suggestion is contained in the title *A Female Dombey*, with its likely reference to Charles Dickens's *Dombey and Son* published in 1847, but there is no scene in this book that could suggest Holmes's painting. The word Dombey was appropriated, however, by Renton Nicholson, a spectacularly popular author and publisher who specialized in Penny Dreadfuls. His magazine *Town* contained articles on prostitution and Nicholson included this subject in *Dombey and Daughter*, a work that was planned to exploit the popularity of Dickens. The precise scene taking place in Holmes's or Rossetti's work does not occur in the novel, but a remarkably vivid portrait of the poverty of London, including its prostitutes, does. Nicholson writes of "A pale emaciated girl, scarcely beyond the fair bud of childhood, [who] comes forth with brazen face and painted cheek . . . she breathes the livelong day, waiting for the pall of night, cursing the rare glory of the jovial sun for shedding so long and clear a light, making it an age to wait for darkness" (Renton Nicholson, *Dombey and Daughter*, London [1847], 48).

Dombey and Daughter is not the only literary example that Rossetti had available to him. Charles Dickens's Christmas Book of 1844, *The Chimes*, contains a character named Lillian who, in spite of her shadowy role, can be identified as a prostitute. In one scene, she comes home to die, to the friend of her innocence, and significantly Dickens, like Rossetti, uses the fallen posture literally to symbolize her present moral state during this confrontation. Also during this period, the heroine of J. A. Froude's *The Lieutenant's Daughter*, written in 1847, is spurned by her seducer and forced to become a prostitute with a "haggard, painted face." But much more important than this minor novel, or even Dickens's *David Copperfield*, was *Mary Barton* by Mrs. Gaskell, published in 1848. A tale of the hardship of the weavers in Manchester, it also included a striking picture of Esther, who turns to prostitution after the desertion of her seducer. The harsh reality of Mrs. Gaskell's prose corresponds closely with Rossetti's painted vision. In fact the scene where John Barton meets the lost Esther foretells the feelings and images of *Found*:

> "He turned, and saw . . . that the woman who stood by him was of no doubtful profession. It was told by her faded finery . . . He gripped her arm . . . and dragged her, faintly resisting, to the nearest lamp-post. He pushed her bonnet back, and roughly held the face she would fain have averted, to the light. Much was like the gay creature of former years; but the glaring paint, the sharp features, the changed expression of the whole! (Mrs. Gaskell, *Mary Barton* [London, 1848], Everyman Edition, 1911, 116)

The narrative is not exactly the same, but the circumstances of the confrontation of the prostitute with someone from her past life is strikingly similar. Mrs. Gaskell's final image of Esther—"Fallen into what appeared simply a heap of white or light-coloured clothes . . . lay the poor crushed Butterfly—the once innocent Esther" (p. 370)—seems very much like Rossetti's poor bedraggled creature pressed up against the wall.

It is impossible to categorically state that any of these visual or literary examples are precise sources for *Found*, but the close correlation of images increases the resonance of Rossetti's work. They show *Found* to be part of an established, albeit rare, artistic-portrayal of the theme of the prostitute. The position of *Found* in this tradition is not a static one; the influence of Rossetti's composition and iconology is certainly seen, for example, in Spencer Stanhope's *Thoughts of the Past*, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1859 and now in the Tate Gallery. This clarification of the iconological context of *Found* does not entirely explain the painting. As Nochlin so aptly points out, it, like its creator, was a work of "multiple implications."

T. J. EDELSTEIN
Yale Center for British Art

Reply

Madam:

Mr. Edelstein has indeed helped to clarify and illuminate both the possible sources and the impact of Rossetti's *Found*. In light of his communication, I should like to call to the attention of art historians some other recent additions to the literature on this painting and that of the theme of the fallen woman in art: (1) Judy Oberhausen, *Delaware Art Museum Occasional Paper*, No. 1, December, 1976. This publication, entirely devoted to Rossetti's *Found*, contains a brief introduction, a study of the sources of *Found*, with particular emphasis on Rossetti's early interest in Gavarni, and an extensive examination of the formal evolution of the painting; (2) Susan Casteras's 1977 doctoral dissertation for Yale University, "Down the Garden Path: Courtship Culture and Its Imagery in Victorian Painting," particularly Pt. III, chap. 12, "The Expulsion from the Garden of Love," 356–471.

Incidentally, for a perfect visual embodiment of the economic pressures tempting poor but innocent country girls to become richer, urban fallen women, see Auguste-Barthélemy Glaize's *Misery the Procuress*, 1860, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, recently exhibited in the *Second Empire* show. This painting, which was widely commented upon at the time of its appearance in the Salon, represents an allegorical "Misery" in the form of an old hag, urging foolish virgins onward and downward to a city-bound chariot (and subsequent ruin), while their wiser sisters sit humbly to the right working by the light of flickering candles. See *The Second Empire, 1852–1870: Art in France under Napoleon III*, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1978, No. VI–61, 309–310.

LINDA NOCHLIN
Vassar College

List of Books Received

(March, 1979 through June, 1979)

ADAMS, HUGH, *Modern Painting*, New York, Mayflower Books, 1979. Pp. 80; 100+ ills. $6.95 paper

ADAMS, WILLIAM HOWARD, *The French Garden: 1500–1800*, New York, Braziller, 1979. Pp. 159; 168 ills. $19.95

BANGS, JEREMY D., *Cornelis Engebrechtsz.'s Leiden; Studies in Cultural History*, Assen, Van Gorcum, 1979. Pp. xii + 259; 97 ills. D.Fl. 65

BANTEL, LINDA, AND MARCUS B. BURKE, *Spain and New Spain: Mexican Colonial Arts in Their European Context*, Corpus Christi, Art Museum of South Texas, 1979. Pp. 134; 79 ills.

BAYLÉ, MAYLIS, *La Trinité de Caen: sa place dans l'histoire de l'architecture et du décor roman (Bibliothèque de la Société Française d'Archéologie*, x), Geneva and Paris, Droz and Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1979. Pp. xii + 236; 232 ills.

BEAN, JACOB, *17th Century Italian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, distr. Abrams, 1979. Pp. 300; 405 ills. $28.50

BELTING, HANS, *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi; Ihre Dekoration als Aufgabe und die Genese einer neuen Wandmalerei*, Berlin, Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1977. Pp. 375; 120 pl. pp. DM. 99

BIER, JUSTUS, *Tilmann Riemenschneider*, IV: *Die späten Werke in Holz*, Vienna, Verlag Anton Schroll, 1978. Pp. x + 221; many ills. Ö.S. 920

BILLINGTON, DAVID P., *Robert Maillart's Bridges: The Art of Engineering*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979. Pp. xv + 146; many ills. $17.50

BOARDMAN, JOHN, AND MARTIN ROBERTSON, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Great Britain*, XV, *Castle Ashby, Northampton* (Union Académique Internationale), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1979. Pp. 42 + pl. pp.; 62 pls. $98

BOLTON, JACOB, *Het Noord—En Zuidnederlandse Tekenboek 1600–1750*, Leiden, Kunsthistorisch Institut der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1979. Pp. ix + 262; no ills.

BOND, MAURICE, ed. and preface, *The Royal Windsor Tapestry Manufactory 1876–1890 (The Royal Borough of Windsor and Maidenhead Historical Records Publications*, IV), Windsor and Maidenhead, Royal Borough of Windsor and Maidenhead, 1979. Pp. viii + 88; many ills.

BOTWINICK, MICHAEL, foreword, *Africa in Antiquity; the Arts of Ancient Nubia and the Sudan*, 2 vols., New York, Brooklyn Museum, 1978. Vol. I, pp. 243; 100 ills., Vol. II; pp. 336; 379 ills.

BOWDER, DIANA, *The Age of Constantine and Julian*, New York, Barnes and Noble, 1978. Pp. xiii + 230; 51 ills. $30

BRENDEL, OTTO J., *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art*, foreword Jerome J. Pollitt, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1979. Pp. xvi + 207; 26 ills. $16 cloth, $4.95 paper

BROWN, STEPHANIE, *Religious Painting*, New York, Mayflower Books, 1979. Pp. 80; 100 + ills. $6.95 paper

BUSCHHAUSEN, HELMUT, *Die süditalienische Bauplastik im Königreich Jerusalem (Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften*, CVIII), Vienna, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978. Pp. 414 + pl. pp.; 981 ills. DM. 180

CANOVA, GIORDANA MARIANA, *Miniature dell'Italia settentrionale nella Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Cataloghi di raccolte d'arte*, N.S. XI), Venice, Neri Pozza Editore, 1978. Pp. xxiii + 104 + pl. pp.; many ills.

CATLIN, GEORGE, *Episodes from Life Among the Indians and Last Rambles (Civilization of the American Indian Series)*, (1959), Norman, University of Oklahoma, 1979. Pp. xiv + 354; 151 ills. $25

COFFIN, DAVID R., *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome (Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology*, XLIII), Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979. Pp. xx + 385; 243 ills. $45

COKE, VAN DEREN, *Photography in New Mexico; From the Daguerreotype to the Present*, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1979. Pp. xi + 156; 102 ills. $24.95

DORRINGTON-WARD, CAROL, ed., *Fans from the East*, London, New York, Debrett's Peerage Ltd., Viking Press, 1978. Pp. 88; 108 ills. $18.95

DUFRENNE, SUZY, *Tableaux synoptiques de 15 Psautiers medievaux*, Paris, Association des Amis des Études Archéologiques Byzantines Slaves, 1978. Pp. 392.

ENGGASS, CATHERINE AND ROBERT, eds., *Nicola Pio: Le Vite di Pittori Scultori et Architetti (Studi e Testi* 278), Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1977. Pp. xv + 469; no ills.

FRIEDLÄNDER, MAX J., AND JACOB ROSENBERG, *The Paintings of Lucas Cranach*, rev. ed., Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1978. Pp. 202 + pl. pp.; 452 ills. $85

GANDOLFO, FRANCESCO, *Il Dolce Tempo: Mistica, ermetismo e sogno nel cinquecento*, Rome, Bulzoni Editore, 1978. Pp 323 + pp.; 46 ills.

GIROUARD, MARK, *Historic Houses of Britain*, New York, William Morrow, 1979. Pp. 185; many ills. $19.95

GOULD, KAREN, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons (Speculum Anniversary Monographs*, IV), Cambridge, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1978. Pp. xvi + 128 + pl. pp; 68 ills. $11 cloth, $5 paper

GÜSE, ERNST-GERHARD, *Das Frühwerk Max Beckmanns; Zur Thematik seiner Bilder aus den Jahren, 1910–1914 (Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien*, VI), Frankfurt and Bern, Peter Lang, Herbert Lang, 1977. Pp. 118; 49 ills.

HALDANE, DUNCAN, *Mamluk Painting (Middle East Studies Series)*, Warnminster, Aris and Phillips, 1978. Pp. xii + 107; 72 ills. $44

HALL, MARCIA B., *Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Sta Maria Novella and Sta Croce, 1565–1577 (Oxford-Warburg Studies Series)*, Oxford, Oxford University Press (Clarendon Press), 1979. Pp. xxvi + 200 + pl. pp.; 113 ills. $53

HILLENBRAND, ROBERT, *Imperial Images in Persian Paintings*, Edinburgh, Scottish Arts Council, 1977. Pp. 105; many ills.

HITCHCOCK, HENRY-RUSSELL, *Netherlandish Scrolled Gables of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries (CAA Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts*, XXXIV), New York, New York University Press, 1978. Pp. xvi + 157; 106 ills. $22.50

HJORT, ØYSTEIN, AND MIRJAM GELFER-JØRGENSEN, eds., *Hafnia—Copenhagen Papers in the History of Art*, Copenhagen, University of Copenhagen, 1978. Pp. 168; 35 ills.

HOLT, NANCY, ed., *The Writings of Robert Smithson*, New York, New York University Press, 1979. Pp. vii + 221; many ills. $19.50 cloth, $9.95 paper

JACOBS, MICHAEL, *Nude Painting*, New York, Mayflower Books, 1979. Pp. 80; 100+ ills. $6.95 paper

JEFFARES, BO, *Landscape Painting*, New York, Mayflower Books, 1979. Pp. 80; 100+ ills. $6.95

JOHNSON, PHILIP, *Philip Johnson: Writings*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1979. Pp. 292; some ills. $25

JØRGENSEN, LISBET BALSLEV, *Danmarks Arkitektur* (ed. Hakon Lund): I, *Enfamiliehuset*, Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1979. Pp. 221; many ills. D.Kr. 240

JULLIAN, RENÉ, *Le Mouvement des arts du Romantisme au Symbolisme*, Paris, Albin Michel, 1979. Pp. 589; 68 ills.

KOZLOFF, ARIELLE P., *The First 4000 Years; The Ratner Collection of Judaean Antiquities*, exh. cat., Greenvale, N.Y., C.W. Post Art Gallery, 1978. Pp. xxi + 114; 88 ills.

KRIS, ERNST, AND OTTO KURZ, *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1979. Pp. xvi + 159; no ills. $15

LARSEN, ERIK, WITH JANE P. DAVIDSON, *Calvinistic Economy and 17th Century Dutch Art (Humanistic Studies* LI), Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, 1979. Pp. ix + 74; no ills.

LEDDEROSE, LOTHAR, *Mi Fu and the Classical Tradition of Chinese Calligraphy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979. Pp. xi + 181; 50 ills. $30

LEE, SHERMAN E., foreword, *Handbook of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978. Pp. xiv + 424; 1600+ ills. $20 paper

LINK, HOWARD A., *The Theatrical Prints of the Torii Masters: A Selection of 17th and 18th Century Ukiyo-e*, Honolulu and Tokyo, Honolulu Academy of Arts, and Riccar Art Museum, 1977. Pp. 119; 119 ills.

LOGAN, ANNE-MARIE S., *The 'Cabinet' of the Brothers Gerard and Jan Reynst*, Amsterdam, Oxford, New York, North Holland Publishing Company, 1979. Pp. 293; 200+ ills.

MARTIN, JOHN RUPERT, AND GAIL FEIGENBAUM, *Van Dyck as Religious Artist*, Princeton, Art Museum, Princeton University (distr. Princeton University Press), 1979. Pp. 180; 50 ills. $28.50 cloth, $13.50 paper

MEPISASHVILI, RUSUDAN, AND VAKHTANG TSINSADZE, *The Arts of Ancient Georgia*, (1977), foreward and trans. David M. Lang, New York, Thames and Hudson, 1979. Pp. 310; 584 ills. $29.95

NAKHSHABI, ZIYA'U'D-DIN, *The Cleveland Museum of Art's Tuti-Nama: Tales of a Parrot*, ed. and trans. Muhammed A. Simsar, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978. Pp. xxiv + 339; 48 ills. $45

OLMSTED, JOHN CHARLES, AND JEFFREY EGAN WELCH, *Victorian Novel Illustration; A Selected Checklist 1900–1976 (Garland Reference Library of the Humanities*, CLXIV), New York and London, Garland, 1979. Pp. xv + 124; no ills. $18

PALLUCCHINI, RODOLFO, preface, *Gli affreschi nelle ville venete dal seicento all' ottocento (Profili e saggi di arte veneta)*, 2 vols., Venice, Alfieri Edizioni d'Arte, 1978. Vol. I: pp. 290; 315 ills.; Vol. II: pp. 500+; 1463 ills.

PASINI, FRANCESCA, *Ostia antica; insule e classi sociali*, Rome, Multigrafica Editrice, 1978. Pp. xi + 127 + pl pp.; 62 ills. + maps

PASSAVANT, D. J., *Tour of a German Artist in England*, (1836), East Ardsley, Wakefield, Yorkshire, EP Publishing, 1978. Pp. xx + 312 + xxviii; 1 ill. £11.50

PHILLIPS, PHILIP, AND JAMES A. BROWN, et al., *Pre-Columbian Shell Engravings from the Craig Mound at Spiro, Oklahoma*, Pt. I, Cambridge, Harvard University, Peabody Museum Press, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 1978. Pp. viii + 513; 271 ills. $25

QUIMBY, IAN M. G., ed., *American Funiture and Its Makers (Winterthur Portfolio*, XIII), Chicago and London, The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum (University of Chicago), 1979. Pp. xi + 244; many ills. $20

RAMAGE, ANDREW, *Lydian Houses and Architectural Terracottas (Archaeological Exploration of Sardis*, Monograph V), Cambridge, Mass. and London, Harvard University Press, 1978. Pp. xiv + 49 + ill. pp.; 132 ills. $14

RANDALL, LILIAN M. C., transcription and intro., *The Diary of George A. Lucas: An American Art Agent in Paris, 1857–1909*, 2 vols., Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979. Vol. I: pp. xvi + 148; 130 ills., Vol. II: pp. ix + 965. $50

SAMUELS, ERNEST, *Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Connoisseur*, Cambridge, Mass. and London, Harvard University Press (Belknap Press), 1979. Pp. xvi + 477; 30 ills. $15

SANZ SERRANO, MARIÁ JESÚS, *Juan de Arfe y Villafañe y la custodia de Sevilla (Colección arte hispalense*, XVII), Seville, Diputación Provincial de Sevilla, 1978. Pp. 180; some ills.

SCHIFFHORST, GERALD, ed., *The Triumph of Patience; Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Orlando, Florida Technological University (University Presses of Florida), 1978. Pp. xiii + 146; 5 ills. $10

SCHLOSS, EZEKIEL, *Art of the Han*, New York, China Institute of America, 1979. Pp. 111; 106 ills.

SESTOFT, JØRGEN, *Danmarks Arkitektur* (ed. Hakon Lund): II, *Arbejdets bygninger*, Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1979. Pp. 199; many ills. D.Kr. 240

SIEVEKING, ANN, *The Cave Artist (Ancient Peoples and Places*, XCIII), New York, Thames and Hudson, 1979. Pp. 221; 155 ills. $16.95

SPRAGUE, PAUL E., *The Drawings of Louis Henry Sullivan: A Catalogue of the Frank Lloyd Wright Collection at the Avery Architectural Library*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979. Pp. xix + 72 + pl. pp.; 63 ills. $25

STEPHENS, WILLIAM B., *Hiram Williams: Exploring the Sources of His Expression*, Memphis, Memphis State University Press, 1978. Pp. viii + 192; 35 ills. $18.50

THACKER, CHRISTOPHER, *The History of Gardens*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1979. Pp. 228; 196 ills.$35

WALLEN, BURR, *The William A. Gumberts Collection of Canaletto Drawings*, Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1979. Pp. 101; 44 ills.

WEISS, PEG, *Kandinsky in Munich: The Formative Jugendstil Years*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979. Pp. xxi + 268 + pl. pp.; 166 ills. $30

WELCH, ANTHONY, *Calligraphy in the Arts of the Muslim World*, Austin, University of Texas Press (in cooperation with Asia Society), 1979. Pp. 216; 105 ills. $25

WELTGE-WORTMANN, SIGRID, *Die ersten Maler in Worpswede*, Lilienthal, Germany, Worpsweder Verlag, 1979, Pp. 172; many ills.

WENNBERG, BO, *French and Scandinavian Sculpture in the Nineteenth Century*, Stockholm, Almqvist and Wiksell International (distr. Humanities Press), 1978. Pp. 213; many ills. S.Kr. 153

WILDE, JOHANNES, *Michelangelo: Six Lectures (Oxford Studies in the History of Art and Architecture)*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, Clarendon Press, 1978. Pp. xii + 194; 181 ills. $23.50 cloth, $11.95 paper

WITTEMEYER, HUGH, *George Eliot and the Visual Arts*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1979. Pp. xiii + 238; 36 ills. $19.50

THE ART BULLETIN

December 1979

THE ART BULLETIN

A Quarterly Published by
The College Art Association
of America

December 1979
Volume LXI
Number 4

Editor-in-Chief
KATHLEEN WEIL-GARRIS
New York University

Associate Editor
CREIGHTON E. GILBERT
Cornell University

Managing Editor
ANNE H. HOY
54 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10024

Book Review Editor
JUERGEN SCHULZ
Brown University

Editor, Monograph Series
ISABELLE HYMAN
Washington Square and University College, New York University

Editorial Board
The Editorial Board includes the members of *The Art Bulletin* Committee, which is composed of the former editors-in-chief of the journal, the past and present editors of the Monograph Series, and the following advisory members:

RICHARD BRILLIANT (through 1980)
Columbia University

JAMES CAHILL (through 1983)
University of California, Berkeley

WALTER CAHN (through 1983)
Yale University

CAECILIA DAVIS-WEYER (through 1983)
Tulane University

COLIN EISLER (through 1983)
New York University

ILENE FORSYTH (through 1980)
University of Michigan

OLEG GRABAR (through 1980)
Harvard University

EVELYN B. HARRISON (through 1983)
New York University

JULIUS HELD (through 1980)
Barnard College, Columbia University, Emeritus

HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK (through 1980)
New York University

GEORGE LEVITINE (through 1983)
University of Maryland

THOMAS MATHEWS (through 1980)
New York University

EDITH PORADA (through 1980)
Columbia University

RICHARD H. RANDALL, JR. (through 1980)
Walters Art Gallery

W. R. REARICK (through 1983)
University of Maryland

THEODORE REFF (through 1980)
Columbia University

ROBERT ROSENBLUM (through 1983)
New York University

JOHN ROSENFIELD (through 1980)
Harvard University

ANGELICA RUDENSTINE (through 1983)
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum

DAMIE STILLMAN (through 1983)
University of Delaware

ROBERT THOMPSON (through 1983)
Yale University

SIR FRANCIS WATSON (through 1983)
The Queen's Advisor on Works of Art

JOHN WILMERDING (through 1980)
National Gallery of Art

The Art Bulletin Committee
JAMES S. ACKERMAN
DAVID R. COFFIN
ANNE COFFIN HANSON
HOWARD HIBBARD
ISABELLE HYMAN
H. W. JANSON
GEORGE KUBLER
CHARLES L. KUHN
RENSSELAER W. LEE
BATES LOWRY
JOHN R. MARTIN
DONALD POSNER
LUCY FREEMAN SANDLER
J. CARSON WEBSTER

Manuscripts
submitted for editorial consideration should conform to the practices set forth in "Notes for Contributors" available from the offices of the College Art Association of America. Articles improperly prepared, even though accepted for publication, may be returned for retyping. All manuscripts must be sent with self-addressed stamped envelope (not check), to Creighton E. Gilbert, Goldwin Smith 35, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. 14853. Please enclose sufficient amount in check made out to Creighton E. Gilbert if insured return of parcel is desired. Submitted articles should be accompanied by photocopies of photographs, not the originals. The Editor will, however, request the photographs if needed for judgment. *The Art Bulletin* cannot consider manuscripts lacking return postage or unsolicited manuscripts for book reviews.

Books for Review
should be addressed to the Book Review Editor, *The Art Bulletin*, College Art Association of America, 16 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022.

The Art Bulletin
is available only through membership, open to all interested persons and institutions, in the College Art Association of America. For information about membership or individual back issues, write the College Art Association of America, 16 East 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022.
Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices.

©1979, College Art Association of America, Inc.

Contributing Institutions

University of Alberta
Arizona State University
University of Arizona
Barnard College
Boston University
Brown University
Bryn Mawr College
Case Western Reserve University
University of Chicago
Columbia University
Cornell University
Duke University
Emory University
University of Illinois
Indiana University
The Institute for Advanced Study
University of Iowa
Johns Hopkins University
University of Louisville
The Maryland Institute
Michigan State University
University of Michigan
University of Minnesota
University of Missouri
Mount Holyoke College
University of New Mexico
State University of New York, Binghamton
New York University
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Northwestern University
Oberlin College
Ohio State University
University of Oregon
Pennsylvania State University
University of Pennsylvania
University of Pittsburgh
Princeton University
University of Rochester
Rutgers, The State University
Smith College
Stanford University
Tulane University
Vanderbilt University
Vassar College
University of Virginia
University of Washington
Wellesley College
Williams College
Yale University

The Baltimore Museum of Art
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
The Brooklyn Museum
Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute
Cleveland Museum of Art
Fogg Art Museum
The Frick Collection
The J. Paul Getty Museum
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum
The Hispanic Society of America
The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston
Indianapolis Museum of Art
Kimbell Art Museum
Los Angeles County Museum of Art
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Minneapolis Institute of Arts
Montreal Museum of Fine Arts
The Pierpont Morgan Library
The Museum of Modern Art
National Gallery of Art
The National Gallery of Canada
William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art
Art Gallery of Ontario
Philadelphia Museum of Art
The Phillips Collection
Portland Art Museum
Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design
St. Louis Art Museum
The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco
The Toledo Museum of Art
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts
Walters Art Gallery
Whitney Museum of American Art

Benefactors

The Art Dealers Association of America, Inc.
Carnegie Corporation Fund
Samuel H. Kress Foundation
Robert Lehman Foundation, Inc.
Richard Harrison Martin
Sotheby Parke Bernet, Inc.

Patrons

Henfield Foundation
Mr. and Mrs. William K. Simpson
Eugene Victor Thaw
Wildenstein & Co., Inc.

Supporters

Harry N. Abrams, Inc.
Mr. & Mrs. Gilbert S. Edelson
Richard L. Feigen & Co. Inc.
The International Art Registry, Ltd.
Mrs. Alice M. Kaplan
Rensselaer W. Lee
Perls Galleries
The Robert Gore Rifkind Collection
Alexandre P. Rosenberg
Charles Scribner III
Wittenborn & Company

Supporters contribute $100 to $499 per year to the College Art Association; Patrons give $500 to $999 per year; Benefactors subscribe annually for $1,000 or more. The College Art Association is not a private foundation as defined in Section 509 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code.

Contents

Volume LXI Number 4 December 1979

Articles

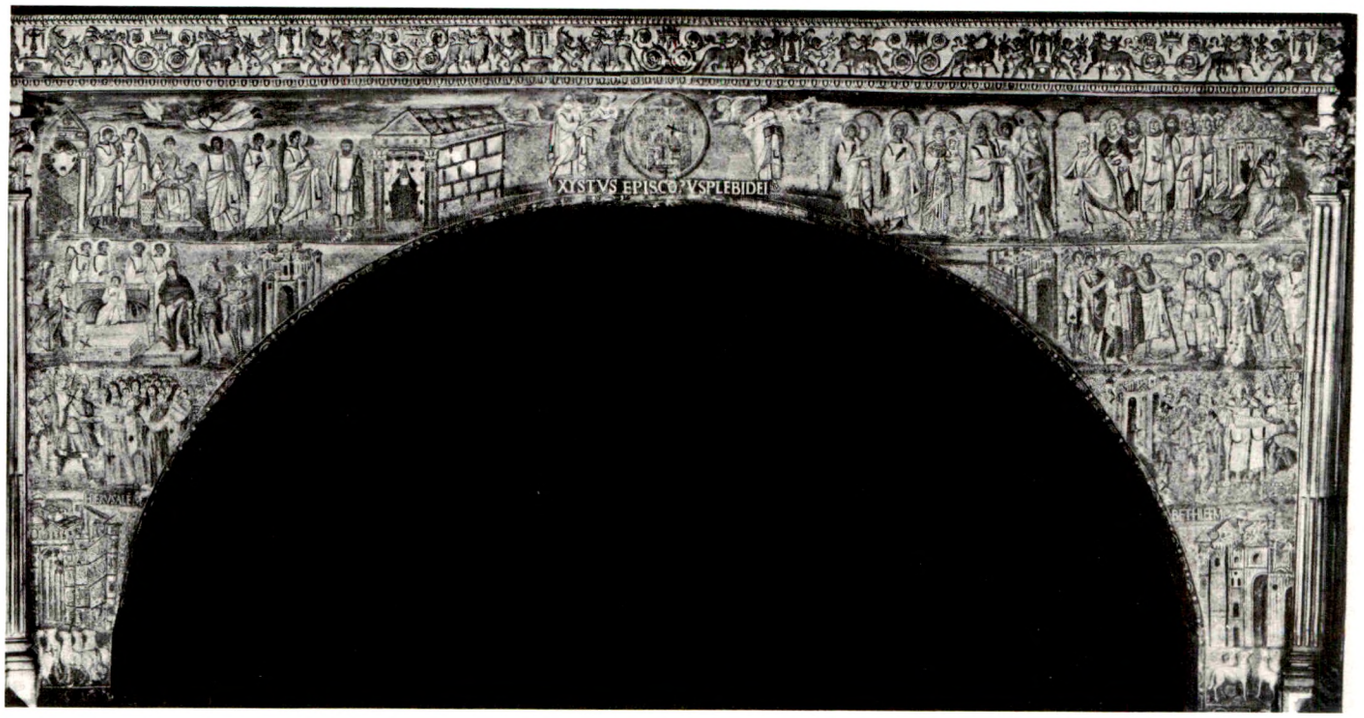
"The Promised Blessing": The Iconography of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore	SUZANNE SPAIN	518
DuccioDoctus: New Readings for the *Maestà*	FLORENS DEUCHLER	541
Filarete, the Medallist of the Roman Emperors	JOHN R. SPENCER	549
A Dionysiac Connection in an Early Rubens	FRANCES HUEMER	562
Poussin's Paintings of Flora	THOMAS WORTHEN	575
On Velázquez's Working Method	GRIDLEY MCKIM-SMITH	589
Richard Payne Knight: Some Unpublished Correspondence	R. W. LISCOMBE	604
"The Ravages of the Axe": The Meaning of the Tree Stump in Nineteenth-Century American Art	NICOLAI CIKOVSKY, JR.	611

Documentation

Addenda: The Madrid Academy	MARY CRAWFORD VOLK	627

Reviews

Christoph Schwingenstein, *Die Figurenausstattung des griechischen Theatergebäudes* Mary C. Sturgeon, *Corinth*, IX, Pt. II, *Sculpture: The Reliefs from the Theater*	GEORGE M. A. HANFMANN	628
K. Weitzmann, W. C. Loerke, E. Kitzinger, and H. Buchthal, *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*	MICHAEL JACOFF	631
Peter K. Klein, *Der ältere Beatus-Kodex Vitr. 14-1 der Biblioteca Nacional zu Madrid, Studien zur Beatus-Illustration und der spanischen Buchmalerei des 10. Jahrhunderts*	JOHN WILLIAMS	633
Kenneth M. Setton, gen. ed., *A History of the Crusades*, IV: *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. Harry W. Hazard	OTTO DEMUS	636
Debra Pincus, *The Arco Foscari: The Building of a Triumphal Gateway in Fifteenth Century Venice*	ROBERT MUNMAN	637
The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci, Commentary, by Carlo Pedretti	AUGUSTO MARINONI	642
Matias Diaz Padron, *Museo del Prado, Catalogo de Pinturas, I, Escuela Flamenca, Siglo XVII*	HANS VLIEGHE	651
J. G. Links, *Canaletto and His Patrons*	FRANCES VIVIAN	654
André Fermigier, *Jean-François Millet*	BRUCE LAUGHTON	657
Vincent F. Kubly, *The Louisiana Capitol: Its Art and Architecture*	CAROL HERSELLE KRINSKY	660
Letters to the Editor		661
List of Books Received		664
Index to Volume LXI		668



1 Triumphal arch mosaic, S. Maria Maggiore (photo: Anderson)

"The Promised Blessing": The Iconography of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore*

Suzanne Spain

Built and decorated primarily during the pontificate of Sixtus III (432-440), S. Maria Maggiore in Rome preserves the oldest program of mosaic decoration in a Christian church.[1] Old Testament scenes occupy panels on the walls of the nave, and on the triumphal arch the story of Christ's advent and recognition is depicted in scenes distributed in three registers (Figs. 1, 2).[2] The original apse, destroyed in the last years of the thirteenth century, once presented an image of the enthroned Virgin. The bibliography on the mosaics is lengthy but it is encumbered by three widely held misconceptions which have impeded understanding of the meaning of the mosaic program.[3] The first of these concerns the role of Christian apocrypha. Whereas the nave panels are based almost ex-

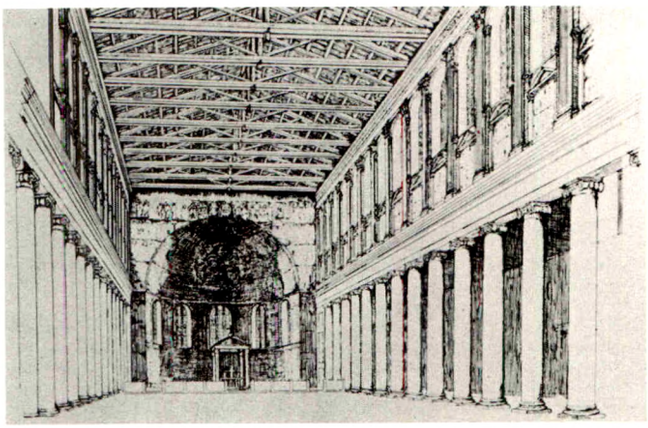
* I am indebted to Hugo Buchthal and Richard Krautheimer for their continued and generous support, first in supervising my doctoral thesis on S. Maria Maggiore and then in encouraging me to transform that artless product into publishable form. Thomas Mathews provided valuable suggestions on format and fine editorial advice for which I am most grateful.

N.B. A list of sources cited by author in the notes follows the article.

[1] For the building history of the church, Krautheimer, 1-60; *idem*, "The Architecture of Sixtus III: A Fifth-Century Renascence?" *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky. De Artibus Opuscula XL*, ed. Millard Meiss, New York, 1961, 291-302. Sixtus's role in the church is documented by two inscriptions: XYSTVS EPISCOPVS PLEBI DEI at the apex of the triumphal arch (Fig. 1, but see my article cited in n. 75) and a lengthy inscription of dedicatory verse (see below, pages 532-34) and an entry in the *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 232.

[2] Recording the appearance of the mosaics prior to the extensive restorations undertaken during the reigns of Pius XI (1922-1939) and Pius XII (1939-1958), Wilpert, III, pls. 8-28 (nave), 53-73 (arch). For recent photographs, Karpp.

[3] For bibliographical surveys; Künzle, 177-190, Brenk, foreword.



2 Reconstruction of 5th-century interior of S. Maria Maggiore (courtesy Richard Krautheimer and Spencer Corbett)

clusively on the Old Testament narrative, the triumphal arch mosaics depart from scriptural accounts.[4] The interpretations of some of the scenes have been sought in the apocryphal gospels. An analysis of the popular "Aphrodosius" interpretation of one register will demonstrate its spurious foundation. The apocrypha are, in fact, an implausible source for the themes of the arch; more likely interpretations will be offered here. S. Maria Maggiore is celebrated for having the earliest image of the imperialized Mary, Maria Regina; this is the second of the misconceptions. Evidence from the fifth and sixth centuries discloses that the woman on the triumphal arch generally regarded as Mary cannot be Maria Regina and is not Mary. Mary is present on the arch in familiar but inexplicably overlooked form. The last misapprehension that has limited understanding of the mosaics results, in part, from the long-held notion that the nave and arch mosaics were the products of different and even widely separated campaigns of decoration. Although the contemporaneity of their manufacture has since been established by archaeological and stylistic analysis, it seems to be customary for scholars to consider separately either the iconography of the nave or of the arch mosaics.[5] There have been few efforts to discover the programmatic unity of the decoration; none has produced a satisfactory explanation of the meaning of the decorative program.[6] The revisions suggested here in the interpretations of the scenes of the triumphal arch allow the discovery of hitherto unnoticed thematic motifs which are in harmony with the larger themes of the nave mosaics, thus permitting the significance of the original decorative program to emerge.

1. Aphrodosius, Valentinian III, and Augustus

In the scene on the triumphal arch illustrated in Figure 3, the Holy Family, it is said, meets Aphrodosius, the governor of Sotinen-Hermopolis in Egypt. This interpretation, first proposed some ninety years ago by Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov and Anton de Waal, has been widely seconded and is perpetuated in a recent monograph on the mosaics by Beat Brenk.[7] But this interpretation has extremely serious flaws, as a close consideration of its textual basis will reveal. The source of the Aphrodosius story is the *Liber de Infantia Salvatoris*, or the Gospel of pseudo-Matthew, a Latin compilation based in large part on two other apocryphal gospels, the Protoevangelium of James and the Gospel of Thomas.[8] Chapters XVIII-XXIV recount the Flight into Egypt; chapters XXII-XXIV tell of the Holy Family at Sotinen and their encounter with Aphrodosius:

> ... they came to the region of Hermopolis, and entered

[4] For detailed and divergent iconographical analysis, see Jean Paul Richter and A. Cameron Taylor, *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art*, London, 1904; Spain; Brenk; Johannes G. Deckers, *Der alttestamentliche Zyklus von Santa Maria Maggiore in Rom (Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe klassische Archäologie*, VIII), Bonn, 1976. The nave panels depart in minor ways from the Old Testament account: (1) they do not always follow narrative order (Spain, 80-99, esp. 96ff.); (2) Christ, the *dextra dei*, and angelic triads manifest the divine presence (Othmar Perler, "Les Théophanies dans les mosaïques de Sainte-Marie-Majeure à Rome," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, L, 1974, 275-293); (3) Jewish exegesis has shaped some of the iconography (Carl-Otto Nordström, "Rabbinica in frühchristlichen und byzantinischen Illustrationen zum 4 Buch Mose," *Figura*, n.s. I, 1959, 28-35); (4) Roman imperial art flavors nave and arch mosaics (Grabar, *L'Empereur*, 209-230, *idem*, *Christian Iconography*, 45-49; Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, *Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad*, Olten, 1955, 146-48). Different versions of the Old Testament influenced the iconography; Künzle, 162.

[5] Restoration campaigns during the reign of Pius XI established that the mosaics were executed directly on the clerestory walls, as documented in the writings of the supervising archaeologist, Biagio Biagetti, in *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti*, ser. III, XIII, 1937, 101-116; XVIII, 1941-42, 292-96; XXII, 1946, 241-251.

[6] See, for example, Carlo Cecchelli, *I mosaici della basilica di S. Maria Maggiore*, Turin, 1956; Künzle, 152-76; Matthiae, I, 86-123; Brenk; and Kitzinger, 66-75.

[7] Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov, *Histoire de l'art byzantin*, I, trans. M. Trawinski, Paris, 1886, 105; Anton de Waal, "Die apokryphen Evangelien in der altchristlichen Kunst," *Römische Quartalschrift*, I, 1887, 187-89; Brenk, 27-30, 43f. Accepting the Aphrodosius interpretation are: Marguerite van Berchem and Étienne Clouzot, Carlo Bertelli, Giovanni Biasiotti, Brenk, Cecchelli, Lucien deBruyne, Roberto Giordani, Paul Goubert, Grabar, Christa Ihm, Karpp, Kitzinger, Künzle, Viktor Lazarev, Matthiae, Walter Oakeshott, Sisto Scaglia, Pasquale Testini, Adolf Weis, G.A. Wellen, and Wilpert; for complete references to their works, see Künzle, 177-90; Brenk, *passim*, and *infra*. Advancing extensive apocryphal interpretations of the mosaics are Adolf Weis, "Die Geburtsgeschichte Christi am Triumphbogen von Santa Maria Maggiore zu Rom," *Das Münster*, XIII, 1960, 73-88; Paul Goubert, "L'Arc éphésien de Sainte-Marie-Majeure et les évangiles apocryphes," *Studi e testi*, CCXXXII, *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II, 1, Vatican City, 1964, 187-215; Heinrich Karpp, "Kanonische und apokryphe Überlieferung im Triumphbogen-Zyklus von S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LXXVII, 1966, 62-80.

[8] On the apocryphal infancy gospels, Émile Amann, "Évangiles apocryphes," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Paris, 1913, V, 2, 1635-37; Edgar Hennecke, Wilhelm Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, I, ed. Robert McLachlan Wilson, Philadelphia, 1963, 363-417; James, 70-79.

3 Scene here identified as the *Meeting of David, Isaiah, and Christ* (photo: Anderson)

an Egyptian city called Sotinen. And since there was no one they knew whom they could have asked for hospitality, they entered a temple which was called the "Capitol of Egypt." In this temple stood 365 idols, to which on appointed days divine honor was paid in idolatrous rites ... But it came to pass that, when blessed Mary entered the temple with the child, all the idols fell to the ground, so that they all lay on their faces completely overturned and shattered. Thus they openly showed that they were nothing. Then was fulfilled what was said through the prophet Isaiah: "Behold, the Lord shall come upon a swift cloud and shall enter into Egypt, and all [the idols] prepared by the hands of Egypt shall be removed before his face" (Isaiah 19:1). When this was told to Affrodisius, the governor of that city, he came to the temple with his whole army. And when the high priests of the temple saw that Affrodisius (Affrodisio) [*sic*] went to the temple with his whole army, they expected immediately to see his vengeance upon those because of whom the gods were destroyed. But when he entered the temple and saw all the idols lying prostrate on their faces, he went up to the blessed Mary, who was carrying the Lord in her bosom, and worshipped him, and said to his whole army and to all his friends: "If he were not the God of our gods, our gods would not have fallen on their faces before him, and they would not lie stretched out in his presence. Thus they silently confess him as their Lord. And if we do not with prudence do all that we see our gods do, we shall perhaps be in danger of angering him and of all being destroyed, as happened to Pharaoh ..." Then all the people of the city believed in the Lord God through Jesus Christ.[9]

Except for a confrontation between two groups of people, very little of this account corresponds to the iconography of the mosaic in S. Maria Maggiore. The setting of the mosaic is not a temple, but the outskirts of a walled city. The ground is not littered with fallen idols, nor does Mary hold the Christ Child in her arms ("infantem, quem ipsa in sinu suo portabat"). "Aphrodosius" wears imperial garb — tunic, chlamys, red shoes, and diadem; but this attire is not appropriate for the man whom the text terms *dux*. Nor do the eight or nine men in civilian attire who accompany him meet the pictorial requirements of a whole army ("universo exercitu suo").[10] As Brenk and others have noted, the presence of the bare-chested figure in the mosaic is a problem; he is not mentioned in the apocryphal text. Brenk suggested that he is a symbol of Roman virtues or of pagan religion, adapted along with the Adventus iconography that structures the mosaic.[11] It is, however, highly unlikely that the figure is a symbol or personification; neither in the nave nor in the other registers of the triumphal arch is a single personification of place, time, condition, or quality to be found.

Depiction of the apocryphal meeting of the Holy Family and Aphrodosius is exceedingly rare in medieval art. Brenk cited two examples that he thought were illustrations of the incident: a fresco in the church of St. Theodore, Susum Bayri, Cappadocia, dated ninth-eleventh centuries, and an illumination in an Akathistos manuscript, State Historical Museum, Moscow, Synodal

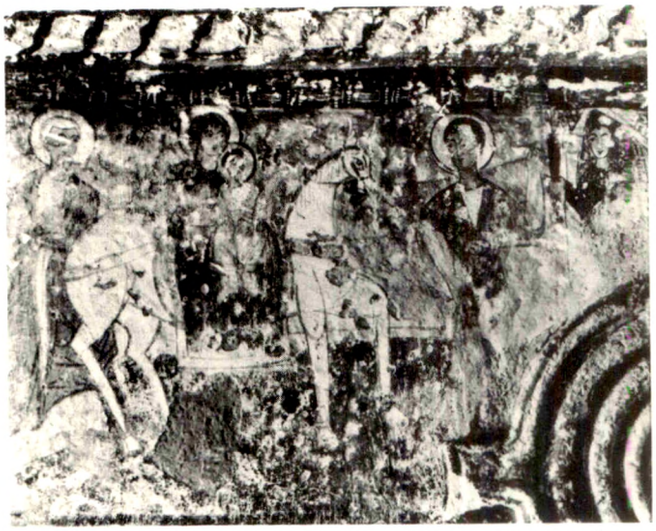
[9] Trans. Angus John Brockhurst Higgins, in Hennecke, Schneemelcher, Wilson, *New Testament Apocrypha*, I, 412f. For the Latin text, Constantine Tischendorff, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1876, 90-92.

[10] For a temple setting in S. Maria Maggiore, see Fig. 23; for armies and armed groups, see the nave mosaics illustrated in Karpp, pls. 29, 74, 97, 108, 113, 128, 133, 138, 143, 148, 153, 155.

[11] Brenk, 29f., fig. 13; Grabar, *L'Empereur*, 228.

Gr. 429, fourteenth-fifteenth centuries.[12] The fresco (Fig. 4), however, clearly belongs to a different iconographical tradition for the Flight into Egypt. Here a female personification of Egypt greets the Holy Family, including an elder son of Joseph who leads the donkey. This iconography is frequently combined with representation of the idols falling from the temple walls and, as at Susum Bayri, with a scene of enthronement. The tradition depends on two Oriental Infancy gospels, the Arabic Gospel and the Armenian Gospel.[13] These two accounts later influenced the iconography of the Flight in the few surviving illuminated manuscripts of the Akathistos, none of which predates the fourteenth century.[14] Thus there is no basis for comparing the mosaic in S. Maria Maggiore and these Middle and Late Byzantine illustrations of another apocryphal legend.

It is, moreover, most unlikely that the mosaic constitutes a unique illustration of pseudo-Matthew, chapters XXII-XXIV. Not only was the influence of the apocryphal gospels on Early Christian art limited, but the presence of apocryphal elements in an Infancy cycle in a church sponsored by the Papacy is inconceivable, given the caution with which the popes treated the canonical corpus of biblical writings.[15] The divergence between pseudo-Matthew and the mosaic, the rarity of representation of the Aphrodosius incident in Early Christian and Byzantine art, the lack of currency of the New Testament apocrypha in Early Christian art, and the attitude of the Church toward apocrypha constitute serious obstacles to the interpretation of the mosaic in S. Maria Maggiore as the encounter between Aphrodosius and the Holy Family. Most seriously affecting this interpretation, however, is the question of the availability of pseudo-Matthew in the fifth century. According to some scholars, the text is a Latin compilation of the late sixth century; according to others it does not predate the eighth or ninth century.[16] Although pseudo-Matthew is, for the most part, based on two second-century apocrypha known in the West by the early years of the fourth century, the Aphrodosius incident is



4 *Flight to Egypt*, fresco. Susum Bayri, Church of St. Theodore (after Marcell Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*, III, fig. 386)

not found in these apocrypha, nor in any other regardless of date or provenance. It is, in conclusion, well beyond the boundaries of probability that the mosaic on the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore depicts the apocryphal meeting of the Christ Child and Aphrodosius. Moreover, papal vigilance on behalf of the canon should rule out perceiving other mosaics on the arch in terms of apocryphal accounts.

Nina Brodsky and Ursula Schubert have considered the possibility that "Aphrodosius" should be identified as a Roman emperor; Brodsky proposed Valentinian III, Schubert, Augustus.[17] Born in 419, Valentinian III ruled the western half of the Roman Empire from 425 to 455, the period during which S. Maria Maggiore was built and decorated. Brodsky posited a historical relationship between Valentinian III and Pope Sixtus III, and by suggesting compositional parallels between the mosaic and

[12] Brenk, 29, n. 83. On Susum Bayri, see Marcell Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*, trans. Irene R. Gibbons, Recklinghausen, Greenwich, Conn., 1967, III, pls. 385f. Kondakov describes the manuscript and incorrectly dates it; *Histoire*, II, 128f.; Viktor Lazarev ascribes it to the second half of the 15th century, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Turin, 1967, 379; but V.D. Lixačeva places it a century earlier, "The Illuminations of the Greek Manuscript of the Akathistos Hymn (Moscow, State Historical Museum, Synodal Gr. 429)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXVI, 1972, 253-56.

[13] On the Flight into Egypt, see Paul A. Underwood, *The Kariye'Djami*, I, New York, 1966, 106f., and Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Iconography of the Cycle of the Infancy of Christ," *ibid.*, IV, 1975, 226-29. For the Arabic and Armenian Gospels, James, 80-84. In the Arabic Gospel, an idol falls (chaps. X, XI) and the family meets Pharaoh (chap. XXV); in the Armenian Gospel, idols fall and the family lives with a prince (chap. XV). For early versions of the Flight, Testini, 340-46.

[14] On the Akathistos manuscripts, Lixačeva, 257. Lafontaine-Dosogne finds neither a relationship between the illuminations in Synodal gr. 429 and pseudo-Matthew XXII-XXIV nor any illustrations of the latter in Byzantine art; as cited in n. 13, 229, n. 220.

[15] The Protoevangelium of James, chap. XI, seems to have inspired the Annunciation at the Well on the five-part diptych in Milan, Volbach, 330, pl. 100. The date and provenance of the ivory remain uncertain. The canon was an important concern of Popes Damasus, Innocent, and Leo, and of Bishops Athanasius and Jerome; charting the history of the canon, Henri Leclercq, "Livres canoniques," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris, 1930, IX, 2, 1791-1835; *idem*, "Gélasien (Décret)," *ibid.*, Paris, 1924, VI, 1, 722-747.

[16] For a date towards the end of the 6th century, Amann, as cited in n. 8, 1636; for an 8th or 9th century date, Hennecke, Schneemelcher, Wilson, as cited in n. 8, I, 406; James, 70. The oldest extant manuscripts of pseudo-Matthew are of the 11th century; James.

[17] Brodsky, 87-110; Schubert, 212-15; *idem*, "Christus, Priester and König. Eine politisch-theologische Darstellungsweise in der frühchristlichen Kunst," *Kairos*, XV, 1973, 201-36. Brenk flirted with an imperial identity, 30, 44, as did Wellen, 115.

the Justinian panel in S. Vitale, Ravenna, she hoped to add force to her thesis. But her ideas lack conviction: the association of Valentinian III, an adult and bare-chested John the Baptist, and the Christ Child strains credibility.[18]

Schubert's thesis is initially more attractive and appears to have the support of Early Christian thought. Using Eusebius and Orosius for corroborating evidence, Schubert proposed that the mosaic is a double Adventus in which the Emperor Augustus and the Christ Child meet. Christ has arrived in fulfillment of Jacob's prophecy in Genesis 49:10, according to its interpretation by Eusebius. Eusebius wrote that this prophecy, "The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, until he comes to whom it belongs; and to him shall be the obedience of the peoples,"[19] would be fulfilled only when a foreigner ruled the Jews. Herod, appointed by Augustus, was the first non-Jewish ruler of Palestine; therefore, according to this reasoning, Augustus was directly involved in the Advent of the Messiah.[20] Furthermore, in his *Seven Books Against the Pagans*, Orosius presents the Roman Empire and Augustus as creations and instruments of divine will: the Empire, large, powerful, and unified for the ready communication of the Gospel, "in every respect ... prepared for Christ's coming"; and Augustus, "predestined ... by a hidden order of events for the services of [Christ's] preparation."[21] Orosius notes the remarkable coincidence that Augustus celebrated a triple triumph, closed the gates of the Temple of Janus, and was first hailed as Augustus on the sixth of January, a day soon to be celebrated as the date of the Epiphany of Christ.[22] Schubert, who interprets the mosaics as a program for Roman primacy, places the double Adventus and double Epiphany outside the city of Rome, the seat of Augustus and the supposed goal of Christ.[23] Schubert's thesis, however, pushes patristic sources to imply more than they say. In a fifth-century mosaic, Augustus cannot meet Christ for the ruler was not yet credited with knowing of Christ. At the time, Augustus was regarded, as in Orosius, as at best the unconscious instrument of divine will.[24] In the Roman Church, the mission of the Roman Empire in the Advent of Christ was viewed far more conservatively. Pope Leo, the successor of Sixtus III, said, for example:

> God's providence made ready the Roman empire, whose growth had reached such limits that the whole multitude of nations are brought into close connexion. For the Divinely-planned work particularly required that many kingdoms should be leagued together under one empire, so that the preaching of the world [Word] might quickly reach to all people, when they were held beneath the rule of one state.[25]

In this sermon, delivered on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, the two Apostles are regarded as the instruments of divine will, but Augustus plays no part at all.

Brodsky's and Schubert's hypotheses, furthermore, involve serious art-historical anomalies. In placing the Emperors Valentinian and Augustus in the presence of the Christ Child, they have suggested an iconographical scheme that is unprecedented in Early Christian art. Other than in funerary art and as donors, non-biblical mortals — emperors included — do not enter the same pictorial space as biblical and holy figures.[26] In Early Byzantine art as well, imperial figures rarely appear in the presence of holy figures and, to my knowledge, never share the same space

[18] Brodsky cited Valentinian's defence of Sixtus against charges of Pelagianism, for which she suggests Sixtus honored his orthodoxy and good conduct with a portrait in S. Maria Maggiore, 91. Such a hypothesis is untenable; see Erich Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, I, Tübingen, 1930, 383f., s.v., Valentinian III.

[19] The edition of the Bible quoted is the *Oxford Annotated Bible with Apocrypha*, Revised Standard Version, ed. Herbert May, Bruce M. Metzger, New York, Oxford, 1965.

[20] Eusebius, *History of the Church*, I.6, Schubert, 214.

[21] Orosius VI.20, 22, trans. Roy Deferrari, *Paulus Orosius. The Seven Books of History Against the Pagans (The Fathers of the Church, L)*, Washington, 1964, 275f.; Schubert, 213f. Erik Peterson traces to Origen the ideas that Roman imperialism and the *pax Augusti* were in the service of Christianity; "Kaiser Augustus im Urteil des antiken Christentums. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der politischen Theologie," *Hochland*, III, 1932-33, 289-99.

[22] Orosius VI.20, trans. Deferrari, 275.

[23] Schubert, 213f., 221-24.

[24] Orosius VI.20. Not until ca. 1140 and in the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* was the old legend of Augustus and the Sybil read to suggest that Augustus was the beneficiary of a vision of the Virgin and Child: "ilico apertum est coelum et splendor maximus irruit super eum. vidit in celum quandam pulcherriman virginem stantem super altare puerum tenentem in brachiis"; Heinrich Jordan, ed., *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, II, Berlin, 1917, 619. In the primitive 6th-century form of the legend, Augustus asks the Pythian Sybil who is to succeed him and is told, "A Jewish boy, who rules the blessed gods, commands me to leave this house and depart to Hades. Therefore ye [he] shall leave your houses"; *Chronicle of John Malalas ... Translated from the Church Slavonic*, trans. Matthew Spinka, Glanville Downey, Chicago, 1940, 44. After leaving the temple of the Pythia, Augustus went to the Capitolium where he built an altar, inscribing on it, "This altar is dedicated to the first-born of God." For the legend of Augustus and the Sybil, Angelo Monteverdi, "Augusto nella tradizione medievale," in *Augustus. Studi in occasione del bimillenario Augusteo*, Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 1938, 415-444, a reference that Ronald E. Malmstrom kindly supplied.

[25] Leo, sermon 82.2 trans. Feltoe, 195.

[26] Mortals mix with biblical figures on Early Christian sarcophagi, as (a) *orans* and philosopher on the tub sarcophagus in S. Maria Antiqua (Volbach, pl. 4); (b) half-length figures set in scallop-shell frames and superimposed on the friezes of two-register sarcophagi, as in the Two Brothers sarcophagus, ex-Museo Lateranense (John Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Harmondsworth, 1970, pl. 29); (c) kneeling supplicants at the feet of Christ, city-gate sarcophagus, S. Ambrogio, Milan (*ibid.*, pl. 30). Donors present themselves before Christ and Mary in atemporal and non-terrestrial iconographies, as in the apse mosaic in SS. Cosmas e Damiano, Rome (Matthiae, I, 135-142, II, pls. 78, 80-85) and, probably, in the original mosaic in the apse of S. Maria Maggiore (below, p. 534f.)

5 Detail of Fig. 3, figures here identified as David and Isaiah

7 Rabbula Gospels, fol. 4v. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Plut. I.56 (photo: Pineider)

6 Sinope Gospels, fol. 10v. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Suppl. gr. 1286 (photo: Bibl. Nat.)

8 *David Trying on Saul's Armor*, silver plate. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (photo: Museum)

with holy figures in a narrative context.[27] The identification of the "Aphrodosius" figure as a Roman emperor stands in opposition to the conventions of Early Christian and Early Byzantine iconography.

[27] To my knowledge, in 5th- and 6th-century Byzantine art emperors and other mortals do not appear in infancy or New Testament narrative cycles. Joint appearances are limited to symbolic and hieratic compositions, such as (a) on solidi, in which Christ acts as *pronubis* for imperial couples (John D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II [Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, CXLIV], New York, 1959, 1, n. 1); (b) on the altar cloth at Hagia Sophia where Christ and Mary join the hands of Justinian and Theodora (see Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453*, Englewood Cliffs, 1972, 89); and (c) in a mosaic in the Soros Chapel, Church of the Virgin in the Blachernae, where Leo I and his family appear before the enthroned Theotokos (*ibid.*, 34f.).

2. David and Isaiah

The figure on the triumphal arch in S. Maria Maggiore is, nevertheless, unmistakably an emperor. He wears the diadem, chlamys, and red shoes, the prerogative of the emperor (Fig. 5).[28] If he cannot be a Roman or an Early Byzantine emperor, the figure may well be an Old Testament king, for in Early Christian and in Byzantine art, Kings Saul, David, and Solomon are given imperial dress and insignia. A lyre-playing David wears imperial regalia in the early sixth-century mosaic pavement of a synagogue in Gaza.[29] In three manuscripts of the later sixth century, the Rossano, Sinope, and Rabbula Gospels, David wears a crown, a long-sleeved, light-colored tunic, and a dark chlamys with gold tablion (Figs. 6, 7).[30] Solomon wears imperial dress in a miniature in a late sixth- early seventh-century Syrian manuscript.[31] On the David plates, silver dishes of ca. 629/630, King Saul appears twice in dress identical to that of the S. Maria Maggiore figure (Fig. 8) and, as heir-apparent, David wears this attire in the plate depicting his marriage.[32] Thus the possibility should be considered that it is David who meets the young Christ on the triumphal arch in S. Maria Maggiore. To Christians, David was prophet, royal ancestor, and antetype of the Messiah.[33] Christ was his descendant through both Mary and Joseph and was called by the messianic title, "Son of David." The coming of Christ fulfilled the promise of the Lord to David that his son would occupy his throne forever, establishing an eternal kingdom. Christ, scornfully called the King of the Jews or the King of Israel at the end of his life and in death, ascended to Heaven to take his place at the right hand of the Lord, as prophesied by David. The Adventus iconography is thus appropriate as the two kings meet one another, forefather and descendant, earthly king and celestial king, prophet and his subject, messianic antetype and Messiah.[34]

If the emperor is David, it is likely that the bare-chested man who stands with him and greets Christ is Isaiah. He, too, was credited by the Early Christians with knowing centuries in advance aspects of Christ's very nature and role. In the Gospels, Isaiah is cited as the prophet of the Virgin birth, of the activities of John the Baptist, of the healing powers of Christ, of his speaking in parables, his infusion with the Holy Spirit, his image as the Good Shepherd, and of the blindness and deafness of the Jews.[35] The figure's attributes — the philosopher's robe and the gnarled stick — are readily explained. According to Augustine, prophets were philosophers because of their love of God which they uttered and wrote down upon divine inspiration.[36] Thus Isaiah merits the philosopher's pallium. The gnarled stick may allude to Isaiah's botanical metaphors for the Messiah, specifically: "There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots. And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him . . ." (Isaiah 11:1-2), and Isaiah 53:1-12, a lament beginning with a plant metaphor ("He grew up before him like a young plant, and like a root out of dry ground"), in which a despised, rejected man of sorrows, who bears the sin of others, is oppressed, afflicted, judged, and made an offering.

The presence of David and Isaiah in an Infancy cycle in an Early Christian church is entirely consistent with art-historical evidence. It was standard practice in Early Christian and Early Byzantine art to juxtapose Old and New Testament figures and scenes, a procedure that follows naturally upon that of Christian exegesis.[37] A fresco of the third century in the Catacomb of Priscilla, Rome (Fig. 9), provides the earliest example of the practice. A man stands in the presence of a woman who is nursing an infant; he points to a star in the sky above. Surely this is Isaiah standing before Mary and the infant Christ, testifying to the fulfillment of his prophecy, "Behold a

[28] On the imperial dress (including the red shoes) and the restricted use of purple, or red as in the mosaic, Andreas Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," *Römische Mitteilungen*, L, 1935, 3-158, esp. 51, 68f.

[29] For this imperialized David-Orpheus, dated by inscription 508-09, Asher Ovadiah, "Excavations in the Area of the Ancient Synagogue at Gaza, Preliminary Report," *Israel Exploration Journal*, XIX, 1969, 192-98, pl. 15A.

[30] For facsimiles of these manuscripts: Antonio Muñoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano ed il frammento sinopense*, Rome, 1907; André Grabar, *Les Peintures de l'Évangéliaire de Sinope*, Paris, 1948; and Carlo Cecchelli, Giuseppe Furlani, Mario Salmi, *The Rabbula Gospels*, Olten-Lausanne, 1959.

[31] On Paris, MS syr. 341, fol. 118r., Jules Leroy, *Les Manuscripts syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient*, Paris, 1964, 208ff.

[32] For illustration of the David plates, Erica Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps (Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, VII*)*, Washington, 1961, 178-94, esp. Nos. 59f.; for their date and significance, see my "Heraclius, Byzantine Imperial Ideology, and the David Plates," *Speculum*, LII, 1977, 217-37.

[33] Jean Daniélou, "David," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, III, Stuttgart, 1957, 594-603.

[34] See above, page 519f. The S. Maria Maggiore composition retains the walled city and companions of the protagonists that are typical of the non-equestrian, non-numismatic Adventus; see Sabine MacCormack, "Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of Adventus," *Historia*, XXI, 1972, 721-52; also Erik Peterson, "Die Einholung des Kyrios," *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie*, VII, 1930, 682-702; Ernst Kantorowicz, "'The King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *Art Bulletin*, XXVI, 1944, 207-31, esp. 211-21; Otto Nussbaum, "Geleit," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, IX, Stuttgart, 1976, 968-77.

[35] Édouard Tobac, "Isaïe," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Paris, 1924, VIII, 1, 48-66.

[36] *City of God* XVIII.41. This figure was identified as a philosopher by Marguerite van Berchem, Étienne Clouzot, *Mosaïques chrétiennes du IV au X siècle*, Geneva, 1924, 53; see, too, Brodsky, 92-94.

[37] Christian teaching and patristic writings that employ this method include apologetics (e.g., Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*), catechetical literature (Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses*), and prayers and liturgical formulae (*Apostolic Constitutions*, Bks. VII, VIII). Providing an overview of the dogmatic intent in the juxtaposition of Old and New Testament figures and events, is Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 128-46.

9 *Isaiah, Mary, and the Christ Child*, fresco. Rome, Catacomb of Priscilla (after Pierre du Bourguet, *Early Christian Painting*, New York, 1966, fig. 67)

young woman shall conceive and bear a son and shall call his name Immanuel."[38] In the fourth century, entire cycles of decoration on the clerestory walls of churches, in the domes of Christian mausolea, in catacombs, and on sarcophagi displayed series of Old and New Testament scenes juxtaposed to illustrate the continuity of divine planning, the harmony of the Testaments, and the salvational role of the Lord.[39] In the fifth and sixth centuries, figures of prophets in Christian monumental cycles symbolized the dogma of testamental harmony,[40] and in hieratic compositions they witnessed the fulfillment of particular prophecies.[41] An even more pointed method of juxtaposing prophecy and its Christian perfection is displayed in illuminated manuscripts. In the Rossano Gospels, for example, David, Isaiah, and other prophets underscore with testimonies written on unfurled scrolls the perfection of divine planning in New Testament events, including the Communion of the Apostles, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem, and the Last Supper. Likewise, David, Isaiah, Moses, Habbakuk, and Daniel frame New Testament illustrations with their persons and their prophecies in the Sinope Gospels (Fig. 6). Prophets and New Testament vignettes are juxtaposed in marginal illuminations on the canon table pages of the Rabbula Gospels; David and Solomon, for example, appear above vignettes of the Nativity, the Massacre of the Innocents, and the Baptism of Christ (Fig. 7).[42] David is also found in Early Byzantine art as a witness to the Anastasis, as, for example, on the inner cover of a reliquary of the True Cross, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and in the Byzantine-inspired mosaics of the Chapel of S. Zeno in S. Prassede, Rome.[43]

The presence of David and Isaiah in the mosaic on the triumphal arch in S. Maria Maggiore approximates that of the prophets in the Rossano, Sinope, and Rabbula Gospels; they acknowledge that Christ is the perfection of divine planning, made known to them as prophets. The Adventus-like meeting of David and Isaiah with the Christ Child thus serves two purposes: it embodies the role of prophecy and it authenticates the messiahship of Christ. If we turn now to the other mosaics on the triumphal arch and to the Old Testament cycle in the panels of the nave, we shall find that demonstrations of divine planning, of the role of prophecy, and of the messianic hope and its fulfillment are basic to the program of decoration.

[38] Isaiah 7:14, but see Englebert Kirschbaum, "Der Prophet Balaam und die Anbetung der Weisen," *Römische Quartalschrift*, XLIX, 1954, 129-71, esp. 157-64.

[39] The letters and poems of Paulinus of Nola preserve indications of lost pictorial cycles, Rudolf Carel Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches at Nola*, Amsterdam, 1940, 60-65; Adolf Weis, "Die Verteilung der Bildzyklen des Paulin von Nola in den Kirchen von Cimitile (Campanien)," *Römische Quartalschrift*, LII, 1957, 129-50, esp. 141ff. A series of verses by Prudentius are generally but mistakenly regarded as tituli for mural decoration, Davis-Weyer, 25-33; Spain, 48-50. Two Constantinian mausolea juxtapose Old and New Testament figures; for S. Costanza, Henri Stern, "Les Mosaïques de l'église de Sainte-Constance à Rome," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XII, 1958, 159-218, for Centcelles, Pedro de Palol, *Paleo-Christian Art in Spain*, New York, 1969, 57-79. For general remarks on the iconography of sarcophagi and the catacombs, Beckwith, as cited in n. 26, 8f., 18f., with bibliographies; also Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage. I. Rom und Ostia*, Wiesbaden, 1967. The ivory chest in the Museo Civico, Brescia, and the silver casket in S. Nazaro, Milan, epitomize 4th-century iconographical methods; Volbach, pls. 85-89, 110-115, with bibliog.

[40] Prophets populate the decorative schemes of the Orthodox Baptistery, the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, S. Vitale, and S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna; for illus., Otto von Simson, *Sacred Fortress*, Chicago, 1948; Volbach, Deichmann. See also the description of La Daurade, Toulouse, in Davis-Weyer, 59-66.

[41] As in H. David, Thessaloniki, illus. in Grabar, *Justinian*, 131, figs. 140f., and in the apse mosaic in the Church of the Theotokos, Monastery of St. Catherine, Mt. Sinai, *ibid.*, fig. 142.

[42] See, too, the 9th-century Chludov Psalter, Moscow, Historical Museum, Codex 129, where David stands before a crèche placed before the Church of the Nativity, ill. in André Grabar, *Martyrium*, Paris, 1946, pl. vol., pl. 18.1.

[43] On the Fieschi-Morgan staurothek, Klaus Wessel, *Byzantine Enamels*, trans. Irene R. Gibbons, Greenwich, Conn., 1967, 42-44; for the Anastasis in S. Zeno, Wilpert, III, pl. 114.4.

10 *Adoration of the Magi*, triumphal arch mosaic, S. Maria Maggiore (photo: Anderson)

11 Silver medallion of Constans I. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection (courtesy Dumbarton Oaks Collection)

3. Prophecy and Fulfillment

Immediately across the apsidal opening from the *Meeting of David, Isaiah, and Christ* is the *Adoration of the Magi* (Figs. 1, 10). As André Grabar observed, this scene has a highly imperialized iconography; he compared it to the Halberstadt Diptych, but a more striking comparison may be drawn with a silver medallion of Constans I (Fig. 11).[44] The imperialization of the *Adoration* responds to both prophecy and the Gospel. According to Matthew 2, the Magi had gone to Jerusalem to see him "who has been born king of the Jews," for they had seen his star and come to worship him. Herod, hearing of their arrival, assembled his chief priests and scribes who, when asked where the Messiah was to be born, cited the prophecy of Micah 5:2, foretelling the birth of the ruler of Israel in Bethlehem. The majesty of the young ruler, son of David, King of the Jews, is made palpable in the mosaic; independently and self-confidently enthroned, he receives the worship of the Magi. A prophecy of Isaiah may have encouraged the use of an imperial iconographic model for the depiction of the young king adored by Gentiles:

> The people who walked in darkness have seen a great light; those who dwelt in a land of deep darkness, on them the light has shined. Thou hast multiplied the nation, thou hast increased its joy ... For to us a child is born, to us a son is given; and the government will be upon his shoulder, and his name will be called "Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace." Of the increase of his government and of peace there will be no end, upon the throne of David, and over his kingdom, to establish it, and to uphold it with justice and with righteousness from this time forth and for evermore (Isaiah 9:2-3,6-7).

The mosaic in S. Maria Maggiore, seen in conjunction with these verses, shows us a king "upon the throne of David" and the Magi, the first of the Gentiles who had walked and dwelt in darkness, on whom the light now shines as they accept Christ as their Messiah and king. The two halves of the second register of the triumphal arch complement each other, giving pictorial form to the

[44] Grabar, *L'Empereur*, 227f. For an intriguing compositional parallel, see the monument dedicated to the Matronae Aufaniae, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, A.D. 164; Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli, *Rome. The Late Empire*, A.D. *200-400*, trans. Peter Green, New York, 1971, 160, fig. 151.

12 *Massacre of the Innocents*, triumphal arch mosaic, S. Maria Maggiore (photo: Anderson)

13 *Magi Before Herod*, triumphal arch mosaic, S. Maria Maggiore (photo: Anderson)

prophecy and its fulfillment.

As Early Christian art of the catacombs and sarcophagi followed the structure and content of Christian prayer, so, too, these mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore echo contemporary Christian literature and teaching. Two examples may be read in conjunction with the second register of the triumphal arch. In a poem on the Epiphany, Prudentius has the Magi speak words that presuppose on their part and on that of the reader a familiarity with the prophecies of David and Isaiah and the covenant between Abraham and the Lord:

> "This is that king of the nations and of the people of Judaea, who was promised to father Abraham and to his seed for ever. For the first father of all believers, he who offered his only son in sacrifice, learned that his progeny must one day be made equal to the stars. Now comes the flower of David, sprung from the root of Jesse, blooming along the sceptre-rod and taking the highest place in the world." Then quickly did [the Magi] follow, with eyes fixed on high, where the star was marking the way with its trail of light. But the sign hung in the heavens above the child's head, and, coming low, with downward beam revealed the sacred Person.[45]

In a sermon delivered on the Feast of the Epiphany, Pope Leo (440-461) counsels his listeners to celebrate "the commencement of the nations' calling" for its fulfillment of prophecy. He begins by reading Isaiah 9:2 and 55:5 and then, like Prudentius, he evokes Abraham and David:

> This day "Abraham saw and was glad," when he understood that the sons of his faith would be blessed in his seed that is in Christ, and foresaw that by believing he should be the father of all nations, "giving glory to God and being fully assured that What He had promised, He was able also to perform." This day David sang of in the Psalms saying: "all nations that thou hast made shall come and worship before Thee, O Lord: and they shall glorify Thy name"; and again: "The Lord hath made known His salvation: His righteousness hath He openly showed in the sight of the nations."[46]

The chain of associations in the mosaics of the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Meeting of David, Isaiah, and Christ* is paralleled in these words of Prudentius and Leo. They help advance the understanding of the iconography of the two scenes of the second register of the triumphal arch as complementary demonstrations of orthodox belief rather than simply as separate events in the early life of Christ.

Advent and recognition, prophecy and fulfillment, which are the major thematic chords of the second register, continue in the third register in the *Massacre of the Innocents* on the left (Fig. 12) below the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 10) and the *Magi Before Herod and His Chief Priests and Scribes* (Fig. 13) on the right below the *Meeting of David, Isaiah, and Christ* (Fig. 3). In these two scenes, the consequences of Christ's coming are realized quickly and in accord with prophecy. Some die in the name of Christ and are saved; others, despite their learning and knowledge of prophetic lore, are blind and deaf to the Incarnation. The Massacre of the Innocents occurs in fulfillment of Jeremiah 31:15, according to Matthew

[45] "A Hymn for Epiphany, The Daily Round," XII, vv. 41-60; ed., trans. H. J. Thomson, *Prudentius*, I, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., London, 1949, 104-07.

[46] Sermon 33.5, trans. Feltoe, 147. See too Sermon 33.2. Leo has cited John 8:56, Romans 4:20f., and Psalms 86:9 and 93:2.

2:17f. Isaiah and other prophets foretold the blindness and deafness of the Jews.[47]

The sequence of scenes in these two registers of the triumphal arch follows programmatic rather than narrative dictates. The massacred innocents, the first Christian martyrs, have been placed with the *Adoration of the Magi*, commemorating the first Gentile believers, on the left side of the arch to be near their counterparts in the nave mosaics (Figs. 1, 2). The Old Testament panels on the left wall of the nave near the triumphal arch present prototypical examples of the faith and sacrifice that characterize the Magi and the slain children respectively. In the first bay, Melchisedech, "king of Salem and priest of God Most High," who has brought out bread and wine, blesses Abraham by God Most High (Fig. 14). In this panel, which provides antetypes of the Eucharist and the messianic priest-king, the blessing of Abraham is sanctioned by Christ who deputizes Melchisedech. The mosaic thus makes visible the covenant between the Lord and Abraham. The theme of sacrifice recurred in the left clerestory in the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, now lost; this was one of the most popular Old Testament themes in Christian art because of its example of faith and its typological relationship to the Crucifixion.[48] Abraham, the father who offered his son in sacrifice, Prudentius's "first father of all believers," thus drew the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Massacre of the Innocents* to that half of the triumphal arch nearest to the nave panels in which his history is narrated.

The blindness of the Jews, prophesied by Isaiah and fulfilled in the priests and scribes who advise Herod, may be understood in relation to the neighboring Old Testament panels on the right wall of the nave. There, in events illustrating the lives of Moses and Joshua, the Levite priesthood makes frequent appearances, often with the Ark of the Covenant; these are the priests whose law was viewed so critically by the Apostle Paul.[49] The covenant of the law which binds the Levites, on the right wall of the nave, and blinds the Levite advisors to Herod, on the right side of the triumphal arch, is opposed physically and in essence to the covenant of faith that the Lord established with Abraham and renewed with the Magi, the massacred innocents, and the faithful of all nations.

The two series of panels on the walls of the nave should not, however, be viewed principally as antithetical complements to the themes of the triumphal arch. Spanning

14 *Abraham and Melchisedech*, mosaic panel, S. Maria Maggiore (after Karpp, pl. 29)

the biblical narrative from Genesis 13 to Joshua 10, they constitute a singular Old Testament cycle, in which, for example, the Creation and the stories of Adam and Eve, Noah, and Joseph have no place. The initiation of the nave cycle with Abraham and, especially, the blessing of Abraham by Melchisedech advise us that this is a specific program and not a pictorialized summary of great moments in the Octateuch.[50] One may choose to see, as already suggested, the nave and arch mosaics in the light of the theme of covenants: thus the left wall of the nave illustrates the covenant of faith; the right, the covenant of the law; and the triumphal arch, that of the spirit. But a better interpretation of the mosaics is found in the theme of divine promises; Paul, Augustine, and Leo all viewed

[47] On the Massacre of the Innocents, Lieselotte Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, "Zur Ikonographie des bethlehemitischen Kindermordes in der frühchristlichen Kunst," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, XI/XII, 1968-69, 104-15; the author finds the S. Maria Maggiore scene to be an anomaly, 108. Isaiah prophesies the blindness of the Jews in 6:9f., 29:10.

[48] Three panels, occupying bays 4-6, were destroyed in 1611 when the monumental entry to the Cappella Borghese was constructed; Krautheimer, 9, 26-28. On the contents of the lost panels, Spain, 83-86.

[49] See Galatians 3 and Romans 4:13-15 where Paul contrasts the law which "brings wrath" to the faith that characterizes Abraham and his descendants. For the Levite panels, Karpp, figs. 125, 128, 138.

[50] In my dissertation, I attempted to characterize the unique qualities of the Old Testament cycle and to explain the selection of incidents from the biblical narrative, the omission of such standard sections as Adam and Eve, Noah and Joseph, and the lack of typological content in some panels. On pp. 58-99, 210-63, I suggested that the biblical narrative had been filtered through and influenced by Augustine's *The City of God*, Bks. XV and XVI. Matthiae views the mosaics as the illustration of a long-lost summary, such as that in Hebrews 11; I, 87-123, esp. 107ff. See also Karl Schefold, "Altchristliche Bilderzyklen: Bassussarkophag und S. Maria Maggiore," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, XVI, 1939, 298-314.

the relationship between the Lord and Abraham as one based on faith rewarded by promises. Repeated several times and varying slightly, the divine promises assured Abraham of (1) progeny, countless as sand or stars, which would in fact become nations; (2) the land of Canaan, "from the river of Egypt to the Euphrates"; and (3) the Messiah, who is implicit in the divine assurances that Abraham would be blessed and his name made great.[51] The mosaics of the two walls of the nave and of the triumphal arch in S. Maria Maggiore illustrate the fulfillment of these promises.[52] The surviving panels of the left clerestory wall illustrate events from the Separation of Abraham and Lot (Genesis 13) to the consequences of the seduction of Dinah (Genesis 34); they thus recount the multiplication of Abraham through to the offspring of the prolific Jacob. On the right wall, the Israelites, led by Moses and Joshua, leave Egypt and reconquer the land of Canaan which had been given to Abraham and his descendants as their "everlasting possession" (Genesis 17:8). Finally, on the triumphal arch, the Advent of Christ perfects the promises and brings the program of decoration to its climax. David and Christ, the kings promised to Abraham, meet (Fig. 3) and Christ, who occupies the throne of David, receives the first of the Gentiles (Fig. 10), thus fulfilling Isaiah 9 and God's promise to Abraham for countless descendants, for all men of faith "are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to the promise."[53]

Intrinsic to the theme of divine promises is the continuity of divine guidance throughout the ages, made explicit in the promises and implicit in the recurring signs and types of the future. For the Old Testament, according to Early Christian exegesis, was rich in signs, types, and intimations of the Christian era; it was rich in typological significance. Thus in the mosaics of the nave, Melchisedech, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and Joshua serve as types of Christ; the various events are depicted not only for their historical value but to foreshadow Christian sacraments and mysteries. Other scenes and incidents adumbrate the Cross, the twelve Apostles, and the two Churches.[54] The purpose of these types, the relationship between the Old Testament and the Christian era, and between the Advent of Christ and its prophecies are best expressed by Pope Leo in a Nativity sermon which he delivered soon after the completion of S. Maria Maggiore. Leo's words provide immediate access to the meaning and method of representation in the mosaics. The Incarnation, Leo said, was

> promised from the foundation of the world, and had always been prophesied by many intimations of facts and words: but how small a portion of mankind would these types and foreshadowed mysteries have saved, had not the coming of Christ fulfilled these long and secret promises: and had not that which then benefited but a few believers in the prospect, now benefited myriads of the faithful in its accomplishment. Now no longer then are we led to believe by signs and types, but being confirmed by the gospel story we worship that which we believe to have been done; the prophetic lore assisting our knowledge, so that we have no manner of doubt about that which we know to have been predicted by such sure oracles. For hence it is that the Lord says to Abraham: "In thy seed shall all nations be blessed:" hence David, in the spirit of prophecy, sings, saying: "The Lord swore truth to David and He shall not frustrate it: of the fruit of thy loins will I set upon thy seat"; hence the Lord again says through Isaiah: "behold a virgin shall conceive in her womb, and shall bear a Son, and His Name shall be called Emmanuel, which is interpreted, God with us," and again, "a rod shall come forth from the root of Jesse, and a flower shall arise from his root." In which rod, no doubt the blessed Virgin Mary is predicted, who sprung from the stock of Jesse and David, and fecundated by the Holy Ghost, brought forth a new flower of human flesh, becoming a Virgin-mother.[55]

It is anything but a coincidence that the same themes reverberate through the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore and the sermons of Pope Leo. Leo's theology and the mosaics derive from the same context, from the chancellery of Sixtus III. The sermons, although delivered in the decade or two after the installation of the mosaics, were addressed to the same audience, to the Christians of Rome of the

[51] For the promises to Abraham, compare Genesis 12:1-3; 13:14-17; 17:1-8, 19-21; 18:17-19; 22:17f. Paul frequently refers to the promises to Abraham and contrasts the convenant of promises with the convenant of law; Romans 4:13-19, Galatians 3:7-9, 16-18. Augustine began to "survey the progress of the city of God from that new era of time which began with the life of father Abraham. For from his time the evidence for the city of God becomes more explicit and there are clearer indications of divine promises which we now see fulfilled in Christ." He distinguishes and analyzes the promises in *The City of God*, Bk. XVI, chaps. 12, 16, 18, 21, 23, 26; ed., trans. Eva Matthews Sanford, William McAllen Green, *Saint Augustine, The City of God Against the Pagans*, V, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., 1965, 70f. and *passim*. The promises to Abraham provide a structure for the chronicle of Eusebius and Jerome. Quodvultdeus also approaches the Old Testament through the motif of promises in the mid-5th-century *Liber de Promissionibus et Praedicationibus Dei*.

[52] Spain, 69-99, 130-64.

[53] On Abraham's paternity Paul wrote, "...it is men of faith who are the sons of Abraham. And the scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles by faith, preached the gospel beforehand to Abraham, saying, 'In you shall all the nations be blessed.' So then, those who are men of faith are blessed with Abraham who had faith ... in Christ Jesus you are all sons of God, through faith ... And if you are Christ's, then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to the promise"; Galatians 3:6-9, 26, 29.

[54] On the typological content, Richter and Taylor, as cited in n. 4; Schefold, as cited in n. 50, 298-314; Spain, 58-99, 210-63; Brenk, 108-125; Deckers, as cited in n. 4. According to Augustine, the Old Testament is "Actual events indeed, yet performed with prophetic meaning; transacted on earth, but by the will of heaven; by the agency of men, but by the action of God"; *City of God*, Bk. XVI, chap. 37, ed. Sanford, Green, V, 174f.

[55] Sermon 24.1; trans. Feltoe, 134f.; also Epistle 28:2; Feltoe, 38f.

mid-fifth century. Indeed, it would be noteworthy if there were not such reverberations.

4. Mary

Since the time of Giovanni Ciampini, almost three hundred years ago, it has been customary to view the mosaics of the triumphal arch in the light of the decisions made in 431 at the Council of Ephesus. Thus, whereas the Infancy scenes are viewed in terms of orthodox demonstrations endorsed by the Council in refutation of the heretical christology of Nestorius, the dedication of the church to Mary and her portrayal within it are treated as a celebration of the conciliar decision to regard her as the Mother of God, the Theotokos or *dei genetrix*.[56] But the portrayal of Mary in S. Maria Maggiore is problematic if one accepts the almost universal notion that Mary is the matronly woman in gold dress who appears four times on the arch (Figs. 3, 10, 15, 27). This is an exceptional portrayal of a figure whose iconography was all but standardized in Early Christian and Early Byzantine art. The singular portrayal of Mary as a matron in a gold dress has been explained repeatedly as the earliest manifestation of the imperialized image of the Virgin.[57] This so-called "Maria Regina" in S. Maria Maggiore has been associated with three examples in Rome of Maria Regina. Each of these, it should be noted, is linked with the Greek inhabitants of the city. The earliest is a fresco belonging to the third layer of the "palimpsest" wall in S. Maria Antiqua, generally dated to the mid-sixth century (Fig. 16).[58] The other two works, a mosaic originally part of the decoration of an oratory at St. Peter's, but now in S. Marco, Florence, and an icon in S. Maria in Trastevere are ascribed to John VII, pope in the years 705-07.[59] In each of these, Mary wears a dark dress, a large jewelled necklace, and a crown with long pendilia, the attire, in other words, of a Byzantine empress.[60] The woman in gold does not have this attire; she wears a belted tunic, dalmatic, and trabea (Fig. 15). Hers is the garb characteristically worn by the upper-class woman in the Late Antique and Early Byzantine periods. The closest parallels for the woman in gold are not these sixth- and eighth-century imperialized Maries, but women to be seen in the panels of the nave of S. Maria Maggiore and in the procession of female martyrs on the clerestory wall of the church of S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna (Fig. 17).[61] It is not even arguable that the woman in gold dress is an early version of the imperialized Mary; she lacks the key elements of imperial regalia — the crown, pendilia, and red shoes — that are worn by empresses and the full-fledged Maria Regina. Iconographical evidence, therefore, precludes the identification of the woman in gold on the triumphal arch in S. Maria Maggiore as Maria Regina.[62]

Moreover, the history of the cult of the Virgin excludes the possibility of an imperialized Mary in S. Maria Maggiore, for as Averil Cameron has recently documented, there is hardly a shred of evidence for such an exaltation of Mary until well into the sixth century.[63] Cameron argues for the rise of the cult of Mary in the second half of the century as a result of "deliberate imperial patronage in

[56] Giovanni Ciampini, *Vetera Monimenta*, Rome, 1690, 195-224, esp. 205f. Ciampini's views were seconded and expanded in 1727 by Francesco Bianchini, *De Musivis Imaginibus a Xysto Papa III Collocatis in Amplificatione Basilicae Liberianae, Post Aecumenicam Synodum Ephesinam* in Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologia ... Series Latina*, CXXVIII, 263-299. Endorsing this view recently are Brodsky, and Brenk, 48f. Standard works on the Council of Ephesus include Robert Devreesse, "Les Actes du concile d'Éphèse," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, XVIII, 1929, 223-243, 408-431; Pierre Champagne de Labriolle, *De la Mort de Théodose à l'election de Grégoire le Grand (Histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, IV), Paris, 1937; Charles Joseph Hefele, *Histoire des conciles*, trans. Henri Leclercq, II, 1, Paris, 1908; Martin Jugie, "Éphèse, concile d'," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, Paris 1913, V, 2, 137-163.

[57] On the Maria Regina, a subject that needs reexamination, see Marion Lawrence, "Maria Regina," *Art Bulletin*, VII, 1925, 150-161; Bertelli; Wellen, 158-163; Ihm, 58f., 145f.; and James Snyder, "The Mosaic in Santa Maria Nova and the Original Apse Decoration of Santa Maria Maggiore," *Hortus Imaginum: Essays in Western Art*, ed. Robert Enggass, Marilyn Stokstad, Lawrence, 1974, 1-9.

[58] On the palimpsest wall, Kitzinger, 114, 151, n. 4, with references to earlier writings; Ihm, 58f., 145-47. On the Greek ties of the church, Krautheimer, "S. Maria Antiqua," *Corpus Basilicarum Christianorum Romae*, II, Vatican City, New York, 1962, 263, 266-68.

[59] John VII was son of the Byzantine *curopalates* in Rome; *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 385, 386, n. 1. On the mosaic, Per Jonas Nordhagen, "The Mosaics of John VII: The Mosaic Fragments and Their Technique," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia. Institutum Romanum Norvegiae*, II, 1965, 121-166. On the icon, Bertelli, but suggesting a late 6th-century date, Maria Andaloro, "La datazione della tavola di S. Maria in Trastevere," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, n.s. XIX-XX, 1972-73, 139-215.

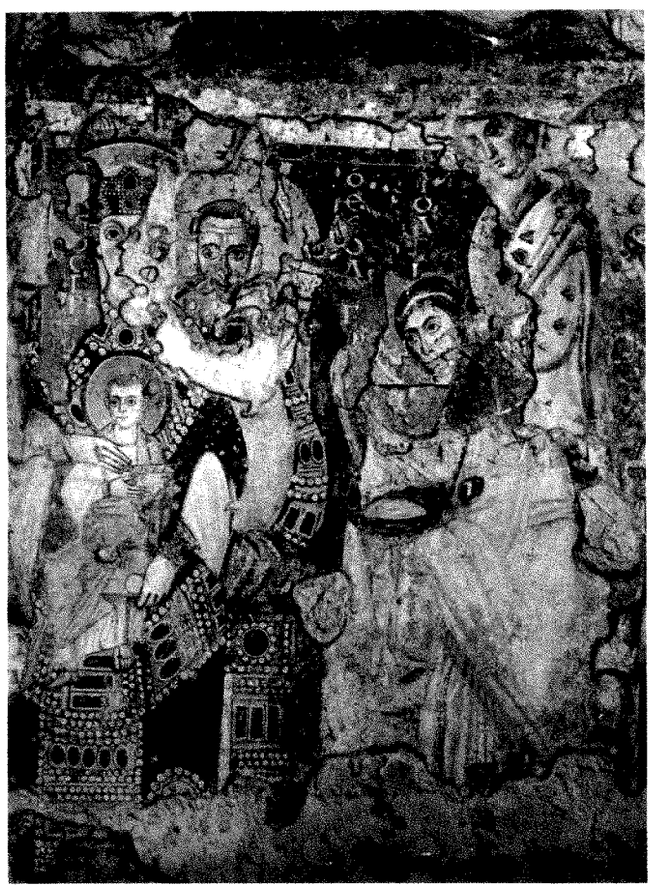
[60] Kitzinger describes the Maria Regina in S. Maria Antiqua as "a Virgin in Byzantine court costume," 114, but see the full regalia of an empress on a late 5th-early 6th-century ivory in Grabar, *Justinian*, fig. 138. A recently discovered mosaic in Durazzo, Albania may provide a complement to this trio of early images of the Maria Regina if the central figure is accepted as female; Cameron, 85, n. 1. Nicole Thierry, however, identifies the figure as Christ, "Une Mosaique à Dyrrachium," *Cahiers archéologiques*, XVIII, 1968, 227-29.

[61] In S. Maria Maggiore, see the *Marriage of Jacob and Rachel, Moses Before Pharaoh's Daughter*, and the *Marriage of Moses and Sephora*; Karpp, pls. 61, 85f., 90f., 93. For S. Apollinare Nuovo, Grabar, *Justinian*, fig. 166, and Deichmann, pls. 98ff.; and describing the women's attire, *idem, Ravenna, Hauptstadt des Spätantiken Abendlandes i Geschichte und Monumente*, Wiesbaden, 1969, 308.

[62] For the characterization of the woman in gold as Mary in "fürstliche Kleidung," but not Maria Regina, see Brenk, 50-52. Brenk is aware of the problems in the standard interpretations but characteristically is not able to make a complete break with past scholarship.

[63] Cameron, 79-108.

15 Detail of Fig. 1, two angels and figures here identified as Sarah and the Christ Child, Joseph, an angel, and Mary (after Wilpert, iii, pls. 57-58)



16 *Maria Regina*, palimpsest wall. Rome, S. Maria Antiqua (photo: Anderson)

17 Procession of female martyrs, mosaic of nave. Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo (photo: Anderson)

religious affairs as in art" by Justin II and Sophia.[64] Beginning with the prayer to the Virgin that the court poet Corippus put in the mouth of Sophia on her husband's accession in 565, Cameron traces the growth of the cult of the Virgin. Although churches were dedicated to her in Constantinople, Rome, and elsewhere and her relics were collected, there is scarcely any literary evidence in the fifth century for her exaltation as the Queen of Heaven or

[64] *Ibid.*, 99.

Maria Regina.[65] Significant for present purposes is Cameron's determination that in the Latin West Mary was not imperialized until the late sixth century when her status was elevated in the poetry of Venantius Fortunatus. According to Cameron, Venantius's conception of Mary was shaped by Corippus and contemporary Constantinopolitan culture.[66] As was true of the earliest images of Maria Regina in Rome, the Maria Regina of Latin Christian literature was imported in the sixth century from Constantinople.[67]

There is, thus, little indeed to encourage and much to refute the identification of the woman in gold on the triumphal arch in S. Maria Maggiore as the earliest of the imperialized portrayals of Mary. In interpreting the mosaics, students of them have made an unwitting leap from the decisions of the Council of Ephesus to an imperialized conception of the Virgin. Neither the dress of the woman in gold, nor the iconography of Maria Regina, nor the history of the cult of Mary can support the popular assumption that the woman in gold is Mary. In the fifth century Mary was still perceived and addressed in a simple and direct manner, witnessed significantly at S. Maria Maggiore. These are the dedicatory verses that Sixtus III had placed in his new church:

Uirgo Maria, tibi Xystus noua tecta dicaui
digna salutifero munera uentre tuo.
tu genetrix ignara uiri, te denique feta
uisceribus saluis edita nostra salus.
ecce tui testes uteri tibi praemia portant
sub pedibusque iacet passio cuique sua:
ferrum flamma ferae fluuius saeuumque uenenum.
tot tamen has mortes una corona manet.

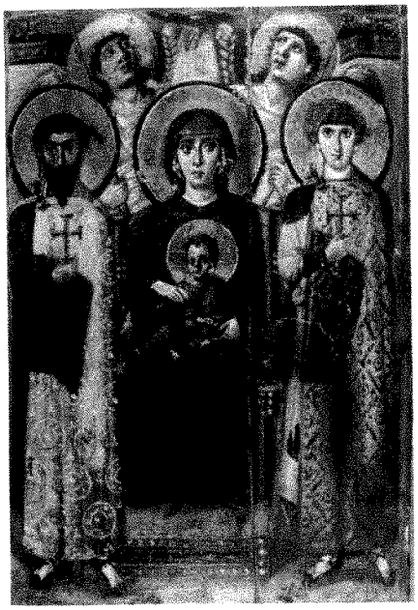
("Mary Virgin, to thee I, Sixtus, dedicate this new abode: a fitting offering to thy womb, the bearer of salvation. Thou, O Mother, knowing no man yet bearing fruit brought from thy chaste womb the Saviour of us all. Behold, the witnesses of thy fruitfulness bring thee wreaths, at each one's feet the instruments of his passion: sword and fire and water, wild beasts and bitter poison yet one crown awaits these several deaths.")[68] It is worth noting that Sixtus does not even employ the formula recently authorized at the Council of Ephesus to express

[65] The major Constantinopolitan churches dedicated to Mary in the Blachernae and Chalkoprateia areas have 5th-century origins; for historical sketches of these and other churches dedicated to Mary, Raymond Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. I. Le Siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique. iii. Les Églises et les monastères*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1969, 156-244, esp. 161-171, 237-242. In Italy in the 5th century in addition to S. Maria Maggiore, the Basilica Suricorum in S. Maria in Capua Vetere was dedicated to Mary; Ihm, 177f. In Toulouse, the Golden Church seems to have been dedicated to the Virgin; Davis-Weyer, 59f. For churches and sanctuaries of the Virgin in Jerusalem and its environs in the Early Christian-Early Byzantine period, Józef Tadeusz Milik, "Notes d'epigraphie et de topographie palestiniennes. IX. Sanctuaires chrétiens de Jerusalem à l'époque arabe (VIIe-X^{e}s.)," *Revue biblique*, LXVII, 1960, 354-367, 550-586. Standard articles on the cult of the Virgin in Constantinople are Anatole Frolow, "La Dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine," *Revue de l'histoire des réligions*, CXXVII, 1944, 61-127; Norman H. Baynes, "The Finding of the Virgin's Robe," and "The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople," *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays*, London, 1955, 240-47, 250-260. Cameron finds only one 5th-century Greek source containing a reference to the Virgin as Queen (85, n. 3), i.e., the *kontakion* "On the Virgin Mary"; see Constantine Trypanis, ed., *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica (Wiener Byzantinische Studien*, V), 1968, 159-164, esp. strophe β'.

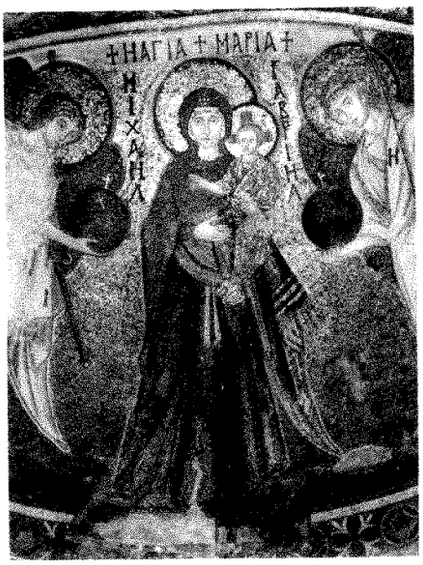
[66] Cameron, 85-95. The gospel of pseudo-Matthew may betray its late date in the reference, taunting in its context, to the young Mary as the "Regina virginum" in chap. VIII; James, 73f.

[67] For this reason it may be wise to advance the date of the mosaics in La Daurade, Toulouse, to the late 6th century. Davis-Weyer interprets the 17th-century description of the image of the Virgin in the ninth niche as "a queen carrying a scepter and probably wearing a crown"; 60, 62.

[68] Ernst Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, I, Berlin, 1961, 182f. No. 976; Eng. trans. in Frederik van der Meer, Christine Mohrmann, *Atlas of the Early Christian World*, trans. Mary F. Hedlund, H. H. Rowley, London, 1958, 85. The original location of the inscription, which is preserved in medieval syllogae, is unknown. Onofrio Panvinio, who died in 1588, saw fragments of the first line over the portals on the inner wall of the facade, Vat. lat. 6781, fol. 151r, transcribed by Giovanni Biasiotti, "La Basilica di S. Maria Maggiore prima della innovazioni del secolo XVI," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome*, XXXV, 1915, 23. But Panvinio probably was not seeing the fragments in their original location. In the 5th and 6th centuries, inscriptions were normally placed in the conch of the apse, where I believe the Sixtine lines were placed. Surviving fragments must have been transferred to the inner wall of the façade at the time of the destruction and replacement of the original apse by Nicholas IV (1282-1292). On the new apse, the attitude of Nicholas IV toward the 5th-century mosaic, and the re-use of 5th-century passages, H. Henkels, "Remarks on the Late 13th-century Apse Decoration in S. Maria Maggiore," *Simiolus*, IV, 1971, 128-149, esp. 132-143; also suggesting re-use of 5th-century passages, Walter Oakeshott, *The Mosaics of Rome*, London, 1967, 94-98, pl. XIV, figs. 62-66.

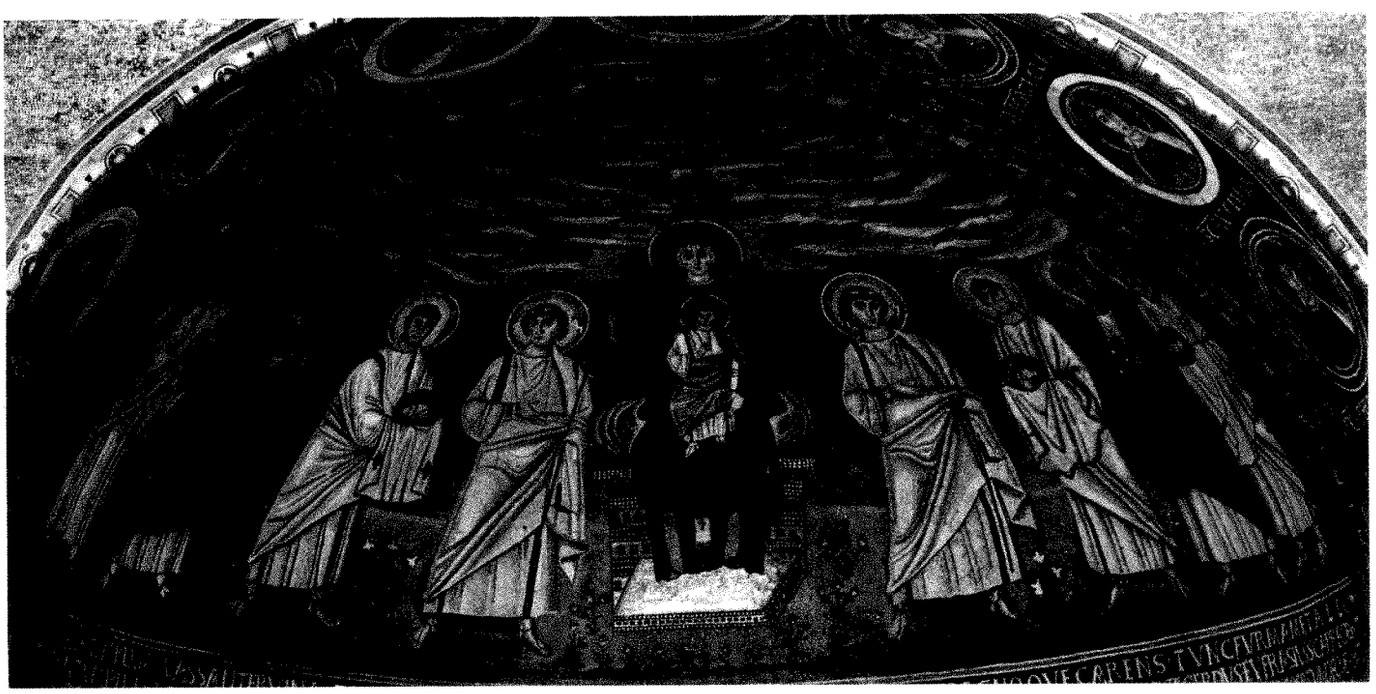


18 *The Virgin and Child Enthroned Between Saints Theodore and George*, icon. Mt. Sinai, Monastery (courtesy Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mt. Sinai)



19 Apse mosaic, before cleaning. Chiti, Panagia Angeloktistos (courtesy Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies)

20 *The Virgin and Child Enthroned Between Saints Felix and Adauctos*, fresco. Rome, Catacomb of Commodilla (photo: Pontificia Commissione di Archeologia Sacra)



21 *The Virgin and Child Enthroned*, detail of apse mosaic. Parenzo, Basilica Eufrasiana (photo: Alinari)

the role of Mary as the God-bearer, the Theotokos, or *dei genetrix*.[69]

Because most students of the mosaics have identified the woman in gold as Mary, the identity of a darkly clad young woman who appears twice on the triumphal arch has been subjected to a series of speculations.[70] She is depicted in the first register (on the far right of Fig. 15) about to join hands with an elderly man (Fig. 1, 15, 23); in the second register, in the *Adoration of the Magi*, she is seated to the right of the throne of Christ (Fig. 10). She wears a tunic of dark material, her head covered by a maphorion, her hair bound in a white cap. Her facial features are youthful, her shoes red, and in the *Adoration of the Magi* she has a handkerchief in her left hand. The testimonies of Early Christian and Byzantine iconography declare this portrayal to be the traditional and universal type of Mary. The number of Maries of this type are countless, the exceptions few indeed.[71] In a host of icons, mosaics, frescoes, manuscripts, textiles, tapestries, (and though lacking polychromy) metalwork, sculpture, and ivories, Mary is portrayed in a manner virtually identical to her appearance in the two scenes on the triumphal arch in S. Maria Maggiore. For representative illustrations, see the vignette of the Nativity in the margin of a canon table in the Rabbula Gospels (Fig. 7), the icon of the Virgin and Child with saints and angels, Mt. Sinai (Fig. 18), the Virgin and Child enthroned in the apse mosaic of the Basilica Eufrasiana, Parenzo (Fig. 21), the Virgin and Child with archangels in the apse mosaic of the Panagia Angeloktistos, Chiti, Cyprus (Fig. 19), and the Virgin and Child enthroned between Saints Felix and Adauctos, a fresco in the Catacomb of Commodilla, Rome (Fig. 20).[72]

The fact that Mary makes only two appearances on the triumphal arch whereas the woman in gold is depicted four times is in no way an indication of Mary's lesser significance, for the triumphal arch was designed to frame the apse and the apse mosaic was dominated by the figure of Mary. There, with the help of Sixtus's verses, we may imagine a monumental image of the familiar, traditionally clad Mary. She was seated on a throne, her Child on her lap, surrounded by angels and martyrs, and accompanied by Sixtus.[73] Mary, enthroned or standing, holding her

[69] The church was called the *basilica sanctae Mariae* in the 5th and 6th centuries, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 232, 234, 245, 249, 260. The appellation *basilica sanctae dei genetricis* may have been used as early as the 6th century; Krautheimer, 5. Pope Leo refers to Mary as the Virgin, Virgin Mother, and blessed Virgin Mother, although on one occasion he uses *dei genitrix*, in Sermon 21:1; *Léon le Grand. Sermons*, I, ed. René Dolle, 2nd ed. (*Sources Chrétiennes*, XXIIbis), Paris, 1964, 68. The common assumption that the mosaics reflect or were inspired by the Council of Ephesus has been challenged by few scholars. Grabar argues briefly against it (*Christian Iconography*, 47; *L'Empereur*, 219, n. 1), but Kitzinger finds it difficult not to credit (p. 74). The association of the church and its decorative program with the Council of Ephesus is, however, unwarranted. In the conciliar acts, the Old Testament is used as a pecking ground for a few useful references, whereas in S. Maria Maggiore Old and New Testament history are treated as a continuum, as the workings of a single, carefully integrated divine plan. There is no parallelism between the iconographical structure of the mosaics and the decisions taken at Ephesus. The Council and the mosaics both attempted to establish the divinity of the Christ Child and the role of Mary; they should be viewed, however, as contemporary phenomena. For the acts of the Council, see Eduard Schwartz, ed., *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, I, 1-5, Berlin-Leipzig, 1924-1930. In Rome the decisions of the Council were inconsequential. Nestorianism was a remote issue in which the Roman Church had become involved as a mediator between Nestorius, Bishop of Alexandria, and Cyril, Bishop of Constantinople; see É. Amann, "L'Affaire Nestorius vue de Rome," *Revue des sciences réligieuses*, XXIII, 1949, 1-37, 207-244, XXIV, 1950, 28-52, 235-265. Nestorianism was such a remote and incomprehensible matter that Pope Celestine had to consult a monk of Syrian origin, John Cassian, who lived in Marseilles, on the nature of the dispute in order that he might then advise the two warring Eastern bishops. On Cassian, see Amann, 225-244; Owen Chadwick, *John Cassian. A Study in Primitive Monasticism*, Cambridge, 1950, 153ff. Cassian wrote his *De Incarnatione Domini Contra Nestorium* in response to the appeal of the future pope Leo. Thus, whereas the decisions of the Council of Ephesus marked a triumph for Orthodox christology in the East, they cannot have been viewed with the same exultation in the Latin West where the issue was academic. The christology and mariology of S. Maria Maggiore are orthodox, but it is doubtful that they are so in response to the acts of a distant council.

[70] Anna, Rachel, Salome, a Sybil, Sophia, *Ecclesia ex Gentibus*, *Ecclesia ex Circumcisione*, and *Ecclesia audiens* have been proposed; Künzle summarizes these suggestions, 171-176. Brodsky identifies her as the Virgin, 49-54.

[71] Other than the Maria Regina images for exceptions to the traditional portrayal, see the diptych in the Cathedral Treasury, Milan, where Mary wears upper-class dress in two scenes (for references, see note 15), and the lid of a late 6th-century silver reliquary in the Cathedral Treasury, Grado, in which upper-class attire is combined with the white cap and maphorion of the traditional iconography, a cruciform nimbus, a scepter and throne (Helmut Buschhausen, *Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare. I. Katalog [Wiener Byzantinische Studien, IX]*, Vienna, 1971, cat. B 19, 246-49, pl. B. 54; also Grabar, *Justinian*, fig. 358).

[72] On the Rabbula Gospels, which contains many images of the Virgin, see the work by Cecchelli, *et al.*, cited in n. 30. On the icon, one of many at Sinai depicting the Virgin, Kurt Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons. I. From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*, Princeton, 1976, Cat. No. B 3, 18-21, pls. IV-VI. On Parenzo, Bruno Molajoli, *La Basilica eufrasiana di Parenzo*, Padua, 1943; Ihm, 167-169. On Chiti, Ihm, 189f., pl. XVIII.2. On the fresco in the Catacomb of Commodilla, Grabar, *Justinian*, 166f. These examples have been drawn from a preliminary and still incomplete catalogue of images of the Virgin through the 8th century, containing more than 50 entries.

[73] There is consensus on neither the original location of Sixtus's inscription nor the nature of its accompanying mosaic. Some scholars place the inscription and mosaic on the façade of the church (Grabar, *Martyrium*, II, as cited in n. 42, 51f. n. 3, 60; Künzle, address to the Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, April, 1961, reported in Bertelli, 114f., n. 35); others on the inner wall of the facade (Wilpert, I, 504; Ihm, 132f.; Bertelli, 49; Krautheimer, 36, 46-48; Kitzinger [inscription only], 66) and others in the apse (Wellen, 124; Snyder, as cited in n. 57, 4). August Schuchert put the inscription and the martyrs on the inner wall of the facade and Mary in the apse, but did not account for the presence of Sixtus, *S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom. I. Die Gründungsgeschichte der Basilika und die ursprüngliche Apsisanlage* (*Studi di Antichità Cristiana*, XV), Vatican City, 1939, 55-77, esp. 76f. Brenk appears to follow Schuchert, 2-4.

22 *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, apse mosaic. Rome, S. Maria in Domnica (photo: Soprintendenza ai Monumenti di Roma e del Lazio)

child, attended by saints and/or angels, and — although somewhat less frequently — donors, was a popular composition in the late fifth and sixth centuries, as found, for example, in monumental format in Rome (Fig. 20), Ravenna, Parenzo (Fig. 21), Thessaloniki, Cyprus (Fig. 19), Gaza, and Bawit, and on a smaller scale, on the leaf of an ivory diptych in Berlin and on an icon at Mt. Sinai (Fig. 18).[74] This iconography recurs in the decoration of the apse of S. Maria in Domnica, Rome (Fig. 22), which is based on that of the destroyed apse of the first Roman church dedicated to Mary. In this and other Carolingian mosaics, Early Christian iconographic principles are revived and the heritage of Early Christian Rome is reaffirmed as later and imported types, such as the Maria Regina, are bypassed.[75]

5. The Meaning of the Mosaics

Once Mary has been identified with the young woman in dark dress, it becomes necessary to re-identify several other figures on the triumphal arch and to unravel the iconography of the first register. In the scene on the right half of the arch (Figs. 1, 23) generally identified as the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, Mary appears in a group comprising the woman in gold, a middle-aged man in a short tunic and orange mantle, an angel, and an elderly man with white hair and covered hands. The gesture of Mary identifies the man to her right for the gesture is the *dextrarum iunctio*, the joining of right hands in betrothal. Thus what is taking place here is not the Presentation of Christ but the Betrothal of Mary and Joseph in which an angel plays the part of the priest. Unlike most of the iconography of the arch, this part of the scene has a precedent; in a city-gate sarcophagus in LePuy, of the late fourth century, the Betrothal of Mary and Joseph is effected by an angel.[76] There is, however, a small but crucial difference between the Betrothal on the arch and that of the sarcophagus. On the arch is an interrupted gesture; the right hand of Mary and Joseph have either not yet met or have been drawn apart. The attention of Mary and Joseph has been diverted to our left where the woman in gold holds out the compact figure of a small child. Behind her two angels gesture, directing attention back to the physical and thematic focus of the scene, to the figure of the Child.

The angels introduce a vision to the engaged couple; in the vision are the child, the woman in gold, and the elderly man. The child, on whose nimbus rests a small cross, obviously is the Christ Child. The older couple — the woman in gold and the elderly man — who frame the central betrothed pair and gesture reverentially in attitudes of offering act as the sponsors or protectors of the Child. Their identities are suggested by context, by the themes discovered elsewhere in the mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore. In a program based on the themes of the fulfillment of divine promises to Abraham, prophecy and its fulfillment, the Advent of Christ, and his recognition by Jews and Gentiles, the identity and significance of the older couple must be keyed to the long-awaited coming of the Messiah. Thus they can be none other than Abraham and Sarah. They are present in the Betrothal as ancestors of Mary, Joseph, and Christ, as antetypes of Mary and Joseph, as witnesses to the fulfillment of the promises made to them. As the parents of Isaac, their family history was prophetic: a son was promised to them by the Lord, he was announced by angels, conceived with heavenly assistance, and later led to sacrifice by his father. Of Sarah, the Lord said, "I will bless her, and she shall be a mother of nations; kings of peoples shall come from her" (Genesis 17:16). As the mother of a promised child, Sarah is Mary's antetype, as Isaac is the antetype of Christ. In the New Testament and in patristic writings, Sarah was perceived as a symbol of the Heavenly Jerusalem, of the City of God, of the

[74] For S. Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, Deichmann, pls. 112, 114; for St. Demetrios, Thessaloniki, see Robin Cormack, "The Mosaic Decoration of S. Demetrios, Thessaloniki. A Re-Examination in the Light of the Drawings of W.S. George," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, LXIV, 1969, 17-52, esp. 26-29, pls. 3, 7. For the Cypriote Panagia Angeloktistos, Chiti, and Panagia Kanakaria, Lythrankomi, Ihm, 188-190, pls. XVI, XVIII.2. For St. Sergius, Gaza, Ihm, 193f. For Bawit and Sakkara, Ihm, 198-205, pls. XVII.1, XVIII.1, XXIII.1, XXV, and Grabar, *Justinian*, figs. 186, 189f., 194. For the diptych, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Volbach, pl. 225. Ihm discusses the theme of Mary in Majesty, 55-61.

[75] I have suggested a relationship between S. Maria Maggiore and Carolingian iconography in "Carolingian Restorations of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore," *Gesta*, XVI, 1977, 13-22, esp. 18.

[76] I thus agree in large part with Brodsky, 58-66; for our differences see n. 78. For the LePuy sarcophagus, Testini, 291f., fig. 210.

23 Scene here identified as *The Betrothal and Vision of Mary and Joseph*, triumphal arch mosaic, S. Maria Maggiore (after Wilpert, iii, pls. 57-60)

Church; she was called the mother of Christians and the spouse of Christ.[77] The portrayal of Abraham in the *Betrothal and Vision* (Fig. 24) resembles his appearance in three panels of the nave (Figs. 14, 25), that of a handsome, vigorous old man with short white hair and a short beard.[78] On the arch Sarah undergoes a distinct improvement in her appearance, attributable to her exalted status and better dress.

Thus the mosaic illustrated in Figure 23 is a presentation of sorts, but not the Presentation of Christ in the Temple narrated in Luke 2:22-38. Instead, this is a scene of betrothal in which a vision is presented. In the midst of the ceremony, Mary and Joseph experience a sudden understanding of the roles they are to play. As good Jews, they know the history of their people and their tribes; they know prophecy and what has been promised. At the moment of their betrothal, they experience a revelation that the child to be born to them is the promised child. In their vision, they see prophecy and its perfection; they see the type, the shadow, the intimation (Isaac) and they see him who will be king, who is destined for the throne of David. Their own ancestors appear too, the protoparents of Christ, who themselves are sentient that the promise made to them ages ago by the Lord will soon be fulfilled in Christ. Abraham reaches out toward the small child held in his wife's hands. In posture and gesture, this Abraham corresponds to the Abraham who experiences the theophany of the Lord at Mamre in one of the panels of the nave (Figs. 24, 25). As he bows before the three angels, he now bows before the Messiah. The child gestures, motioning toward Mary and Joseph, directing Abraham's attention to those who serve as the instruments of the fulfillment of the promise made to him at Mamre. These echoes between the nave and arch mosaics suggest, moreover, that the handling of the Isaac-Christ like an offering may be seen as a typological complement to the offering of bread and wine by Melchisedech in the first panel of the nave (Fig. 14). As the presence of David and Isaiah in the register below authenticates the messiahship of Christ, the presence of Abraham and Sarah in the *Betrothal and Vision* testifies to the nature of divine planning and the promises made by the Lord. Their presence documents the climax of that planning and the perfection of those promises.

Sarah, the woman in gold, appears in the other three scenes of the top two registers of the arch. In each case, she is accompanied by a man, but his facial features differ from scene to scene (Fig. 1). Unlike the head of Abraham in the *Betrothal and Vision*, however, none of the other heads is an original, fifth-century head. They are all restorations, necessitated by decay and damage to the surface of the triumphal arch. Major damage to the mosaics

[77] Sarah, the mother of nations and ancestor of kings, "by faith ... received power to conceive" (Hebrews 11:11). In his allegory about Sarah and Hagar, Paul has Sarah symbolize the heavenly Jerusalem; for him she was the mother of Christians (Galatians 4:22-31). For Hilarius of Poitiers, she symbolized the Church (*Tractatus Mysteriorum* I.17f.), as she did for Ambrose (*De Abraham* I.4.31, II.11.90). For Augustine, Sarah was the symbol of the Heavenly Jerusalem and of the City of God (*City of God* XVI.31), the mother of us all (*Ennarrationes in Psalmos*, Ad. 112.8), and as the Church, the spouse of Christ (*Contra Faustum Manichaeum* XXII.38). The change in her name — Sarai/Sarah, Sara/Sarra, *Σαραι/Σαρρα* — was given special emphasis. To Jerome, it signified the change from "my princess" to "princess" (*Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* I.17) and to Augustine, "my princess" to "strength" (*City of God* XVI.28, ed. Sanford Green, V, 136-39). On the typological roles of Sarah and Isaac, Brenk, 114-17, and Jean Daniélou, *Les Figures du Christ dans l'Ancien Testament. Sacramentum Futuri*, Paris, 1950, 97-128.

[78] See, too, the *Separation of Abraham and Lot* (Karpp, pls. 37f.), one of the finest of the nave panels and so close in conception and execution to the *Betrothal and Vision* that it must be the work of the same master. The portrait of Abraham is suggestively close to the standard portrait of Peter, as seen, for example in Rome in the apse of SS. Cosma e Damiano (Matthiae, II, pl. XVII) or the icon of the apostle at Mt. Sinai (Weitzmann, as cited in n. 72, pl. VIII). Brodsky, in fact, identified the figure in the *Betrothal and Vision* as Peter (pp. 66f.). The similarity between Abraham and the standard portrayal of Peter may have been devised to illustrate their common faith. Peter was like Abraham in the priority of his faith which he confessed to Christ; Matthew 16:16. On the early stages of Petrine portraiture, Grabar, *Christian Iconography*, 68-70. Von Simson suggests a comparable adaptation with political overtones for Saint Apollinaris in S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna; as cited in n. 40, 50-58.

occurred at the end of the fifteenth century when decorative pilasters were installed at the left and right edges of the arch. The pilasters are visible in Figure 1, a photograph taken prior to their removal in the restorations initiated by Pius XI (1922-1939).[79] These pilasters caused considerable loss to the original tessellation. As documented by Figure 12, in the *Massacre of the Innocents* two thirds of the figure of Herod and the entire figure of a guard standing behind his throne were covered.[80] In the *Adoration of the Magi* (Fig. 10), two figures were lost to the left and behind Sarah; they are the third Magus, whose arm is visible, and Sarah's partner. The latter was restored with short dark hair and a short dark beard, in other words, as Joseph, a natural choice for a partner for the woman in gold if she is taken to be Mary.[81] But if, as proposed here, she is Sarah, then the man was Abraham and he once bore the features of the Abrahams of the *Betrothal and Vision* and the nave panels.

The right pilaster destroyed the right edge of the triumphal arch, almost entirely obliterating a figure in the first register (Fig. 23), covering an angel in the second register (Fig. 3), and, in the third, half of Herod and one of his guards (Fig. 13). This half of the arch suffered further damage from a severe fissure which coursed through all the registers, from the area to the right of the angel in register one, through the companion of the woman in gold in register two, to register three where it spread through several of the figures. Lead clamps were installed to hold the tesserae in place and large areas were stuccoed and painted to disguise the loss and damage. In the mid-seventeenth century, the *Meeting of David, Isaiah, and Christ* was in so ruinous a state that when Marco Tullio Montagna sketched the triumphal arch he missed the figure of Christ entirely and saw beside the woman in gold not a bearded man, but an angel (Fig. 26).[82] In the next century, this figure was restored and given the dark hair and beard of a Joseph.[83] Originally, here, too, Abraham was to be seen standing beside his wife. Abraham and Sarah thus accompanied the young Christ as he received the veneration of the first of the Gentiles and as he was greeted by the Prophets of the Incarnation, David and Isaiah (Figs. 10, 3). Once their identity has been established in these two scenes, the presence of Abraham and Sarah enhances the interpretation of the iconography offered above. In the writings of Prudentius and Leo on the Nativity and Epiphany, such as those excerpted above, Abraham plays an integral role; on the triumphal arch — the iconography of which is in many respects the visual equivalent to such writings — Abraham is joined by Sarah

24 Detail of Fig. 23, figure here identified as Abraham

25 *The Vision and Hospitality of Abraham*, mosaic panel, S. Maria Maggiore (photo: Alinari)

[79] The pilasters derive from the redecoration sponsored by Callixtus III and Alexander VI; Krautheimer, 9. The pre-restoration appearance of the mosaics, including their damaged edges, is documented in Wilpert, III, pls. 53, 60, 62f., 68f.

[80] For the restored mosaic, see Karpp, pl. 210.

[81] For the restored figures, Karpp, pl. 8.

[82] His generally dependable sketches of the mosaics, executed for Cardinal Francesco Barberini, are in Vatican Cod. Barb. lat. 4405, repro. by Stephan Waetzoldt, *Die Kopien des 17. Jahrhunderts nach Mosaiken und Wandmalereien in Rom* (*Römische Forschungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, XVIII), Vienna, Munich, 1964, figs. 237-276, 280.

[83] The restoration of the figure may date from the time of Benedict XIII (1724-1730), who had the mosaics of the triumphal arch cleaned and restored; Bianchini, as cited in n. 56, 265. Krautheimer credits Benedict XIV (1743-1750), on p. 9.

26 Drawing of the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore, ca. 1640. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Barb. lat. 4405, fol. 1r (photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

so that both might participate in the Advent of their offspring Christ.[84]

The fourth appearance of Sarah, the woman in gold, is at the upper left corner of the triumphal arch (Fig. 27), in the scene that introduces the mosaics of the arch. This time her partner has short dark hair and a beard and he wears a short girt tunic and an orange mantle. Six angels address the couple; the composition is framed by two small house-like units. This scene is generally regarded as the Annunciation to Mary and the Annunciation to Joseph, an unacceptable interpretation given the identification of the woman in gold as Sarah.[85] Furthermore, the figure of Joseph is a restoration of the early ninth century; he, too, was originally an Abraham.[86] If the action and content of this scene are read as they are in the other scenes of the arch — that is, from right to left for the left half of the arch, and from the left to the right for the right half — then this mosaic presents an address by angels to Abraham followed by an address to his wife. What is depicted, therefore, is the beginning of the story of the Advent of Christ, this time cast in monumental terms (compare Figs. 25 and 27). Here the divine promises are made to Abraham and Sarah in — for want of a better word — annunciations. The Lord, in the form of the angelic triad of Genesis 18, appears first to Abraham and then to Sarah to announce that she shall bear a son. The dove hovering above her head proleptically depicts Genesis 21:1-2, according to which "the Lord visited

[84] See p. 527. Compare Leo's remarks in Sermon 33.2, in which the significance of the star over the throne of Christ is brought into context with Abraham and the promises made to him; trans. Feltoe, 145f.

[85] It is useful to point out other flaws in the traditional interpretation. There is no accounting for the additional angels in the mosaic when it is interpreted as the Annunciation. Nor is there any support in Byzantine art for an enthroned Maria Regina as the recipient of the angel's message. See, for example, the mosaics of the Oratory of John VII at St. Peter's, where the Mary of the narrative scenes wears traditional garb, but the Maria Regina iconography is used for the separate, larger hieratic image of the Virgin; Matthiae, II, pls. 132-134; Waetzoldt, as cited in n. 82, figs. 478-483. If the bishops of Rome were successful in suppressing the apocrypha (see above, n. 15), then the interpretation that Mary is preparing the yarn with which she will make the veil for the Temple cannot be credited, for the story of that activity derives from the Protoevangelium of James, x; James, 43. I cannot explain the woman's action; Brodsky suggested bread-making, 73-78. Nor is there any literary or art-historical evidence for two angels addressing Joseph; see Testini, 271-347. One angel addresses Joseph in Matthew 1:2-24 and 2:13, as well as in the Protoevangelium xiv.2 and pseudo-Matthew xi; James, 44, 74. Under Pius XI, a dreaming Joseph receiving the warning to flee to Egypt was restored in the upper right corner of the arch (Karpp, pl. 13). Wilpert (III, pl. 60) and Anderson, photo. No. 17657, taken in 1903, document the pre-restoration state of this area. Montagna records that what was to be seen ca. 1640 on the flank of the temple was an angel addressing a seated figure who turns at his approach (Fig. 26). Such elements constitute a typical Early Christian-Early Byzantine Annunciation to Mary, as seen, for example, on the ivory throne of Maximianus, Archiepiscopal Museum, Ravenna (Volbach, pl. 231) and in the apse of the Basilica Eufrasiana, Parenzo (Molajoli, as cited in n. 72, fig. 55). Thus originally the *Annunciation to Mary* was seen in this corner of the triumphal arch; the *Dreaming Joseph* is an erroneous restoration. For a proposal that the temple is a symbol of the Incarnation, Spain, 140-46.

[86] Spain, "Carolingian Restorations," as cited in n. 75, 15f., where stylistic and technical observations provide the basis for dating the figure.

27 Scene here identified as *The Annunciations to Abraham and Sarah*, triumphal arch mosaic, S. Maria Maggiore (photo: Anderson)

Sarah as he had said, and the Lord did to Sarah as he had promised. And Sarah conceived ..."[87] After this historic annunciation to Abraham and Sarah which prophesies and promises the Incarnation, the *Betrothal and Vision of Mary and Joseph* in the right half of the same register follows naturally (Fig. 23). The interpretation of this scene as the annunciations to Abraham and Sarah thus provides further evidence of the thematic motif of the harmony of the Testaments. Such an interpretation declares the unity of the program of the nave and arch mosaics. And it places before the observer, in the context of the Advent of Christ, the patriarchal couple, the mother and father of nations and kings, as they receive the promises for which they are blessed.

Whether interpreted as the annunciations to Abraham and Sarah or the annunications to Mary and Joseph, the scene in the top left register of the triumphal arch is without parallel in the history of art. It was an *ad hoc* creation, designed to meet the needs of a particular program. Its improvisational nature has been proved by the discovery of preparatory sketches in the sublayers of plaster.[88] Comparison of these sinopie and the mosaic demonstrates that the artists experimented with the number and distribution of figures in the creation of a new, expository, and monumental composition. It is, moreover, essential to realize that the iconography of the entire triumphal arch is unique, that none of the scenes — whether they are interpreted in the standard manner or as proposed here — has any parallels.[89]

The mosaics do occasionally rely on types established in

[87] Prolepsis underlies the entire half-register. First the three angels appear to Abraham at Mamre (Genesis. 18.1f.) and address him. The angel farthest from Abraham points to the left, directing Abraham's attention to the near future, where Sarah learns that she shall bear a son (Genesis 18:10-15). There, in a third temporal level, the dove and the airborne angel illustrate the promise of verse 14: "At the appointed time I will return to you, in the spring ...," and its perfection (Genesis 21:1f.). See, too, Roberto Giordani, "Fenomeni di *prolepsis* disegnativa nei mosaici dell'arco di Santa Maria Maggiore," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti*, ser. III, XLVI, 1973-74, 225-249, where standard iconographical interpretations are employed.

[88] For illustrations of the sinopie, Testini, 298, fig. 15; Brenk, 8, figs. 2-4; Cecchelli, as cited in n. 6, 89f., pl. x.

[89] The LePuy sarcophagus provides a precedent for only a part of the central action of the *Betrothal and Vision*; see above, page 535. Testini repeatedly notes the unique character of the iconography, although he subscribes to the traditional interpretations; 334, 338, 345. Kötzsche-Breitenbruch regards the *Massacre of the Innocents* as an exceptional example of the subject; see n. 47.

Roman art for the imperial Adventus and enthronement, for proskynesis and betrothal, but they do not reflect an established repertoire of New Testament imagery.[90] The triumphal arch itself was an *ad hoc* creation. Although the mosaics did not have a body of Christian imagery upon which to draw, they did have the guarantee of recognition and comprehension on the part of the congregation they addressed. The major themes and teachings of the decorative program were traditional for the Christians of Rome, familiar from religious poetry, and, above all, from the orations of Leo, the priest and then pope. In fact, the following thoughts of Leo are almost all one needs to understand the iconography of the mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore:

> At the end of ages is fulfilled that which was ordained from all eternity: and in the presence of realities, when signs and types have ceased, the Law and prophecy have become Truth: and so Abraham is found the father of all nations, and the promised blessing is given to the world in his seed: nor are they only Israelites whom flesh and blood begot, but the whole body of the adopted enter into the possession of the heritage prepared for the sons of Faith. Be not disturbed by the cavils of silly questionings, and let not the effects of the Divine word be dissipated by human calculation; we with Abraham believe in God and "waver not through unbelief," but "know most assuredly that what the Lord promised, He is able to perform."[91]

Bryn Mawr College

Bibliography of Frequently Cited Sources

Bertelli, Carlo, *La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere*, Rome, 1961.

Brenk, Beat, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in Santa Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, Wiesbaden, 1975.

Brodsky, Nina A., *L'Iconographie oubliée de l'arc éphésien de Sainte-Marie-Majeure à Rome (Bibliothèque de Byzantion*, I), Brussels, 1966.

Cameron, Averil, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople: A City Finds Its Symbol," *Journal of Theological Studies*, n.s. XXIX, 1978, 79-108.

Davis-Weyer, Caecilia, *Early Medieval Art. 300-1150*, Englewood Cliffs, 1971.

Deichmann, Friedrich Wilhelm, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, Baden-Baden, 1958.

Grabar, André, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Paris, 1936.

———, *Christian Iconography. A Study of Its Origins*, Princeton, 1968.

———, *The Golden Age of Justinian*, New York, 1967.

Ihm, Christa, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts (Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte und christlichen Archäologie*, IV), Wiesbaden, 1960.

James, Montague Rhodes, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (repr.), Oxford, 1966.

Karpp, Heinrich, *Die frühchristlichen und mittelalterlichen Mosaiken in Santa Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, Baden-Baden, 1966.

Kitzinger, Ernst, *Byzantine Art in the Making*, Cambridge, Mass., 1977.

Krautheimer, Richard, "S. Maria Maggiore," *Corpus Basilicarum Christianorum Romae*, Vatican City, 1967, III, 1-60.

Künzle, Paul, "Per una visione organica dei mosaici antichi di S. Maria Maggiore," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti*, ser. III, XXXIV, 1961-62, 153-190.

Le Liber Pontificalis, ed. Louis Duchesne, Paris, 1886.

Leo the Great, ed., trans., Charles Lett Feltoe, *Leo the Great. Gregory the Great (A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, XII), Grand Rapids, 1956.

Matthiae, Guglielmo, *Mosaici medioevale delle chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1967.

Schubert, Ursula, "Der politische Primatanspruch des Papstes dargestellt am Triumphbogen von Santa Maria Maggiore in Rom," *Kairos*, XIII, 1971, 194-226.

Spain, Suzanne, "The Program of the Fifth Century Mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1968.

Testini, Pasquale, "Alle origini dell' iconografia di Giuseppe di Nazareth," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, XLVIII, 1972, 271-347.

Volbach, Wolfgang Fritz, *Early Christian Art*, New York, 1961.

Wellen, G. A., *Theotokos. Eine ikonographische Abhandlung über das Gottesmutterbild in frühchristlicher Zeit*, Utrecht, 1961.

Wilpert, Joseph, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten von IV. bis. XIII. Jahrhundert*, 2nd ed., Freiburg im Breisgau, 1917.

[90] In general, the Old Testament scenes are regarded as indebted to manuscript precedents; see, for example, Bianchi Bandinelli, as cited in n. 4, 146-148; Alexander Willem Byvanck, "Das Problem der Mosaiken von Santa Maria Maggiore," *Festschrift Hans R. Hahnloser*, ed. Ellen Judith Beer, Philip Hofer, Luc Mojon, Basel, 1961, 15-26; Johannes Kollwitz, "Der Josuazyklus von S. Maria Maggiore," *Römische Quartalschrift*, LXI, 1966; 105-110; Deckers, as cited in n. 4. Brenk has reservations about that assumption; 125-28. Kitzinger believes that the Old Testament panels were an *ad hoc* creation designed to evoke associations with the stylistic conventions of contemporary secular manuscript illumination and Roman imperial monuments, 66-73; see also his "The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration," in Kurt Weitzmann, *et al.*, *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, Princeton, 1975, 99-142, esp. 121-140.

[91] Sermon 26.2, trans. Feltoe, 137.

Duccio *Doctus*: New Readings for the *Maestà*

Florens Deuchler

To Louis Grodecki, the best and wisest of my unofficial teachers

Duccio's signed and documented *Maestà* of 1308-1311 in Siena is the only work that permits us to define the painter's mature style, assess his intellectual stature, and evaluate his contribution to Sienese painting in particular and to Western European art in general.[1]

Originally the retable of the high altar of Siena Cathedral, the painting was later removed to the nearby Museo dell'Opera del Duomo. Its front and rear sides were separated from each other, and panels from the predellas as well as from the *corona* made their way into foreign collections.

The main panel on the front shows the Virgin enthroned attended by angels and flanked by standing saints.[2] On the back we find twenty-six miniature-like scenes from the Passion of Christ, beginning with the *Entry into Jerusalem* (Fig. 1, No. 1). This Passion cycle, the representations on the front and back predellas, and the scenes on both sides of the *corona* are like a huge data bank from which we can draw answers to new questions about Duccio's manner of working.

This study does not attempt to deal with the entire *Maestà*. It will simply record a number of new observations concerning the arrangement of the Passion cycle and of the back predella.

The general composition of the Passion cycle has been described by several scholars. In 1965, Cooper constructed a pattern that is interesting but appears to have no rhyme or reason (Fig. 2). In 1971 Marvin Trachtenberg could still write: "The narrative on the verso of Duccio's *Maestà* runs up and down in no rigorous order, and with scenes occasionally even expanding to double format."[3] I propose to demonstrate, however, that the Passion cycle is a logical composition, governed by a powerful symmetrical pattern (Fig. 3). The central axis of this over-all design, the vertical shaft with *Christ at Gethsemane*, the *Kiss of Judas*, and the *Crucifixion* (Fig. 1, Nos. 6-7, 20), is flanked on both sides by four series of panels which can be read in four horizontally organized boustrophedonic patterns. The units are arranged in identical manner and create a perfect balance in the reading line.

The obstacle to recognition of this pattern was the misidentification of two adjoining subjects of the cycle. Earlier scholars have called scene 10 "The Third Denial of Peter" on the basis of Matthew 26:74. The representation of the maid and the rooster, however, shows that Duccio's source was in fact Mark 14:68 which describes the Second Denial. Accordingly, scene 11 follows Mark 14:70 where it is said that those who were with Peter addressed him. By the same token, scenes 12 and 13 are based on Mark 15:2 and 3 rather than on the Gospel of John, as had previously been maintained. Once this is understood, Duccio's reading line can easily be followed (see Fig. 3).

The following remarks are intended to show how the artist arranged his narrative material according to this preestablished concept of the Passion cycle. Thus, we have to deal with Duccio's selection of individual scenes from the rich storehouse of traditional iconographic possibilities and his arrangement of the chosen scenes into a logical sequence. The latter had to correspond to the narrative order of the Scriptures as well. In other words: what were Duccio's considerations when he conceived the layout of the cycle?

I will repeat here neither John White's observations on the measurements of the *Maestà* nor his reconstruction of the altarpiece.[4] White's propositions are acceptable, but it seems to me that Duccio worked in still a different manner: not primarily as a mathematician but also as an inspired *metteur-en-scène*. The mathematical construction was most probably a consideration made after the narrative program had been established and was therefore a result of it.

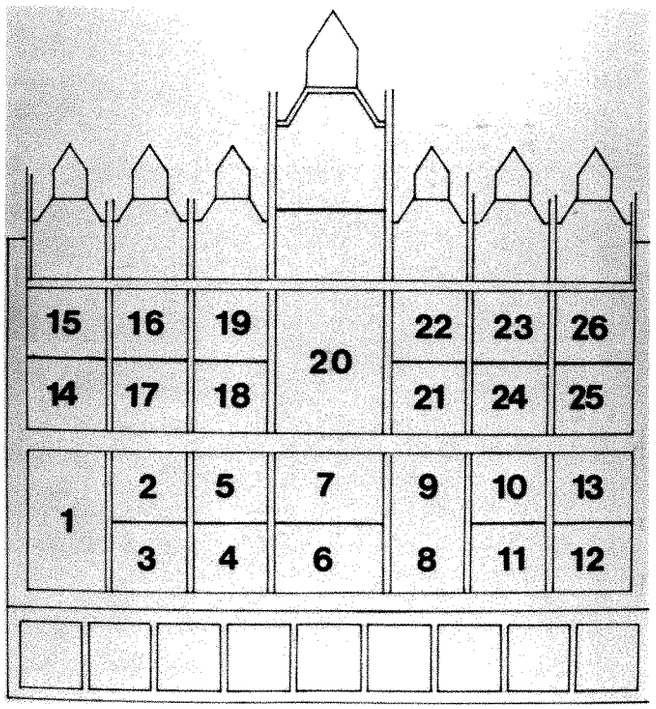
The dimensions of the verso were imposed by those of

[1] Preliminary ideas for this paper were presented in lectures both in this country and Europe, particularly in seminars at the University of Geneva. We are most grateful to several friends, colleagues, and students who offered helpful suggestions at that time. My special thanks go to Christine Smith (Florence) and Charlotte Lacaze (Paris) for editorial assistance in the preparation of the manuscript. Jacques Lechevallier was kind enough to redraw my sketches. The problem of Duccio *doctus* will be dealt with at greater length in my forthcoming book on the *Maestà (Douze leçons sur Duccio)*.

[2] Since James Stubblebine's major study on Duccio (Princeton University Press) is *ante portas*, we do not repeat the Duccio bibliography here. The best available survey so far was compiled by Hayden B. J. Maginnis, "The Literature on Sienese Trecento Painting, 1945-1975," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XL, 1977, 276-309. All the panels from the *Maestà* discussed here but not reproduced can easily be found in Giulio Cattaneo and Edi Baccheschi, *L'Opera completa di Duccio*, Milan, 1972.

[3] F. Cooper, "A Reconstruction of Duccio's *Maestà*," *Art Bulletin*, XLVII, 1965, 155-171. Marvin Trachtenberg, *The Campanile of Florence Cathedral. "Giotto's Tower,"* New York, 1971, 35. See also Alistair Smart, *The Dawn of Italian Painting, 1250-1400*, London, 1978, 42 ("The total arrangement is basically symmetrical, but not entirely so").

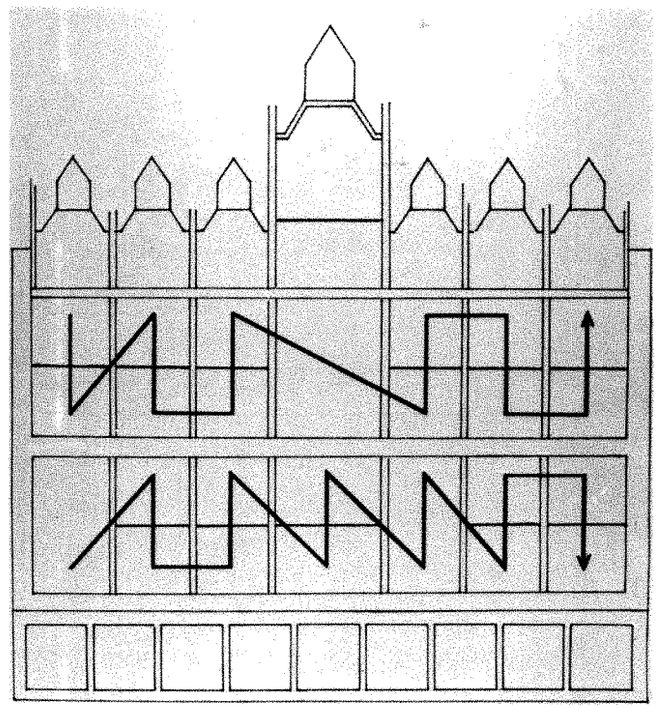
[4] J. White, "Design and Carpentry in Duccio's *Maestà*," *Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, 334-366, 547-569.



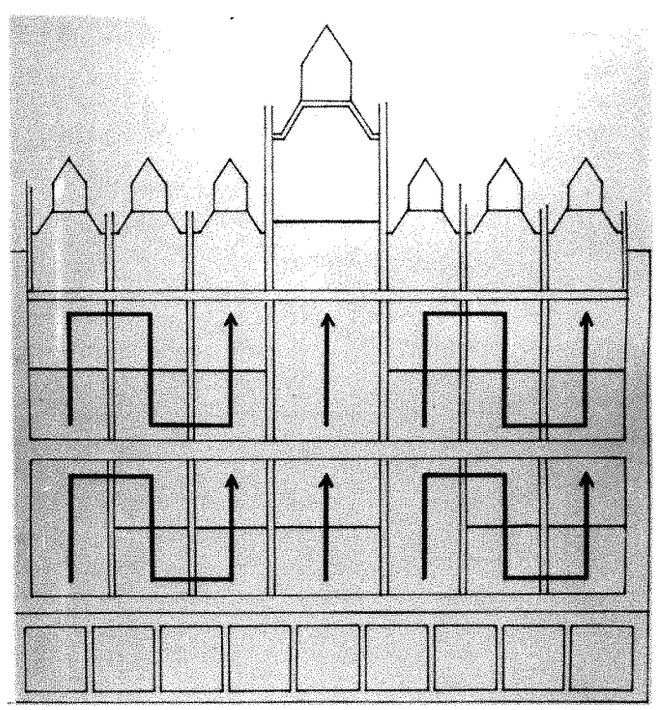
1 Duccio, back of the *Maestà*, the program of the Passion cycle.

Lower part: 1 Entry into Jerusalem, *2* Washing of the Feet, *3* Last Supper, *4* Christ's Last Admonitions, *5* Betrayal of Judas, *6* Gethsemane, *7* Kiss of Judas, *8* First Denial of Peter, *9* Christ Before Annas, *10* Christ Before Caiaphas (Second Denial of Peter, according to Mark 14:68), *11* Christ Before Caiaphas (Third Denial of Peter), *12* Christ Before Pilate, *13* Christ Sent to Herod

Upper part: 14 Christ Before Herod, *15* Christ Before Pilate, *16* Flagellation Before Pilate, *17* Crowning with Thorns, *18* Pilate Washing His Hands, *19* Way to Calvary, *20* Crucifixion, *21* Deposition, *22* Entombment, *23* Marys at the Tomb, *24* Harrowing of Hell, *25 Noli Me Tangere*, *26* Walk to Emmaus



2 F. Cooper's reading line (1965) of the Passion cycle

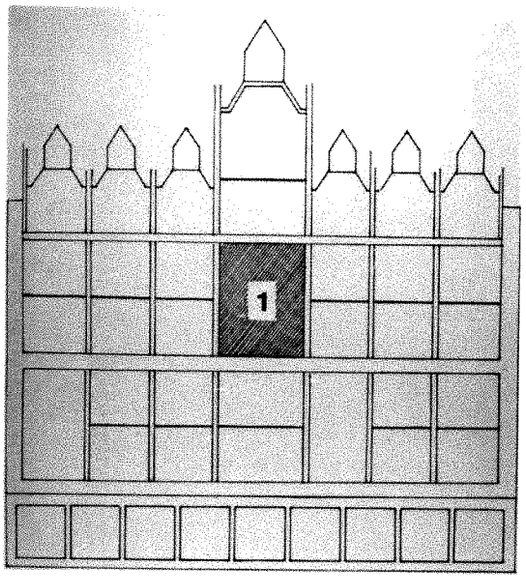


3 New proposal for the reading line of the Passion cycle

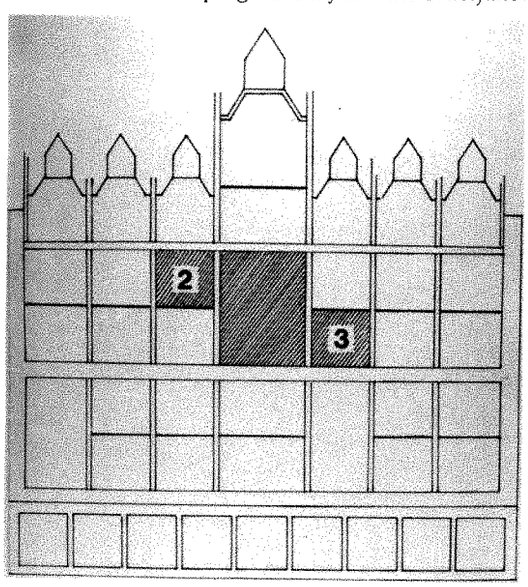
the recto, depicting the Madonna enthroned: 214 × 412cm. How did Duccio react when confronted with this large surface, the decoration of which was prescribed in a general manner — a Passion cycle — by the patrons, the *Opera del Duomo*?

The question of the genesis of the layout in medieval painting — murals, stained-glass windows, and narrative panels — is almost wholly neglected by art historians. The problem, however, is of pivotal importance for any insight into artistic creation and a full comprehension of the finished work. In the present case-study of the step-by-step organization of Duccio's Passion cycle, I do not pretend that the way suggested toward the completed narrative was the only possible one. Rigorous analysis of the work-in-progress, however, tends to confirm that the process of creation could hardly have deviated from this order.[5]

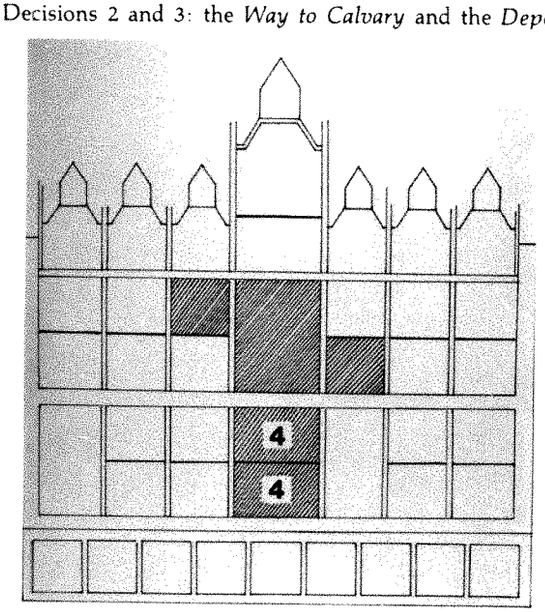
[5] We will deal more extensively with the problems raised here in a paper on "Le sens de la lecture." For Duccio's cycle, there are no comparable compositions in earlier panel painting that could be of help, although similar problems already arose in many *croci dipinte* and panels showing a standing saint on the axis of the composition surrounded by smaller scenes depicting the holy person's life. Also, earlier fresco cycles may be taken into consideration, since here the constraints of existing doorways and windows played a role in the layout of the decoration.



4 Decision 1 in the program's layout: the *Crucifixion*



5 Decisions 2 and 3: the *Way to Calvary* and the *Deposition*



6 Decision 4: *Gethsemane* and the *Kiss of Judas*

When organizing the design of the Passion cycle, Duccio must have first thought to allot the *Crucifixion* the most prominent place. He gave it one half of the total height of the main panel (Fig. 4). This first decision determined the layout of the whole back. It established the accent on the axis and the horizontal division in the middle of the panel. Having found the right spot for the depiction of the events at Golgotha, and having divided the upper and the lower part into two horizontal zones, Duccio had to consider next the placement of the two scenes immediately before and immediately after the *Crucifixion*: the *Way to Calvary*, and the *Deposition from the Cross* (Fig. 5). At first glance, it might seem surprising that Duccio placed the first scene in the upper row to the left of the *Crucifixion* and the *Deposition* in the lower one to the right of the preceding event. In fact, the *Deposition* would fit better into the cycle when placed above the *Entombment*. The change made here can thus be explained only if we grant that Duccio had already established the boustrophedon reading line of the whole cycle before planning the individual scenes.

According to our reconstruction, the next decision concerned the iconography of the two larger horizontal panels below the *Crucifixion* (Fig. 6). Which episodes could furnish material rich enough in dramatic content to fill these two prominent places on the central axis of the panel? We find the *Gethsemane* scene in the lower part and the *Kiss of Judas* in the upper half, both preparing for the climax of the Passion, the *Crucifixion*. The result is a pillar-like central section (Fig. 3). When read from bottom to top, its iconography is coherent in itself. Moreover, all three scenes are well integrated into the whole narrative cycle. They continue logically — and in accordance with the Gospels — the story told just before, and prepare for the events to follow.

Once the central axis was established, Duccio had to think about the opening scene of the cycle. Traditionally, Passion cycles start with the *Entry into Jerusalem*, and Duccio followed the tradition, but he allowed the *Entry* the height of two panels (Fig. 1, No. 1; Fig. 7). Cooper remarked that "it is just this one scene which makes the back of the *Maestà* asymmetrical," and that "it is this one variation in the symmetric design which permits immediate recognition of the place of the beginning for the twenty-six episodes from the Passion of Christ."[6] These observations are partly correct, but we should stress immediately that the tall panel of the *Entry* is perfectly balanced by another panel of tall format on the right of the central axis, namely the initial scene of the trial of Christ. Looking at the first *Denial of Peter* and at *Jesus Before Annas*, we find that here Duccio omitted the usual red separation line between two superimposed scenes and created the appearance of a single panel by introducing an

[6] Cooper, "Reconstruction," 169-170.

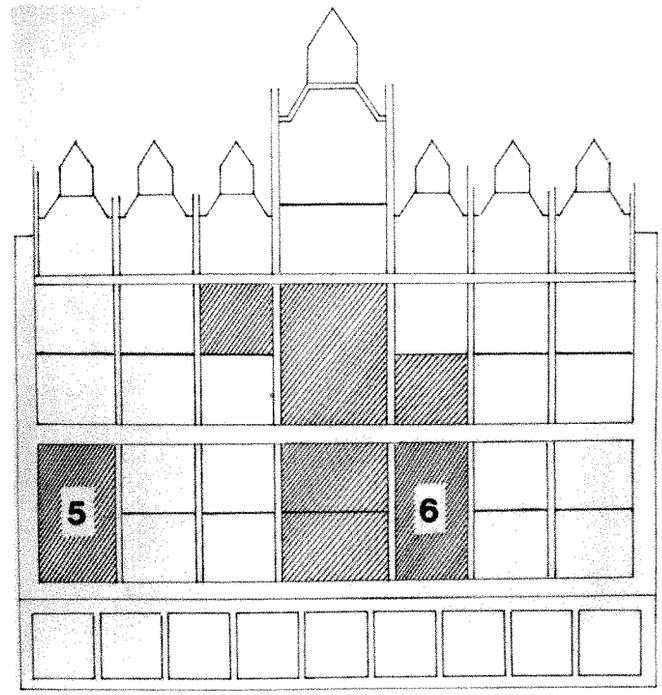
architectural molding instead (Fig. 7).[7] Moreover, the connection of the two scenes is stressed by the staircase which links the complex architectural structures of the two stories.

If we now look at the narrative composition of the cycle so far established, we see that many of the scenes required by tradition have already found their places. As we have remarked above, the episode that follows the *Deposition* is the *Entombment*.[8] The four remaining panels in the right upper section depict events after Christ's death: the *Maries at the Tomb, the Harrowing of Hell, the Noli Me Tangere*, and the *Walk to Emmaus*.[9] This last scene has to be interpreted as a response or counterpart on the diagonal to the *Entry into Jerusalem* where Christ is triumphant before his death, while on the way to Emmaus he is not yet recognized as triumphant over death (Fig. 8). As Alistair Smart described it: "Through the gateway in the *Entry into Jerusalem* we are led, as it were, into the drama of Christ's Passion, while the gateway in the *Walk to Emmaus* leads us out."[10]

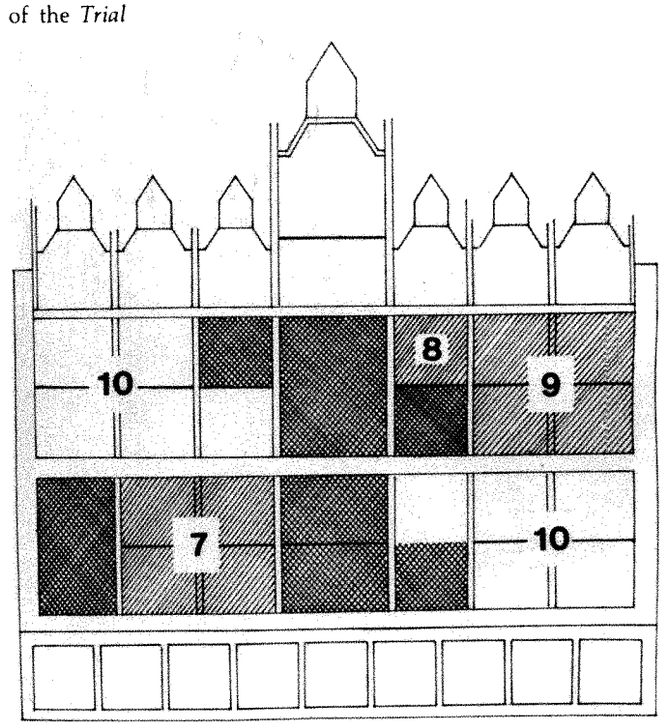
In the lower left section, between the scene of the *Entry* and that of *Christ at Gethsemane*, four compartments remained to be filled. The story allows only a small choice of iconographically suitable scenes. Leaving out the episode of Christ's chasing the money-changers from the Temple — an episode painted by Giotto at Padua, Duccio chose to paint the *Washing of the Feet*, the *Last Supper*, and *Christ's Last Admonitions* to eleven of his disciples. What the twelfth disciple did at that very moment of the admonitions is depicted above: Judas is making final arrangements for the betrayal of Christ, accepting the blood money.[11]

A last look at the layout up to this point shows two huge still-empty areas in reverse symmetry: into this remaining space, Duccio was obliged to put the trial sequence (Fig. 8). Ten episodes were needed both to close the narrative sequence and to connect the lower part of the Passion cycle to the upper one. Christ is led from Annas to Caiaphas, to Pilate, to Herod, and back to Pilate again. This microcycle within Duccio's version of the Passion is the most detailed depiction of the trial we know in medieval painting. For its conception, Duccio had to use literary material from all four Gospels. He insisted on the unity of place and action by allotting each of the four judges his own carefully designed interior. Pilate's palace appears as many as six times. White justly pointed out that Duccio's attempt to create unity of place "is in itself a novelty in panel painting."[12]

If we now read the Passion cycle as a whole, its structure appears under different light: not chance — as suggested by Cooper's reading line — but sophisticated manipulation of the narrative sequence governs the design (Fig. 3). The thoughtful choice of the episodes and their placement according to an overall concept, organized by a preestablished reading pattern, reveal that here a master mind was at work. Further observations support this claim.



7 Decisions 5 and 6: the *Entry into Jerusalem* and the beginning of the *Trial*



8 Decisions 7-10: the *Trial* sequence

[7] Cattaneo-Baccheschi, pl. XLVII.

[8] *Ibid.*, pl. LV.

[9] *Ibid.*, pls. LVI and LVII.

[10] Smart, 43.

[11] Cattaneo-Baccheschi, pls. XLIII and XLIV.

[12] John White, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250 to 1400*, Harmondsworth, 1966, 152.

9 Duccio, *The Massacre of the Innocents.* Siena, Opera del Duomo

The *Maestà* was the first altarpiece painted on both sides Front and back had to be seen to understand the entire program. The faithful had to walk around the retable, originally located directly under the cupola of the cathedral. According to Adolf Reinle, the cupola was a real "Sanktuarium für den Hochaltar und die Chorstühle der Kanoniker ... So auch erklärt sich die doppelseitige Gestaltung ... der Maestà von Duccio."[13] Time has always been needed to view all the panels of the *Maestà*. In addition, the modern spectator discovers that Duccio also succeeded, in Otto Pächt's words, "in smuggling the time factor into a medium which by definition lacks the dimension of time."[14] Duccio drew on various techniques developed during the Middle Ages for the representation of time. He used, for instance, the same person twice in the same predella panel, as in the *Flight into Egypt*[15] and in the *Healing of the Blind Man.*[16] The literary source for the latter miracle, in John 9:1-7, resembles a scenario according to which Christ, followed by his attendants, meets the blind man and prepares him for the miracle that takes place at the pool on the extreme right.

Duccio followed old patterns to create continuous narration. Within this context, one scene deserves special attention: the *Massacre of the Innocents* (Fig. 9). Here we witness a surprising correction of the iconographic tradition, an alteration that reveals Duccio's careful reading of the Gospels. In traditional iconography, Herod observes the massacre, as, for example, in Giotto's fresco at Padua. According to the Gospel story, however, Herod's presence would have been impossible: he gave the order at Jerusalem for the massacre, while the execution of it took place at Bethlehem. Duccio was the first painter to combine correctly the two topographically unrelated events in a narrative succession. He separated the scenes by putting a gray, neutral background behind the second act of the drama. In the upper part of the panel we are in Herod's palace in Jerusalem. The King, turning his head to the left, gives orders to two soldiers who are obviously not involved in the scene below. Neither do Herod's counselors look at the slaughter: they simply listen to the King's instructions. The separation in time and space must be credited to Duccio's personal initiative. He altered an iconographical tradition he considered incorrect and misleading. Going back to the textual sources, Duccio avoided the repetition of frozen patterns here and elsewhere, especially when he found them to be incongruent with the Scriptures.

Another change in program can be studied in the *Resurrection of Lazarus*, but a change made for quite different reasons (Fig. 10). The panel, in excellent condition, shows an extensive *pentimento* in the lower right corner.[17] This *pentimento*, not yet discussed in the Duccio literature, raises the question of the original place of the panel within the predella cycle. In comparison to Giotto's fresco of the same subject in Padua, Duccio's version of the miracle is condensed. On the left, the assistants witness the decisive moment of the narration which can be found only in the Gospel of John 11:1-44: Christ has just said, "Lazarus, come forth," and Lazarus, alone on the right in his tomb, is balanced between two worlds. His slightly oblique and less than upright position is due to a last-minute change. The *pentimento* clearly shows that originally the sarcophagus was in a horizontal position (Fig. 11). In this arrangement, Lazarus was sitting, leaning slightly backward. X-rays confirm that his body was corrected to full-length only later. This important change

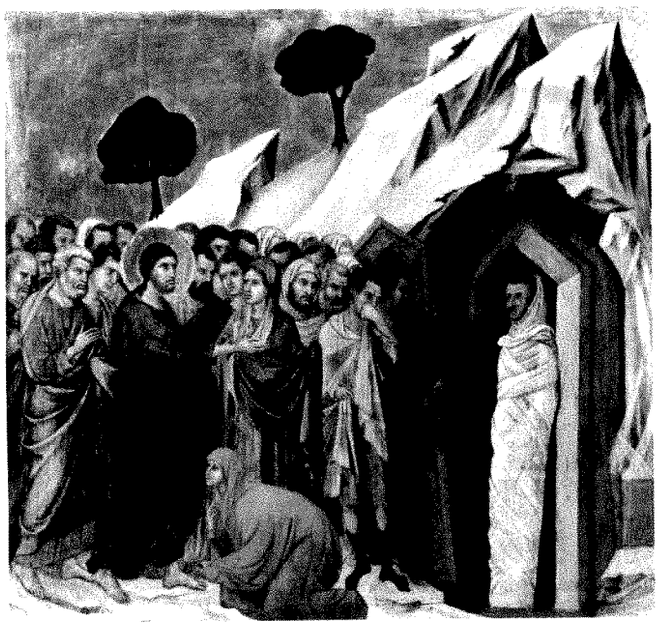
[13] Adolf Reinle, *Zeichensprache der Architektur. Symbol, Darstellung und Brauch in der Baukunst des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Zurich, 1976, 175. A. Middeldorf-Kosegarten, "Zur Bedeutung der Sieneser Domkuppel," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, XXI, 1970, 73-98.

[14] Otto Pächt, *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England*, Oxford, 1962, 1. Pächt's study is fundamental for the question faced here, although it concerns a different period of art history.

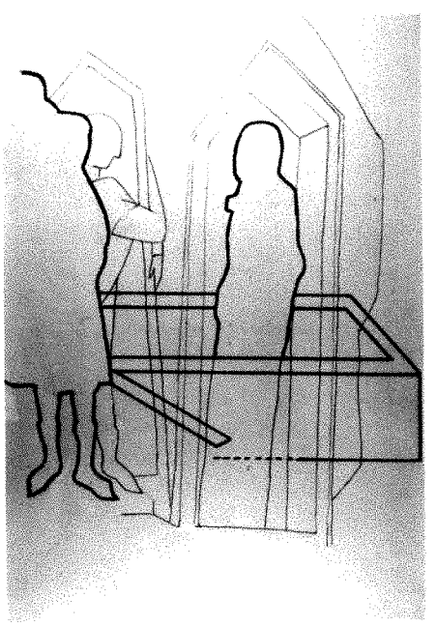
[15] Cattaneo-Baccheschi, pl. XXXI.

[16] *Ibid.*, pl. LXIII.

[17] I thank the staff of the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, for their kind assistance and help when I examined the panel in the laboratory, and for their permission to publish the results here. I am especially indebted to Ruth Sullivan and David Robb.



10 Duccio, *The Resurrection of Lazarus*. Fort Worth, Kimbell Art Museum (photo: Museum)



11 *Resurrection of Lazarus*, reconstruction of the first version

from a Western model[18] back to the older Byzantine iconography called for a different type of lid for Lazarus's sarcophagus; the new one is held in an almost vertical position by a man who had to be added for the purpose. The original group of assistants ended with the onlooker covering his nose, because Lazarus "by this time stinketh" (Fig. 10). All corrections were made with rapid broad strokes, perhaps by Duccio himself.[19] The reason for this dramatic alteration, which also comprises changes in the rocky mountains, may lie in Duccio's reconsideration of the overall composition of the back predella, most probably after the panels had been assembled with the first version of the *Resurrection of Lazarus* at the end of the predella sequence. Until Stubblebine suggested that this panel was placed on the narrow side of the altarpiece,[20] it had always been considered, and I believe rightly so, the last one in the series. The upright tomb provides a compositional and optical limit for the back predella cycle, serving as a *Schlusspunkt*. Therefore, I would be inclined to leave the panel where it was in earlier reconstructions and where it most probably made the best sense in the original context.

A third dramatic change has to be pointed out. The most revealing rethinking of a traditional pattern can be found in the Passion cycle. Let us return to it and consider Duccio's treatment of the *Entry into Jerusalem* (Fig. 12).

Because of the architectural representation of Jerusalem, the *Entry* is "a complicated composition," according to Valentiner.[21] Indeed, a careful examination of the architecture of this scene almost one meter high shows Duccio once again as a *pictor doctus* who intentionally abandoned old patterns.

Duccio insisted on placing the city on a hilltop. Starting from the bottom, we see a piece of rocky landscape. It is separated from the *via triumphalis* by a carefully built wall. An adjacent open door probably leads to the garden of Gethsemane where the Passion will start. This staging may allude to the fact that Christ is just about to cross a kind of *Scheideweg*.[22] The street he follows at this moment ends at a city-gate. The left turn of the road is accentuated by the oriel-like balcony from which a female catches a glimpse of what is going on in the street. Behind the second wall are the trees mentioned in the Gospels and over that wall other people are looking down onto the road. Above Christ's head we discover a dead tree without any leaves: an allusion to the fig tree (Matthew 21:18-20). All these elements are carefully depicted in front of a third wall over which still more people are watching Christ's *adventus*. One should note that the two inner walls start at the city gate.

The third wall is a real rampart in comparison to the other low walls. Behind it we see four buildings which look like towers. The largest one has an octagonal groundplan and spiky finials. It is so prominent and its shape so

[18] Florens Deuchler, *Der Ingeborgpsalter*, Berlin, 1967, 45, and pl. XVIII.

[19] For a different opinion, see J. H. Stubblebine, "Duccio and His Collaborators on the Cathedral *Maestà*," *Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, 185-204.

[20] J. H. Stubblebine, "The Back Predella of Duccio's *Maestà*," in *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss*, New York, 1977, 430-36.

[21] W. R. Valentiner, *Studies of Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, London, 1950, 14. In order to explain the *Entry* panel, strange statements have been made, for instance: "The *Entry into Jerusalem* shows how closely Duccio's achievement is bound to his acceptance of the Byzantine and Italo-Byzantine heritage which was almost certainly reflected in lost Byzantine or Byzantinizing manuscripts and pattern books" (White, *Art and Architecture*, 152). The same author agrees, however, that "Duccio creates an organism far beyond the reach of any earlier medieval artist."

[22] The relations to the *mise-en-scène* of medieval Mystery plays, that here for once are obvious and are particularly documented for Siena, will be extensively discussed in another context.

12 Duccio, *The Entry into Jerusalem.* Siena, Opera del Duomo

13 Guido da Siena, *The Entry into Jerusalem.* Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale

clear that earlier literature called it a "chiesa a pianta poligonale."[23] DeWald described "the presumed temple" as "a hexangular lantern ...," adding: "the architecture within the walls of the city is local Tuscan."[24] White spoke about "the temple baptistery that dominates the town" which "may well reflect ... a personal knowledge of such buildings as the baptistery at Florence."[25] These remarks describe facts, but the octagonal tower has, as will be seen, a totally different provenance.

If we look at an earlier Sienese version of the *Entry*, for example, the representation of about 1275 by Guido da Siena (Fig. 13), we become aware of the fundamental changes Duccio made.[26] Guido da Siena still applied the early medieval — not necessarily Byzantine — formula: an anonymous town consisting of a few buildings encircled by a wall. The comparison with Guido's work, however, is not sufficient to show the revolutionary novelty of Duccio's approach. His decisive break with tradition seems to lie rather in the stage-set used for the *Entry*. Since no earlier visual models exist, we have to look for textual sources that could have inspired Duccio's surprising *mise-en-scène*.

Although there are a few descriptions of Jerusalem in the Old Testament, they do not help us much. Another

[23] W. de Grüneisen, "Tradizione orientale bizantina, influssi locali ed inspirazione individuale nel ciclo cristologico della *Maestà* di Duccio," *In onore di Duccio di Buoninsegna e della sua scuola*, Siena, 1913, 10-11.

[24] Ernest T. DeWald, "Observations on Duccio's *Maestà*," in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, Princeton, 1955, 362-386, 369.

[25] White, *Art and Architecture*, 152.

[26] James H. Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena*, Princeton, 1964. A good color reproduction can be found in Piero Torriti, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena. I dipinti dal XII al XV secolo*, Genoa, 1977, 25.

text, however, read in the Middle Ages as a kind of fifth Gospel, *The Jewish War* by Flavius Josephus, provides a possible source for Duccio's inspiration.[27]

Flavius Josephus (A.D. 37/38 — after 100) deals in his *De Bello Judaico* with the Jewish-Roman conflicts that culminated in the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70. As a Jewish prisoner, Flavius was an observer on the Roman side when the city was destroyed by Titus's army. The fourth chapter of the fifth book of the *De Bello Judaico* is entirely devoted to a detailed and minute topographical description of Jerusalem and the Temple. The first sentence states that the city had three walls.[28] "The second wall took its beginning from that gate which they called *Gennath*, which belonged to the first wall." Flavius also indicates that the houses were built one on the top of the other and further says explicitly that towers were seen beyond the walls: "Now the towers that were upon it [the rampart]... were square, and solid as was the wall itself wherein the niceness of the joints, and the beauty of the stones, were no way inferior to those of the holy house itself. Above this solid altitude of the towers ... there were rooms of great magnificence, and over them upper rooms, and cisterns to receive rain-water." The third wall, according to Flavius, admirably constructed, was exceeded in beauty only by the Psephinus tower: "Now the third wall was all of it wonderful; yet most wonderful was the tower Psephinus elevated above it ... it both afforded a prospect of Arabia to the east, as well as it did of the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. Moreover, it was *octagonal*, and over against it was the tower Hippicus, and hard by two others were erected by king Herod, in the old wall." Hence, there were four distinct towers, one with an octagonal ground plan. Duccio's depiction of the *Entry into Jerusalem* becomes a real, unexpected text illustration, if we consider Flavius's description of the city.

Herod built these towers "after such an extraordinary manner, to gratify his own private affections, and dearest to him, and from whom he named them. They were his brother, his friend and his wife": Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Marianne. "The third tower was Marianne, for that was the queen's name." It was slenderer than those "denominated from men, as those were built stronger than this that bore his wife's name." In Duccio's "translation," we find the tower dedicated to Marianne on the right above the city gate.

We should note further that an octagonal structure is not the exclusive property of the Psephinus tower. According to iconographic tradition, it is also a feature of the Temple itself. Moreover, it is a compositional motif that every medieval artist knew, one that belonged to the artistic collective memory.

That Duccio was, nonetheless, an avid reader of Flavius can be demonstrated by other details in his paintings. Flavius says elsewhere that the Temple "in its front wanted nothing that was likely to surprise either men's minds or their eyes; for it was covered all over with plates of gold... But this Temple appeared to strangers, when they were coming to it at a distance, like a mountain covered with snow; for, as to those parts of it that were not gilt, they were exceeding white. On its top it had golden spikes with sharp points, to prevent any pollution of it by birds sitting upon it." Following Flavius, Duccio painted his Temple in lighter colors than the other towers.

If we assume that Flavius Josephus inspired Duccio for the depiction of Jerusalem, it may be fruitful to look for other elements in Flavius's work that could have attracted Duccio's attention. There are few textual references in the *De Bello Judaico* that throw light on the interior appearance of the Temple.[29] In Duccio's *Maestà*, two episodes take place there: the Presentation and the twelve-year-old Christ discussing with the Doctors.[30] Both scenes are exceptional, because Duccio used — and only here — gold ground in an interior. This feature is most probably based on the passages in which Flavius speaks of rich gold decoration. In his description of the Temple, Flavius also mentions monolithic columns of immaculate white marble, rich colorful decorations, and, particularly, pavements made with polychromatic stones. Such a pavement can be seen in the scene of the young *Christ in the Temple*. Not a "tappeto caucasico," as Cesare Brandi proposed in 1957,[31] it is rather a pictorial transcription of Flavius's text. The same text provides the necessary material to explain the green-red bands supporting the vaults. This color combination reappears in the delightful Temple interior in Christ's *Temptation on the Temple*.[32]

[27] Flavius Josephus, *The Great Roman-Jewish War: A.D. 66-70 (De Bello Judaico)*, trans. William Whiston, revd. D.S. Margoliouth, ed., with intro. William R. Farmer (Harper Torchbooks, LXXIV), New York, 1960, chap. IV: "The Description of Jerusalem," 194-97. See Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius-Josephus-Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter*, Leiden, 1972. Medieval copies of the *Bellum Judaicum* dating from before 1300 can be found, for instance, in the Laurenziana, Florence (Schreckenberg, 19). As far as I can see, Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scholastica* does not serve as an intermediary link (Schreckenberg, 147-49). The problem of Siena considered as a new Jerusalem will be dealt with elsewhere.

[28] Josephus, 194, § 1: "The city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls." The old wall "was hard to be taken ... it was also built very strong." All the following references to Josephus's text can be found in *ibid.*, 194-96.

[29] *Ibid.*, "A Description of the Temple," § 6, 199.

[30] Cattaneo-Baccheschi, pls. XXIX and XXXIII.

[31] Cesare Brandi, *Duccio*, Florence, 1951, 63.

[32] Cattaneo-Baccheschi, pl. LVIII.

This new look at Duccio's *Maestà* shows clearly that the painter was full of what would later be called *invenzioni*. He used, so to speak, two languages simultaneously: a late Byzantine dialect — see Christ and the disciples in the *Entry into Jerusalem* — and a new Sienese *volgare* — see the crowd in the same picture. One was no longer used in its classic form, the other was not yet evolved. The coexistence of these languages — a characteristic of all transitional periods — gave Duccio a rare freedom to move in different directions. His art combined many sources. He knew and adopted foreign formulae from French art, ivories, and book illumination; he reflected on French color schemes and stylistic trends, as we have pointed out elsewhere.[33] This means that Duccio no longer felt bound to a single iconographic or stylistic tradition: the new combinations, superimpositions, and corrections in the narrative as described above, presuppose that Duccio was deeply concerned with his work on both the artistic and the intellectual level, and this more so than any of his immediate predecessors or even his contemporaries. All these features can be fully understood and appreciated only when we introduce, *avant la lettre*, the notion of Duccio as a learned painter, Duccio *doctus*.

This new aspect of a painter's profile was dimly grasped already by Vasari who wrote in his Life of Margaritone (active until 1297) that, according to local tradition, this painter from Arezzo died disappointed and full of bitterness because he saw "that times were changing, and that the young artists got the honors" — "vedendo variata l'età e gli onori negli artefici nuovi."[34] Indeed, at the moment of Margaritone's complaints the appearance of Duccio's star was about to create a new constellation.

University of Geneva

[33] Florens Deuchler, "Duccio: zum Gold als Farbe," in *Festschrift für Albert Knoepfli (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Denkmalpflege an der Eidgenössischen Technischen Hochschule in Zürich,* IV*)* (in press).

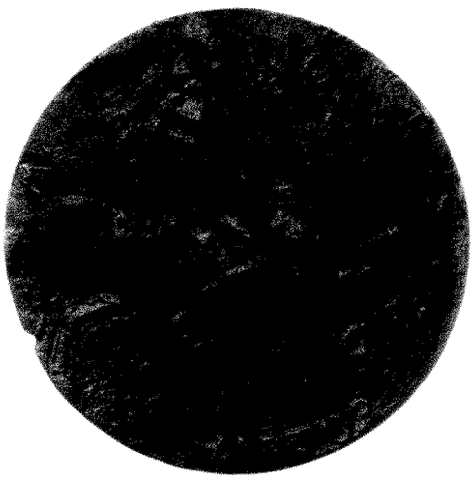
[34] Giorgio Vasari, "Margaritone," in *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. G. Milanesi, repr. Florence, 1973, I, 366.

1A Medal of Julius Caesar. Venice, Museo Civico Correr

1B Caesar on horseback (A = obverse; B = reverse)

2A Medal of Nero. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection

2B Nero seated



3A Medal of Hadrian. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection

3B Hadrian on horseback

4A Medal of Diva Faustina. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection

4B Faustina and Antoninus Pius

5A Medal of Diva Faustina. U.S.A., private collection

5B Faustina and Antoninus Pius

Filarete, the Medallist of the Roman Emperors

John R. Spencer

In memory of Charles Seymour, Jr.

A number of years ago Charles Seymour and I both became interested in the "Medallist of the Roman Emperors." This anonymous master was characterized by G. F. Hill as a Milanese active in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.[1] Seymour was motivated by the desire to attach a name to an excellent Diva Faustina by this artist in a private collection. At the same time I was searching for unrecognized medals by Filarete. The evidence of the doors of St. Peter's and references in Filarete's treatise strongly suggested that the master had made more medals

[1] *Corpus*, Nos. 731-36.

than the few traditionally ascribed to him. We both came to the conclusion that the Medallist of the Roman Emperors is Filarete. Seymour hinted broadly at his conclusion in an article in *Arte lombarda*.[2] Characteristically, he deferred full publication to one of his former students whom he knew to be working in the same area. In this study, I propose to make the identification that Charles Seymour and I both knew was demonstrable and to detail the observations that led us to this conclusion.

The artist invented by Hill, the Medallist of the Roman Emperors, is appropriately named. The subjects of the medals he grouped together are Julius Caesar, Nero, Trajan, Hadrian, and Faustina the Elder with Marcus Aurelius (Figs. 1-5). I reject as a later production the Marcus Croto that Hill associated with this group.[3] The Medallist was clearly aware of Roman coinage — especially the large denarii and contorniates. Many of his motives are drawn directly from Roman coins. He invariably includes the letters *SC* from Roman coinage, but his medals are so much larger than his models that he appears to be evoking rather than recreating ancient Rome. The reverses of the medals, unlike the obverses, are free adaptations of Roman motives and show the same heraldic-symbolic language as medals by Pisanello and Matteo de' Pasti. The Medallist was an excellent technician. His gifts as an artist were somewhat more modest. He was an antiquarian whose love for Rome was more inclusive than selective.

Hill complicated the search for the identity of the Medallist by unwittingly laying a false trail. He gave no reasons for placing the artist in Lombardy or for assigning him such a late date in the century. Although there was little to be gained in trying to outguess Hill, his assertion did prompt our fruitless search through the profile heads in roundels done in stone or terra-cotta of which late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Lombards were so fond. Although the Medallist bears some superficial resemblance to Cristoforo di Geremia da Cremona, he resembles none of the late fifteenth-century medallists active in the north of Italy. By a process of elimination, it became clear that Hill's identification was no longer useful. A new search led to Rome, the mid-century, and Filarete.

The attempt to identify the Medallist with Filarete was complicated by the restricted number of medals attributed to him. The only secure work is a self-portrait medal known only through examples in the Victoria and Albert Museum and in the Castello Sforzesco, Milan[4] (Fig. 6). The large (80 × 67mm) oval medal is excellently cast. It is generally considered to be late, ca. 1464-65, because of Filarete's wrinkled face. Whether the medal was made to court the patronage of Piero de' Medici, a well-known and avid collector of medals,[5] or of the young Duke of Milan, Galeazzo Maria Sforza, is of no particular importance for this study. We need note merely that it has been the only medal securely identified with Filarete; it is late, and it has superficially little to do with the Medallist of the Roman Emperors.[6] Nevertheless, there are assertions in Filarete's treatise that he made medals. Although the cornerstone of the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan has not yet been found, Filarete's statement that he placed "portraits of famous men"[7] in it implies that he made medals specifically for this purpose or that he had them ready in his baggage.

During the cleaning of the doors of St. Peter's in 1962, another signed medal by Filarete appeared (Figs. 7A, B). The obverse of a small (59mm) medal is let into the center of the bottom rail of the left leaf of the doors, and the reverse (57mm) occupies the same position on the right leaf. Both are cast in the same ruddy bronze of high copper content. The obverse bears a self-portrait and the legend in punched letters: ANTNIUS (*sic*)+PETRI+DE+FLORENTIA+FECIT+MCCCCXLV. In raised letters against a punched ground the reverse bears the legend: OPV/S/ANTO/NII.

This small quasi-medal has a number of interesting implications. The punched letters are identical to those in the panel on the reverse of the doors that give the date of completion, "die ultimo iulii 1445." These punches, however, seem to be the same ones used by the shop throughout the project, so they are of little value in verifying the date of execution. On the other hand, Filarete appears to be considerably older in the "Antonius et discepuli miei" panel on the reverse of the doors than he does in the medallic portrait. It is therefore unlikely that both were done in 1445. The quasi-medal is probably earlier. It depicts a younger man; it is timid in its facture, and it is closely

[2] Charles Seymour, Jr., "Some Reflections on Filarete's Use of Antique Visual Sources," *Arte lombarda*, Nos. 38/39, 1973, 36-47. Francesco Rossi, "Maffeo Olivieri e la bronzista bresciana del '500," *Arte lombarda*, Nos. 47/48, 1977, 115-134, disagrees with this conclusion. He argues (pp. 118ff) that since variations of the reverse of the Faustina medal appear on the Martinengo Tomb from S. Giulia in Brescia (now in the Museo Civico dell'Età Cristiana) and on the Marco Croto obverse, the Medallist of the Roman Emperors must be Brescian and a certain "Thomas Cal... tus" active around 1482 when he signed a medal now in Berlin. I agree that Lombard *lapicidi* active in the Pavia-Milano-Como-Bergamo-Cremona corridor (one could add Piacenza and Verona) borrowed motives from plaquettes and medals. This does not prove that they also executed medals. Even though they also borrowed from engravings and drawings (as well as antique gems and coins), no one would propose that the *lapicidi* were also printmakers. I would argue instead that the Martinengo Tomb is but one more example of Filarete's influence in Lombardy and neighboring Venetian territory.

[3] *Corpus*, No. 736.

[4] *Corpus*, No. 905.

[5] An inventory of Piero de' Medici's collection taken in 1456 includes 300 medals in silver, 53 in gold, and 37 in bronze (Archivio dello Stato, Firenze. Carteggio mediceo avanti il principiato, filza 162).

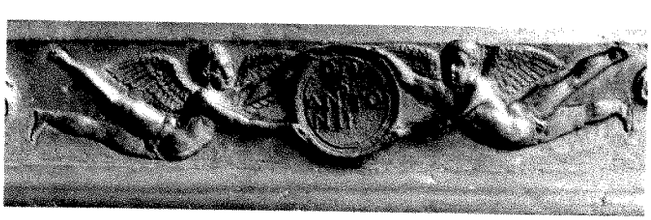
[6] I have not been able to see the Filelfo medal attributed by Hill to Filarete, but from photographs the attribution seems doubtful.

[7] *Filarete's Treatise on Architecture*, trans. J. R. Spencer, 2 vols., New Haven, Yale University Press, 1965, I, 145.

6A Self-Portrait. Medal of Filarete, Milan, Castello Sforzesco (photo: Maria Perotti)

6B Filarete's device (photo: Maria Perotti)

7A Self-Portrait of Filarete. Rome, St. Peter's Basilica, central doors (photo: Vasari)



7B Signature inscription (photo: Vasari)

related in size and material to its probable source in a Roman denarius. In all probability, it was cast before 1445, perhaps even shortly after Filarete's arrival in Rome, and dated only when the elements of the doors were being assembled. Such an interpretation would conform to Paolo di Liello Petrone's statement that "he who had them [the doors] made and he who made them could be known through their names and portraits."[8] In such a case, the three self-portraits would form a sequence of before 1445, 1445, and ca. 1465, with the self-portrait medals at the beginning and the end of Filarete's career and the dated panel toward the middle.

The medallic roundels of the doors of St. Peter's must also be considered in this context. These profile heads of famous men and women of antiquity, as well as a few moderns, are set within circular loops of the acanthus leaves on the frames of the doors (Figs. 10-14). They range in size from approximately 120mm to 140mm. In size and appearance, they closely resemble medals of the same date. One is tempted to believe that they were created independently in wax, as a medal would be, and then combined with the other elements of the frame for final casting. Unfortunately, there is no visual evidence to confirm this assumption. While the doors were being cleaned in 1962, I

[8] Mesticanza di Paolo di Liello Petrone in *Rerum Italicorum Scriptores*, ed. Ludovico Muratori, Milan, 1723-1751, XXIV, col. 1128.

8 Filarete, *Odysseos and Iros*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

9 Detail of Nero. *Martyrdom of Saint Paul*. Rome, St. Peter's Basilica, central doors (photo: Vasari)

examined each of the roundels and could find no indications of either imperfect junctures or tool marks that had carried over from the wax to the bronze. However they were created, these medallic profile heads, together with the two self-portrait medals, provide the best means for comparing Filarete with the Medallist of the Roman Emperors.

The securest means of comparing the known and the unknown artists are provided by epigraphy and formal elements of design. There are a number of motives that appear with frequency on the doors and that recur in securely attributed works such as the plaque of *Odysseos and Iros* in Vienna (Fig. 8). Filarete apparently favored punched or incised inscriptions to cast, raised letters, but there are enough of the latter on the bronze doors to make comparison possible.

Filarete's epigraphy in raised letters is individual and cannot readily be confused with that of any of his contemporaries. Pisanello preferred sans-serif lettering: Filarete used the serif throughout his known inscriptions. Pisanello's *M* is straight-sided; Filarete's slopes outward and is somewhat similar to Matteo de' Pasti's sans-serif *M*. The letter *A* is also quite distinctive among the three. The epigraphy of the doors, however, is virtually identical to that of the Medallist. The letters *I,M,N,P,* and *V* are all formed in the same way. The inscription beneath Nero in the *Martyrdom of Saint Peter* from the doors is very close to the same word on the Nero medal (Figs. 2 and 9). The same epigraphy occurs in the *Odysseos and Iros* plaque. Although this plaque is not signed, its attribution to Filarete has never been questioned.

The most convincing parallels are between the profile heads in the roundels from the doors and the production of the Medallist. As I have already indicated,[9] there are some problems with identifying Filarete's hand in parts of the doors. One group of profile heads, however, can be characterized by their small, rounded chins, by a neck modeled slightly or not at all, by pursed lips, by blank staring eyes, and an unusual nose (Figs. 10-14). The slope of the nose is created by a raised ridge in the relief. It forms almost a right triangle with the face and it has a characteristic return curve for the nostril. The same characteristics can be found to a lesser extent in the late self-portrait medal (Fig. 6) and most markedly in the obverse of the medals by the Medallist of the Roman Emperors. The head of Julius Caesar (Fig. 1) is very close to a laureate head from the left stile of the right leaf of the

[9] See my contribution to the volume in honor of Charles Seymour, *Collaboration in Italian Renaissance Art*, ed. Wendy Steadman Sheard and John T. Paoletti, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1978, esp. 33-38.

10 Laureate male head, detail of left stile, right leaf, central doors. Rome St. Peter's (photo: Vasari)

12 Laureate male head, detail of right stile, right leaf (photo: Vasari)

11 Female head, detail of left stile, right leaf (photo: Vasari)

13 Laureate male head, detail of right stile, left leaf (photo: Vasari)

14 Male head (self-portrait?), detail of left stile, left leaf (photo: Vasari)

bronze doors (Fig. 10). The Nero medal (Fig. 2) would appear to be an enlargement of the Nero in the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* panel (Fig. 15). A female head from the left stile of the right leaf (Fig. 11) is very close to the Diva Faustina (Fig. 4) and almost seems to stand as an intermediary between a Roman coin and the medal.[10]

In addition, there are a number of motives common to the medals and to the doors. The vase on the reverse of the Nero medal (Fig. 2B) recalls the *vas electionis* of the Saint Paul panel on the doors (Fig. 16), and the nude male recalls the figure from the frame who I believe represents the Birth of Adonis. The helmet worn by the emperor on the Hadrian obverse (Fig. 3A) and appearing beneath the horse on the reverse of the Julius Caesar medal (Fig. 1B) can be found over the head of Nero in the *Martyrdom of Saint Peter* (Fig. 9), among the trophies in the *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* (Fig. 15), and under the hoof of the horse in the signed *Marcus Aurelius* in Dresden (Fig. 17).

The weight of evidence led Seymour and me to conclude that the Medallist of the Roman Emperors is Filarete. A careful consideration of the members of the shop and of the various hands at work on the doors leads to the conclusion that we are not dealing with one of the more promising shop assistants but with the master himself. Filarete was an excellent bronze founder. All of his signed or securely attributed works on a small scale are almost flawless. So are these medals. Epigraphy, forms, and technique all point to Filarete.

In all probability, the medals were cast toward the end of Filarete's stay in Rome. They show considerable artistic advance over the profile heads on the doors which were finished and in place by mid-1445. Filarete was expelled from Rome shortly before February, 1449.[11] He apparently returned home to Florence and traveled to Venice by way of Rimini. The processional Cross at Bassano is signed and dated 1449.[12] He was probably expelled from Venice with other Florentines in December, 1449.[13] He is documented in Milan in September, 1451, but he probably entered the city with Francesco Sforza on February 25, 1450 or shortly thereafter, for the artist refers to work on the Palazzo Azzone in his treatise.[14] From 1450, Filarete was engaged almost exclusively with architecture. Since the medals appear to be quite a bit earlier than the late self-portrait, it is most probable that they were created in Rome prior to Filarete's expulsion in 1449 and after the completion of the doors in 1445. The influence of Roman coins is still very strong. It is almost absent in the late medal. The medals seem to reflect the same view of ancient Rome as the doors. These works, then, increase Filarete's secure production from two medals to seven. If they were executed between 1445 and 1449, as we believe, then they are precisely contemporary with Pisanello's dated medals. Filarete would then be joined to Pisanello as one of the earliest fifteenth-century practitioners of the art. More important, if the assumptions made above are acceptable, the attribution fits a sequence of medals in Filarete's career, from the early quasi-medal on the doors, through the Emperor series, to the late self portrait. Among these early medallists, it is unusual to be able to establish a sequence from early to late work and to observe the development of the artist.

Duke University

[10] Francesco Gnecchi, *I Medaglioni Romani*, Milan, 1912, II, 133, No. 1, and 139, No. 1 for similar Diva Faustina coins.

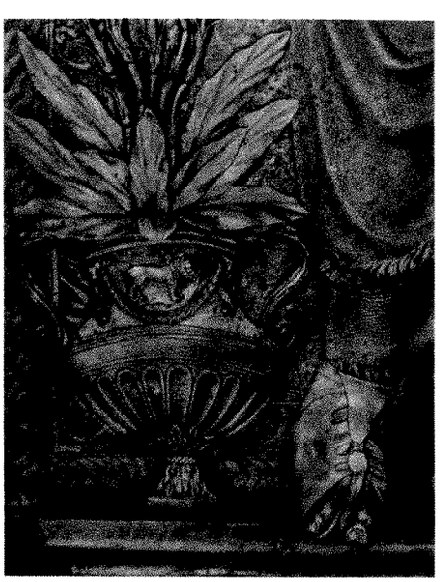
[11] Eugène Müntz, "Les Arts à la cour des papes," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, IX, 1889, 134-173, esp. 135-36.

[12] Giuseppe Gerola, "Una Croce processionale del Filarete a Bassano," *L'Arte*, IX, 1906, 292-96.

[13] Marino Sanuto, "Vita de Duchi di Venezia," *Rerum Italicorum Scriptores*, XXII, col. 1136.

[14] Filarete's treatise, p. 12 and note.

15 Nero, detail of *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* (photo: Vasari)



16 *Vas electionis*, detail of *Martyrdom of Saint Paul* (photo: Vasari)

17 Filarete, *Marcus Aurelius*. Dresden, Albertinum

Bibliography of Frequently Cited Sources

Cennini, Cennino d'Andrea, *The Craftsman's Handbook*, trans. D.V. Thompson, New Haven, 1933.

Cohen, Henry, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, 8 vols., 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1930. Reference is to Cohen's numerical sequence under each emperor or member of the imperial family.

Hill, George Francis, *A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance Before Cellini*, 2 vols., London, British Museum, 1930.

Hill, G.F., and Graham Pollard, *Renaissance Medals from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the National Gallery of Art*, London, 1967.

Appendix I

The Medals

Since the medals have been fully described by G.F. Hill and those in the Kress Collection by Graham Pollard,[15] there are only a few points that I should like to add on their observable characteristics and their sources. Thanks to the kindness and patience of Douglas Lewis of the National Gallery, Washington, and the staff of the Museo Civico Correr, Venice, I have held and studied under magnification all of them, except the Trajan medal in Berlin. The Julius Caesar, Faustina, and Trajan have a number of characteristics in common. The Hadrian differs in one way; the Marco Croto in another.

I find it difficult to accept the Croto medal as a part of this group. The profile head of the obverse is quite different in style from the reverse. The obverse appears to have been made very late in the 15th century or early in the 16th. The reverse, however, is somewhat reminiscent of the Medallist and apparently 15th-century in style. The lettering differs from that normally used by the Medallist. The horseman is something of a commonplace and difficult to assign to any one artist. Neither face seems to have much to do with Filarete. Since a cast of only the reverse exists in the Kress Collection (205bis), it is possible that an old reverse was combined with a new obverse sometime in the 16th century or perhaps even later.

The Hadrian medal is so close to the other medals and to Filarete that it is difficult to exclude. Its physical characteristics, however, set it apart. All the medals of this group have approximately the same diameter, 110-114mm, and the same thickness. The Hadrian, unlike the others, is in very low relief. The medal is 11mm thick, of which only 4mm is occupied by the relief of the obverse and reverse combined. In this respect, it is much like a very large coin with low relief and a very thick body. The

[15] Hill and Pollard, *passim*.

Nero and Faustina medals are 14mm thick, of which the total relief occupies 9mm. The contrast is striking. The Hadrian medal in the Kress Collection also exhibits a number of flaws. There are a number of small air bubbles visible under magnification and one repair. A larger flaw occurs near the rim between *P.P.P.* and *SC*, at about 3:15 on the clock. The flaw was squared up and a rectangular bronze plug was inserted and filed down.

All of the medals of this artist in the Kress Collection are remarkably well made. The Diva Faustina in the private collection is superb; the same medal in the Molinari Collection at Bowdoin shows the greatest reworking of the surfaces. In general, casting flaws, such as air bubbles, show only under high magnification. The letters *A* and *G* were difficult for the artist and they show some roughness wherever they appear. In general, the letters are very sharp and only the *C* in the *SC* of the Nero reverse reveals the wax from which it was modeled. File marks are few and have probably been eroded with age and handling. Some chasing can be seen along the nose of Faustina in the obverse of the Diva Faustina medal in the National Gallery. The surfaces are remarkably uniform and often quite subtle in their transitions. All of Filarete's certain works, however, reveal a high degree of technical proficiency.

The sources for the medals are quite another matter. The medals are in no way accurate reproductions or forgeries of Roman large denarii or contorniates. The profile portraits of the obverses, except for the Hadrian medal, derive from well-known Roman coins. In the case of the Faustina, at least, a progression can be observed from the coinage of Faustina (with a few characteristics from Faustina the Younger) to the female types of the doors to the Faustina medal. The reverses are even more loosely based on Roman models, but the legends contain enough errors to have cost a Roman moneyer his job if not his head. Filarete is not striving to produce a convincing forgery. His medals are more or less "in the manner of." In the obverses, he is attempting to evoke the grandeur of Rome. On the reverse, he recombines elements from Roman coinage in an un-Roman manner. He has not yet moved to the arcane devices or enigmatic riddles of Pisanello and later medallists.

JULIUS CAESAR

113mm, lead, unique. Museo Correr, Venice.

Corpus, 731.

Obverse: there are no known examples of Julius Caesar so armed *all'antica* in Roman coinage.

Reverse: the armed rider on a galloping horse appears with wide variations in Roman coinage from the time of Augustus on. This example is more late medieval or Early Renaissance than ancient. It is very close to the bronze doors of St. Peter's.

NERO

114mm, bronze.

Corpus, 732; Pollard, 202.

Obverse: the laureate head is close to a number of coins. The armor is not.

The inscription NERO CLAVD IMP CAES AVG COS VII PP is incorrect. Nero was Consul five times and not seven. This legend is not found on any coin listed by Cohen.[16]

The more common inscriptions are: NERO CAES AVG IMP or P MAX and IMP NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERM, which can conclude with P.M.TR. P. IMP. P.P. or with AVG.P.MAX.TR.P.P.P.

Reverse: a seated Nero is not uncommon on Roman coinage but never in a composition of this type. The nude young man is probably to be read as standing behind the vase. His arm gesture suggests that in coinage from all reigns depicting the rendering of tribute by a conquered nation. The work bears some slight relation to a Hadrianic coin commemorating a visit to Gaul (Cohen, *Hadrian*, 31).

TRAJAN

111mm, bronze.

Corpus, 733.

Obverse: like Nero, the laureate head and paludamentum refer to Roman coinage. The armor does not.

The legend IMP CAES. TRAINO PRI AVG GERM DACICO COS VI PP contains no errors but it does not follow known examples precisely. The more common legends on Trajanic coinage are: IMP. CAES. NER. TRAINO OPTIMO (sometimes OPTIM) AVG.GER. DAC. PARTHICO P.M. TR. P. COS VI P.P. DACICUS, not DACICO, exists (Cohen, *Trajan*, 597-606) on COS V coins.

Reverse: the reverse seems to be suggested by the reverse of an Augustan coin (Cohen, 229-230) depicting Augustus and Victory in a chariot drawn by two elephants, the whole atop a triumphal arch. It is closer to a Renaissance triumph, however. The legend OPTIMO PRINCIPI AVG SC is partly correct. The normal legend on a coin is SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI SC. It can occur without SC but never without SPQR.

HADRIAN

102mm, bronze.

Corpus, 734; Pollard, 203.

Obverse: the Hadrianic portrait is purely fanciful.

The legend, ADRIANVS AVG COS III PPP, is not so incorrect as it appears. Of course, no Roman moneyer would have spelled Hadrianus without the initial H, yet almost 40% of known Hadrianic coinage has on the obverse the legend HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P.P. (Cohen lists 1510 examples, of which 599 bear the legend cited here.)

Reverse: the horseman is a free variation on seven reverse types of Hadrianic coins depicting the emperor galloping right. The legend MARS VIPTOR (read VICTOR) might be related to the legend MARS VLTORI on coinage from the reign of Antoninus Pius. More probably it is of the artist's invention.

DIVA FAUSTINA

110mm, bronze.

Corpus, 735 (with variants); Pollard, 204. To these should be added Molinari Collection, Bowdoin College, No. 15; private collection, USA.

Obverse: as stated above, the depiction of the Empress is quite close to her coinage and to the figures on the doors of St. Peter's. As Hill points out, there are two variations of the legend: DIVA FAGVSTA DIVAE FAGVSTIN corrected to DIVA AVGVSTA DIVAE FAVSTINA in the second version. The coinage from the reign of Antoninus Pius depicting his empress bears the legend DIVA FAVSTINA or DIVA AVG FAVSTINA. One (Cohen, 19) has the legend DIVAE FAVSTINAE.

FAGVSTA may have been the result of confusion with a coin such as the one issued by Titus for his daughter Julia (Cohen, 2) which has the legend IVLIA IMP. T. AVG. F. AVGVSTA.

Reverse: the reverse poses problems similar to the obverse. One group of medals bears the legend, DIVA FAGVSTIN/A DIV/O ANTONIN and the other, DIVA FAVSTIN ADIV SANTONINVS. Rossi[17] identifies a parallel composition from the Martinengo Tomb as a symbol of conjugal love. Such may be the intent of this medal, but the composition has no antique precedent other than the biography of the Imperial couple. There are a number of Concordia coins in which two standing figures join right hands. Another group depicts the figure of Concord seated and holding out an object (often a Victory) in one hand. Perhaps Filarete has made of this a double Concord with obvious references to the marital concord between Antoninus and Faustina. At this point, one can only conjecture on Filarete's meaning.

A summary of the sources for the medals does indicate the artist's knowledge of Roman portrait types for the obverse and of Roman motives that are freely translated for the reverse. In his treatise, Filarete enjoys presenting his reader with easily solved puzzles and riddles. I do not think these reverses are so much conundrums as personal interpretations of the *virtù* of the personages on the obverses.

[16] Cohen, *passim*.

[17] Rossi, see n. 2.

18 Detail of Fig. 5A

19A Matteo de' Pasti, Medal of Sigismondo Malatesta (detail). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

19B Detail of reverse

Appendix II

On the Manufacture of Renaissance Medals

This particular group of medals has a number of important implications for our understanding of the manufacture of Renaissance medals. The Diva Faustina, for example, reveals that a method existed for correcting "typographical errors." The compositions remain unaltered while the legend is corrected. The same procedure was used by Matteo de' Pasti. One wonders how it worked. Secondly, the early self-portrait on the doors indicates that it was possible to cast obverse and reverse separately. There are a very few examples extant of either an obverse or a reverse existing separately, although there are a number of examples of recombination of obverses and reverses, particularly in the work of Matteo de' Pasti.[18] Charles Seymour always urged his students to draw out the full implications of the works of art under study. Such a procedure applied to this group of medals and some anomalous medals by Matteo de' Pasti can provide greater insight into the way Renaissance medals were made.

An understanding of the manufacture of these medals requires us to suspend traditional explanations and to concentrate on the medals themselves, on the few textual references to them, and on what little is known of Renaissance shop techniques. It is quite likely that some medals were struck. Michelozzo, for example, worked for the Florentine mint where he no doubt cut iron or steel dies that were capable of striking fairly complicated designs, particularly on soft metals such as gold or silver. Only in the last quarter of the 15th century do we begin to encounter medals of coin size in bronze that may have been struck. Most medals made during the first three quarters of the century were most certainly cast. Since the number of examples of extant medals often occurs in tens, it is possible that they were made in series, conceivably numbering as high as 100. The inventory of Piero de' Medici proves the existence of medals in gold and silver, and the large number of extant medals in bronze suggests that many more were made than have survived. Since die striking was not commonly employed in the manufacture of medals and since they appear to have been made in rather large editions, we are left with a search for a method that will permit a large number of casts from a single model. Traditional (and oral) wisdom has it that the medal, both obverse and reverse, was modeled in wax and a mold of the whole was created by the lost wax process. Such a procedure, while normal for unique bronzes in the round, seems impractical for medals and, moreover, it does not explain the anomalies in extant medals.

Texts are little more help. Cennino Cennini tells us how to melt sulphur to take the impression of a medal or seal.[19] Since sulphur melts at 119°C, lead at 327°C, and bronze around 700 to 1060°C, depending on copper content, sulphur is out of the question as a mold for medals in series. To make a plaster model from the sulphur would require yet another step to make the mold and a fourth step to create the bronze cast. The process seems too complicated to be practical. The probability of loss from original to reproduction is also increased. In his description on how to cast gesso reliefs,[20] Cennino probably provides the best hint. A mold is taken in clay. When it is dry, it is well oiled and a gesso cast is made. Such a casting is a relief and not fully in the round. It is adequate for casting one face of a medal. I have not tried Cennino's method of employing ashes and salt for casting, but again he is speaking of a relief

[18] *Corpus*, Nos. 168, 169, 171 and esp. 173, 176-80.

[19] Cennini, 130-31.

[20] *Ibid.*, 129-30.

since he uses the words "seals, medals, little figures, coins."[21] Cennini, then, recommends molds of clay or of a kind of plaster. Both create reliefs. Neither explains how to make a medal.

Since sand casting was not known in the 15th century, we are obliged to assume that some variant of the lost wax process was used to create medals. I have made a few experiments that I am satisfied conform to what was available in both technique and material to a 15th-century sculptor. The results were crude even by 15th-century standards, and I did succeed, by accident, in making a 15th-century mistake. Fifteenth-century instructions in this method might read something like this.

Take a wafer of good wax as regularly round as you wish. A diameter of 105 to 115mm seems to be fairly standard. The wafer should be convex, 15mm thick at its center and about 10mm thick at the edge (orlo). This is thicker than you will need, but if you make it any thinner the wax will break, since it is quite fragile. If you have some doubt of controlling the depth of the relief you wish to carve, make one wafer of white wax 5mm thick and another convex one of whatever color you wish. They can be joined by running a hot spatula over the white wax and joining the two while the wax is liquid. Once you have cut through the colored wax, you will know that you have reached the desired depth of your relief. Cast another wafer of exactly the same dimensions and set it aside.

Affix the first wafer to a board with hot drops of wax. With your compasses find the center of the wafer and mark it. Then with the compasses be certain your wafer is perfectly round. Make any corrections that are necessary. Adjust the compasses and inscribe a light line around the circumference where your inscription is to go. Then with your tools carve the inscription in relief. A burin is a good tool to use, as are the small loops that sculptors in clay use to remove excess from their work. A small spatula will also prove useful. Antonio di Piero Averlino, a Florentine, suggests that you can "quicken" the surfaces of your tools with a little quicksilver. This is a useful thing to know. The letters of your inscription can now be easily carved in relief by removing excess wax from around them to a depth you have predetermined.

By warming the burin in the flame of a candle, you can make the letters sharper and you can also more readily make the hole in the letters *B*,*P*, and *R*. If you use a tool heated in a candle flame, however, it will blacken the wax, so perhaps it would be better to make all the wax black by adding lamp black to the molten wax when making the wafer. With the burin you can easily form most of the letters. A hot burin will easily make the arms of an *E*. *G* is very difficult to make. I recommend that you follow the example of Pisanello and omit the cross bar. If you should ruin a letter, do not be distressed. Remove it down to the layer of white wax, and then build it up again with colored wax, using your spatula. Once it is cooled, you can begin again on the broken letter.

When the inscription is completed, carve the head of whatever famous man or woman you choose, correcting your errors and working carefully as with the inscription. Set this wafer aside. It will be your obverse. Smooth the wax as carefully as you can, but do not be disturbed by the tool marks. We will correct this later.

The other wafer will be your reverse. Carve in it whatever inscription or emblem the patron desires. Carve on it also your name and the date so that your fame can live on along with his and so that those who come after can know the name of him who did this and when.

When you have finished both obverse and reverse in wax, you will find that they are too thick for the finished work. You can either leave the wax model attached to the board and build up around it with sheets of wax or copper as Cennini suggests, or the wax model can be removed from the board and imbedded in a block of soft clay to the depth you wish. The clay should be carefully smoothed and perfectly level. Next make a small frame of wood or whatever material you have at hand. It should be square and at least 10cm greater in breadth and length than the circumference of your wax. The sides can be 5cm high, more or less as you wish. Using string from corner to corner, make sure the center of the frame is directly over the center of your wax model. Geometry is a useful thing to know. When the frame is perfectly squared up, mark its outside perimeter on the board so you can easily find the correct position again in case of accident. Also trace around your wax. Then oil the board to which your wax is attached and the sides of the frame. An inexpensive cooking oil and a small brush serve admirably.

Now put a quantity of water in a container. Slowly add to it a fine quality of plaster of Paris a small bit at a time. Mix it vigorously. It should be smooth and liquid like cream. Pour it over the wax you have made, making sure that it is well covered. Two to three centimeters of plaster is probably enough. Let it dry for half an hour or so. With the spatula gently separate the plaster from the frame. Remove the plaster and set aside to dry thoroughly. The wax should come off the board with the plaster. Now prepare the other wax in the same way, using the guide marks from your first cast. Set both plaster molds aside in a dry place until all the water has gone out of them. You may now gently insert the point of a pen knife under your wax. Gently lift. The wax will break, but you can remove most of it in this way. Then place the plaster mold near enough to the fire to melt out all the remaining wax. You can make small corrections in the plaster, but I do not advise it.

Warm the plaster molds near the fire. Melt a quantity of lead and fill each mold to the depth you wish. [Even though the wax model is too thick to make a joined obverse and reverse with the same dimensions as a Renaissance medal, the artist has the opportunity to reduce thickness at this point by the amount of lead he pours into the mold. He can also recreate the wax in lead and then adjust the thickness of the finished medal by imbedding the mold to a greater or lesser degree in clay or plaster. From this he can make the series of molds that come later.] When the lead has cooled, it can easily be lifted or dumped out of the mold. If your plaster was good and strong, it should not be damaged.

Now with your burin you can sharpen the letters as you could not do in the wax. With a file or with a cloth and fine pumice you can polish the lead and remove all traces of the tool marks left in the wax. If the plaster has not been damaged, you can make a quantity of leads in this manner. You now have your wax model in lead. It is more durable than wax and it can be polished as the wax cannot. From it you can make as many molds as you wish in clay or in plaster or in gesso. You can combine a different obverse and reverse in the molds or you can cast one or the other separately, if there should be some need. It is well to preserve these leads carefully, for they can be very useful.

To make a mold from the lead model, place the lead on the board where you had your wax. Stick it down with wax. Place the frame on the same marks and check that everything is perfectly centered. This is very important. With wax build up a half cone with its apex at the model and its base at the frame. This will be your gate for pouring. Do not forget to make vents with wax so the air can escape from your mold. You may wish to oil the model lightly and the interior of the frame. Do not oil the

[21] *Ibid.*, 131.

board, since this will slow the drying of the mold. [Modern ceramists use plaster batts to draw water out of clay. A similar process could have been used here.] Now cover the model with a fluid clay slip. Over this place the usual mixture of clay and horse dung or straw chopped fine that is used in bronze casting. When the mixture has dried enough, remove the lead, check the mold for correctness, and repeat the procedure for the reverse.

You are now ready to cast the medal. Remove the wax from the gate and the vents of each mold. Enlarge them if necessary. Bind the two molds tightly together, making certain they are even on all sides. Melt enough bronze or whatever metal you wish and fill all the molds. When the bronze is cool, knock the molds apart. Only a minimum of filing and chasing should be necessary. If your molds were correctly aligned and the models correctly centered, the results will look like this (Fig. 18). If you have not centered the models correctly in the mold or if the molds were not correctly aligned, it will look like this (Fig. 19 A and B).

If you wish to change a legend from, for example, C. Generalis to Capitanus G. or to correct a spelling from Fagustina to Faustina, cast wax in the appropriate clay mold. When the wax is cooled, peel or wash the clay from it, make your corrections and proceed as before.

The technique described above is based on the researches of G.F. Hill, E. Maclagen, and Georg Habich.[22] Their remarks seem to apply best to 16th-century medals and to a few late 15th-century examples. They are less applicable to the earliest 15th-century medals. I find it much more difficult to build up a letter in wax as Hill proposes than to carve it out of the wax in a subtractive process. Neither can I accept carving the design *in cavo* into plaster or soft stone, when there are other, simpler and equally satisfactory techniques. The method I have described does permit correction of errors in inscriptions and offers a means for changing inscriptions without altering the composition, as can be observed in both Filarete and Matteo de' Pasti. Movable type or *in cavo* punches are not really necessary. My method also serves to explain the recombination of obverse and reverse in Matteo de' Pasti's medals and the existence of some single-face medals, from Filarete's self-portrait medal on the doors in Rome on into the 16th century. The Matteo de' Pasti medal of Sigismondo in the Walters Art Gallery proves the existence of a mold made up of obverse and reverse. Small errors in casting of the type seen in this medal would normally have been filed down. Many surviving medals are not perfectly circular. We could speculate that the Walters medal may have been intended for a cornerstone and hence was not finished as carefully as one intended for distribution. It is possible that the two-sided leads that exist may have been cast as a sort of artist's proof, which explains their rarity. The one-sided leads, which were patterns for the molds, have apparently disappeared, probably having been melted down when their usefulness was past.

[22] G.F. Hill, "Notes on Italian Medals, VI," *Burlington Magazine*, 1909, 31-35, and "Notes on Italian Medals, xxv-xxvi," *Burlington Magazine*, 1917, 178-81, 211-17. G.F. Hill, *Medals of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1920; see also the review of this book by E. Maclagan, *Burlington Magazine*, 1920, 106ff. Georg Habich, *Die Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance*, Berlin, n.d. (1922).

A Dionysiac Connection in an Early Rubens

Frances Huemer

In the seventeenth century, Bellori wrote in his life of Rubens that while the Flemish artist was in Italy (1600-08) he was given a commission to paint a *Hercules and Omphale* and a *Death of Adonis* for the Genoese merchant Giovanni Vincenzo Imperiale. In 1672, Bellori would have known the paintings because by that time they were in the collection of Queen Christina of Sweden, in the Palazzo Riario in Rome, and he was her secretary. Some forty years ago (1932), Charles Sterling rediscovered the *Hercules and Omphale* in the Louvre reserve, and he then collaborated with Ludwig Burchard (1937) to establish the painting as the one mentioned by Bellori (Figs. 1 and 2).[1] Their conclusions have been accepted unanimously by Rubens scholars. More concerned with the attribution and provenance of the painting, they did not pay special attention to its subject.

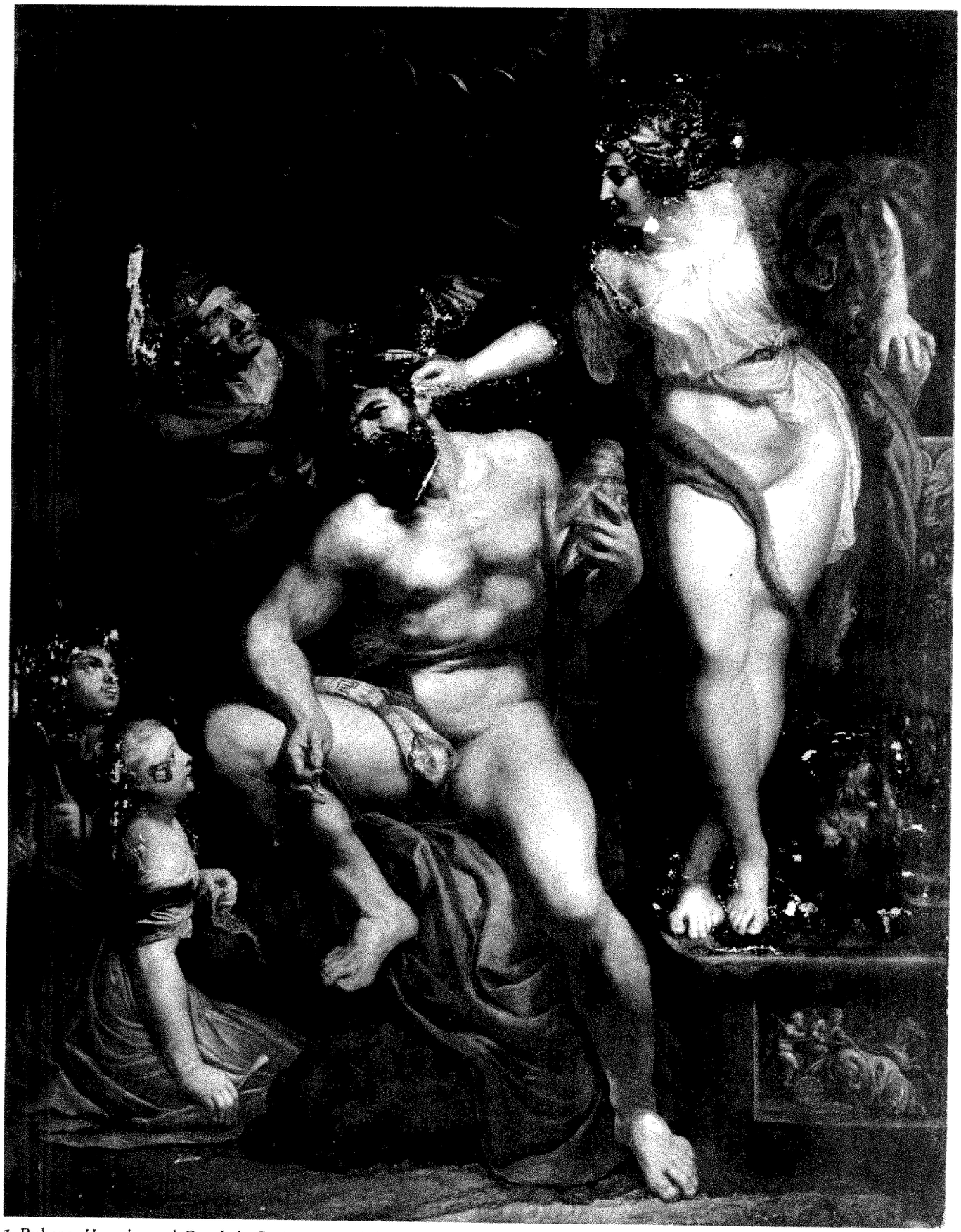
Since scholars have reinterpreted the myth in a number of Renaissance paintings in recent years, I would like to reconsider the meaning of the Louvre painting. Sterling's description follows, freely translated:

> The scene takes place in a garden. In the background, to the left, there is dark foliage, and in the center there is a stone niche with a bust of Pan. Hercules, subjugated by the charms of Omphale, is completely humiliated. The beautiful queen has forced him to renounce his virility, to spin with distaff and thread, and to wear a striped band on his head. Seated on a rock covered with red drapery, the hero twists in pain as Omphale pulls his ear. The young Lydian queen stands, with crossed legs, on a socle surmounted by a colonnette, which may be a fountain. She leans on the club of the hero. Her sumptuous red hair is woven with twisted pearls, and the skin of the Nemean lion is thrown carelessly over her shoulder. Her tunic of soft white folds reveals the whiteness of her belly, and the divine navel, alluding to the beauty's name. At her feet a small white dog jumps up and bites the lion skin. Behind Hercules an old servant, dressed in brown, shuttle in hand, watches with apprehension the dangerous game her mistress plays. Two small girls seated on the ground — one blond in orange and mauve, the other brunette in dark blue — have ceased their embroidery (*sic*) to watch. Thus, one finds together women of all ages assisting in the defeat of the strongest of men. And a relief on the socle on which Omphale stands shows blindfolded amors, who drive a chariot in a mad race where the horses stumble — an eloquent resumé of the meaning of the painting, blind passion leading to a fall.[2]

[1] Charles Sterling, "I. — La Découverte et l'histoire d'une oeuvre inconnu de Rubens," and Ludwig Burchard, "II. — L'Histoire de l'oeuvre," *L'Amour de l'art*, x, 1937, 285-292, and 293-95. The provenance was established by Burchard. From the heirs of Giovanni Vincenzo Imperiale, the painting went in 1661 to Carlo II Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua. By 1672, it was in the Palazzo Riario in Rome in the collection of Queen Christina. At her death in 1689, it went to Don Livio Odescalchi, Duke of Bracciano. After the negotiations of Pierre Crozat begun in 1714, it was sold in 1721 to Philippe of Orleans, future regent of France. In 1727, the two paintings were described by Dubois de Saint-Gelais as being in the Palais Royal. The *Hercules and Omphale* probably remained in the Palais Royal until it was transferred to the Louvre (see Sterling). Sterling dated the painting 1602-05/06, Burchard pre-1603. Hans G. Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk*, Brussels, 1943, 113, n. 17, dated it 1606. More recently, it was dated 1602 by Horst Gerson in E. H. Ter Kuile — Horst Gerson, *Art in Belgium 1600-1800*, Harmondsworth, 1960, 74, and Justus Müller Hofstede, "Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahre," *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Würtemberg*, II, 1965, 89-154; Frans Baudouin dates it 1601-02 in "Deux tableaux de Rubens de la collection de la reine Christine: 'Hercule et Omphale' et 'La mort d'Adonis.'" *Queen Christina of Sweden, Documents and Studies, Analecta Reginensia, I*, Stockholm, 1966, 20-32. The painting is presently being restored. The photographs used here were made in 1937. Recent photographs are too dark to be useful.

[2] Sterling, 285:

La scène se passe dans un jardin. On aperçoit à gauche, dans le fond, de sombres frondaisons et une niche en pierre abritant un buste de Pan. Hercule subjugué par les charmes d'Omphale est au comble de l'humiliation. La belle l'a forcé à renoncer à toute fierté virile, à manier la quenouille et le fil, à parer sa tête d'une étoffe bigarrée. Assis sur un rocher que recouvre une draperie rouge, le héros se tord de douleur au moment où Omphale lui pince l'oreille. La jeune reine de Lydie se tient debout, les jambes croisées, sur un socle de marbre que surmonte une colonnette — peut-être une fontaine monumentale; elle s'appuie de la main gauche sur la massue de héros. Sa somptueuse chevelure rousse se rehausse de torsades de perles, la peau du lion de Némée est jetée sur ses épaules, sa tunique aux plis menus et souples laisse à découvert les lisses blancheurs de son ventre et le divin nombril, allusion au nom de la belle. A ses pieds, un petit chien blanc dressé sur ses pattes de derrière, mordille un lambeau de la peau. Derrière Hercule, une vieille servante, vêtue de brun, suit avec quelque angoisse, l'écheveau à la main, le jeu dangereux de sa maîtresse. Deux petites filles assises à terre ne témoignent pas moins d'intérêt pour la scène. L'une d'elles, blonde, est vêtue d'orange et de mauve; l'autre, brune, est en bleu foncé. Pleines de curiosité, elles se sont arrêtées de broder. Ainsi se trouvent réunis tous les âges de la femme pour assister à cette défaite du plus fort des hommes. Et un bas-relief du socle où se tient Omphale, en montrant des amours aux yeux bandés qui conduisent dans une course folle un char dont les chevaux se renversent, résume éloquemment le sens du tableau, l'allusion allégorique à la passion aveugle qui mène à la chute.



1 Rubens, *Hercules and Omphale*. Paris, Louvre (photo: Giraudon)

2 Detail of Fig. 1 (photo: Giraudon)

Sterling proposed a number of ancient models for the figures of Hercules and Omphale, and few would take issue with them. For the body of Hercules, Rubens imitated the Belvedere torso, and for the legs he used his studies of the Laocoon. Sterling reproduced a small seated bronze in the Louvre for the ancient type of the seated Hercules. For the disposition of the two figures, he noticed a parallel in a seventeenth-century statue by one of the Pieratti brothers (Florence, Palazzo Galli Tassi) dated between 1610 and 1620 (Fig. 3). There, the similar motif of the tweaking of the ear occurs; and there, too, Omphale is standing and Hercules is seated. Sterling thought they both may have been derived from the same lost ancient model. One other person became extremely interested in the painting because he believed it was derived from ancient works — the classical scholar Georg Lippold. At his death, he left an unfinished manuscript, published in 1955, suggesting sources other than those mentioned by Sterling.[3] More recently, Konrad Schauenburg (1960) has dealt exhaustively with the ancient examples of the myth.[4]

Like any story connected with Hercules, the history of the Hercules and Omphale myth is enormously complex in both the art and literature of antiquity and the Renaissance. I would like to touch upon certain aspects of the story in both periods, as they may relate to the meaning of Rubens's painting.

In ancient times, the full account of the story does not unfold until the period of Diodorus of Sicily (first century

3 Domenico Pieratti, *Hercules and Omphale*. Florence, Palazzo Galli Tassi

[3] Georg Lippold, "Omphale," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Archäologischer Anzeiger*, LXXII, 1955, 248-258. Lippold thought that the source for the Rubens might have been an entire ancient painting, but that he had used sculptures for the individual figures. For the sculptural models, Lippold concurred with Sterling's proposals of the Belvedere Torso and the Laocoon for the legs of Hercules, but he noted that Rubens's figure differed in the wider spread of its right leg. Lippold thought that possibly the Barberini Faun, or more likely the copy of it engraved by Duvet ca. 1550, might be a source for the legs, and he suggested later uses of that pose by Rubens. For the kneeling girl in the lower left-hand corner, he proposed the Knuckle-Bone Player. For the type, see Alfonso de Franciscis, *Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Di Mauro Editore, n.d., color pl. XXV. For Omphale, Lippold found the bared navel significant as did Sterling, and he suggested a Nike from the Bull's Hall at Delos as a model. See J. Marcadé, "Sculptures décoratives du monument des taureaux a Délos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellenique*, LXXV, 1951, 84, pl. 11a. Lippold noted the similar nakedness of the figures in the grave relief of Hercules and Omphale from Naples: Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains*, Paris, 1909, III, 74. For the old lady, he mentioned the Ammen type of the early Hellenistic period. Elsewhere in "Antike Gemäldekopien," *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, N.F. XXXIII, 1951, 129, Lippold pointed out that the Hercules-Omphale story is interpreted by modern authors in terms of the debilitation or depravity of Hercules, but that for the ancients it meant the triumph of the gods Eros or Bacchus. For a different opinion, see Konrad Schauenburg, "Herakles und Omphale," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, N.F. CIII, 1960, 65f.

[4] Schauenburg, 57-76.

B.C.) and Apollodorus (first century A.D.).[5] From Hellenistic into Roman times, the burlesque and comic aspect of the myth became the subject of endless plays and satires, as one can easily imagine.[6] After his wanton murder of the brother of Iole, Hercules is stricken with a disease. He goes to Delphi to struggle with Apollo for the tripod. Zeus intervenes and as punishment for his murder of Iphitus, Hercules is sold as a slave into the court of the Lydian queen Omphale, where he remains from one year (according to Sophocles) to three (Apollodorus), and where he is healed in the river Hyllus. While he is in Lydia, he performs a number of heroic deeds. According to the ancient texts, Omphale forces him to exchange garments and to spin with the women of the court. It is this Hercules, the "spinning Hercules," who is associated with the Lydian queen.[7] "As a guest on Tmolus he fondled the Lydian woman, and, taken by love, he sat by the swift distaff twisting the damp thread with massive hand."[8]

It has been proposed that both Hercules and Omphale were pre-Greek deities: he a god of fertility, she an earth goddess, in a cult, as in many Near Eastern religions, in which the male was subject to a dominating female deity.[9] The exchange of garments may go back to early rites of a sacred marriage, possibly associated with fertility.[10] Herodotus tells us that the line of Lydian kings, some twenty-two generations of Heracleids, stems from Hercules and a slave girl. By the time of Apollodorus, it is Omphale who bears Hercules a son, Agelaus (Lamus according to Ovid, *Heroides* 9. 53, and *Diodorus Siculus* 4. 31, 8) from whom sprang the house of Croesus. Omphale, daughter of Iardanus, ruled over the fertile Lydian plains at Sardis, the city beneath saffron-covered Mt. Tmolus, and through which passed the Pactolus river with its glittering sands (where Bacchus sent Midas to bathe and divest himself of gold). By the time of Croesus, the wealth and fertility of the kingdom were proverbial.[11]

That it was an area from which Dionysos came is remarked by Euripides (*Bacchae* 461-64):

D. That's no great matter and to tell it is easy,
Perhaps you know by hearsay of flowering Tmolus
P. I know it; the encircling mountain that holds the city of the Sardian in his arms.
D. From there I come, and Lydia is my fatherland.

And also by Seneca (*Phoenissae* 602-05): "Here Tmolus raises his ridges known to Bacchus where wide plains of fruitful acres lie, and where Pactolus moving his rich depths inundates the fields with gold."

In Roman times (Sardis was captured in 133 B.C.), a surprising number of examples of the myth remain in art. In fact, the majority of preserved examples belong to the early and middle Imperial age. In addition to four well-known Campanian wall paintings, there are reliefs, mosaics, and statues. Many of these, extraordinarily enough, are connected with the drunken, not the spinning, Hercules. Also surprising is that most of the works are connected with Dionysos. That Rubens was well aware of this is demonstrated by his painting of a *Drunken Hercules* in Dresden, a subject we know he took from an ancient sarcophagus. Hercules himself frequently appears as drunk on Dionysiac sarcophagi showing the triumph of the wine god (Figs. 4, 5).[12] Hercules is usually shown on the right-hand side, supported by a faun, while another carries his club. Nearby, a wine kantharos has fallen to the ground. In one case, there is a small altar with fruit and a goat's head. Pan is also present and there is a female next to him whose body is nude except for a drapery around her legs. It is possible that she could be Omphale, given the similarity to the context of the

[5] Apollodorus, *The Library*, trans. James Frazer, Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, 1956f, II, VI, 3, and *Diodorus Siculus*, trans. Charles H. Oldfather, Loeb Classical Library, IV, 31, 6-8. See: August Friedrich von Pauly and Georg Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumwissenschaft*, Stuttgart, 1894f, XVIII, Pt. 1, 384-396, s.v. "Omphale"; Wilhelm H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen and römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1884f, 2247, s.v. "Omphale"; Elmer G. Suhr, "Herakles and Omphale," *American Journal of Archaeology*, October, 1953, 251-263; and John G. Pedley, *Ancient Literary Sources on Sardis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1972; Bernhard Schweitzer, "Dea Nemesis Regina," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, XLVI, 1939, 237-38.

[6] G. Karl Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme*, Oxford, 1972.

[7] Not with Iole, with whom she is confused from the Renaissance to the present. The confusion begins with Boccaccio, *De Claris Mulieribus*, 21st chap. See M. Zucker, "Notizien," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XV, 1892, 429. The essential attribute of Omphale is the distaff held by Hercules. Her bared navel is possibly another. Both Iole and Omphale appropriate the club and lion skin of the hero. Also see: Ovid, *Heroides*, Loeb Classical Library, trans. Grant Showerman, London, 1914, IX, 57.

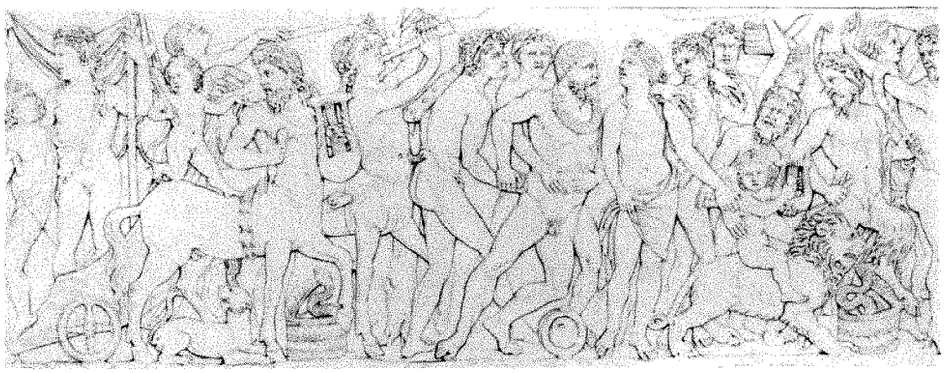
[8] Seneca, *Hercules Octaeus*, 371-73, quoted in Pedley, *Sardis*, 259. It was in Sardis that spinning and weaving were supposedly invented, and from Lydia that Arachne came. (Pliny, *Natural History*, Loeb Classical Library, trans. H. Rackham, London, 1942, VII, 196.)

[9] Suhr, "Herakles and Omphale," 259-260.

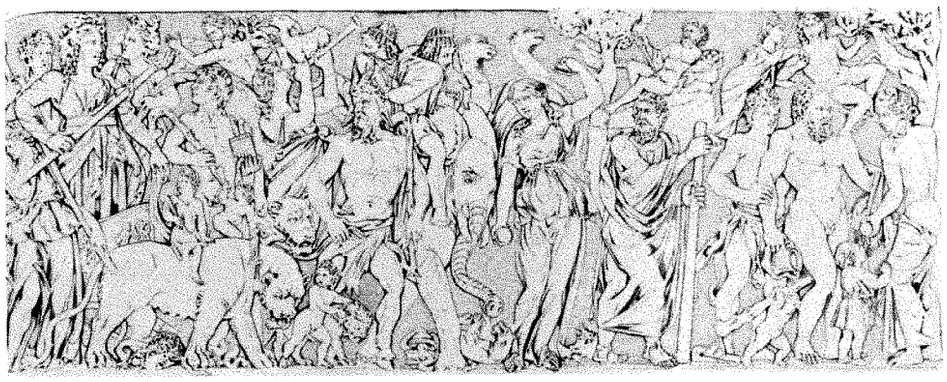
[10] The meaning of the exchange of garments is one of the major problems associated with the Hercules-Omphale myth in ancient times.

[11] It was Sardis according to Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, IV, 25, cited in Pedley, *Sardis*, 6.

[12] Friedrich Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage*, Berlin, 1968, II, pls. 54, 65, 138. In a grave relief (Reinach, *Reliefs*, III, 74) where Hercules and Omphale are labeled, she is nude except for drapery around her legs. A Roman gold patera, found in Rennes in 1772, shows a triumph of Bacchus and Hercules. See Aubin Louis Millin, *Galerie mythologique*, Paris, 1811, I, No. CXXVI.



4 Roman Dionysiac sarcophagus, 2nd century A.D., drawing by S. Eichler. Naples, Museo Nazionale



5 Roman Dionysiac sarcophagus, 2nd century A.D., drawing by S. Eichler. Rome, Capitoline Museum

6 Roman elliptical sarophagus, *Dionysos and Ariadne*, 3rd century A.D., detail. Rome, Vatican Museum

paintings, but she seems to have no other attribute.

Omphale does appear, however, identified by the lion skin and the exposed navel, on one of the larger elliptical Dionysiac sarcophagi of the third century (Fig. 6).[13] It is presumed that the lost figure adjacent at the right was the reclining drunken Hercules (probably like the one in a drawing Rubens made after an antique relief, now in Milan).[14] A fragment of a hand reaches up to pull on the lion skin. An Eros nearby plays with his quiver, and a kantharos lies on the ground. Significantly, Hercules and Omphale are here clearly associated with a triumph of Dionysos and Ariadne.

In the most famous monument, a wall painting from Pompeii (now in Naples) from the House of M. Lucretius, Hercules and Omphale are standing (Fig. 7).[15] The painting has been called, somewhat curiously, an "antique Rubens." Hercules, obviously drunk, leans heavily upon Priapus, who holds fruit in his garment drawn up before him, surely symbols of his fertility. Hercules wears a female garment; his head is wreathed in leaves like the figure on the Moscow sarcophagus (Fig. 8), and he holds a thyrsos(?) in his left hand. Omphale stands to the right wearing the lion skin over her head and leaning in a dégagé manner upon his club. Her body — the breasts and the navel — is revealed by a transparent drapery, while a heavier cloth covers her legs. In the background, a girl has her veiled head wreathed in ivy, and another beats a tympanum. An Eros blows flutes into Hercules' ear, and other Erotes sport with a wine bottle and other objects below. One peeks under the gown of Priapus.

[13] Matz, I, pls. 40, 41, 142-45. Another relief with a similar figure of Omphale, but of poorer quality, exists in Naples; Gennaro Pesce, *I rilievi dell'anfiteatro campano*, Rome, 1941, pl. 23a. There the break is similar.

[14] Wolfgang Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge, 1968, fig. 23.

[15] Kurt Schefold, *Die Griechen und ihre Nachbarn (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, I)*, Berlin, 1967, pl. XXV, in color.

7 Pompeian wall painting, *Hercules and Omphale*, from House of M. Lucretius. Naples, Museo Nazionale

8 Roman Dionysiac sarcophagus, early 3rd century A.D. Moscow, Pushkin Museum

9 Pompeian wall painting, *Hercules and Omphale*. Pompeii, House of Sirico

Also Dionysiac is the painting from the House of Sirico (Fig. 9).[16] Omphale, again nude except for the drapery around her legs, is seated in the upper left with her attendants, while Hercules lies drunk in the lower right. In the empty space between, Erotes struggle with the club, and seem to be attaching his quiver to a tree from the altar on which they are standing. Dionysos and his companions appear in the upper right.

From this brief survey of works, it becomes obvious that both Hercules and Omphale were associated in Roman times with Dionysos, and with the triumphs of Dionysos and Ariadne.[17] Understandable, then, is the presence of the drunken Hercules with Omphale, but that aspect of their relation does not appear in the Renaissance. In antiquity, the other major aspect of the Hercules-Omphale story stressed in art is the motif of the spinning Hercules. Like the Dionysiac connection, that, too, is associated with the exchange of garments. It is another event that occurs in the court of Omphale, and it is mentioned in the literature. When the spinning Hercules appears in monuments, however, the Dionysiac elements, except for the exchange of garments, seem to be absent. A

[16] Giulio Rizzo, *La pittura ellenistico-romana*, Milan, 1929, pl. CXVIII.

[17] It even has been conjectured that their presence on Aretine ceramic krater reliefs in centaur-drawn Dionysiac triumphs is associated with marriage. See below, n. 29.

mosaic from Liria, now in Madrid, shows the pair with Hercules holding the distaff, surrounded by emblems of the twelve labors.[18] Sometimes the scene is described as the thirteenth labor. In freestanding sculpture, the pair is also shown wearing exchanged garments, and Hercules holding the distaff.[19] In nearly all the monuments, the power of Eros is demonstrated in one form or another.

In the Renaissance, the myth revives with a growing momentum from the time Petrarch includes Hercules in the *Triumphus Cupidinis* as one of the illustrious victims of Cupid.[20] "With him is Hercules, for all his strength Love captures him."[21] Contrary to the feminist or antifeminist arguments of the medieval period where Omphale or Hercules was either vilified or lauded, Petrarchism with its exaltation of love at any cost, effected the rehabilitation of the illustrious victims of Cupid.[22] No one better than Hercules, the greatest and strongest of men, proves by his defeat the power of love. So, as captives of love, Hercules and Omphale appear among others in the triumphs of the blindfolded Amor in cassoni panels.[23] Their association with marriage continues, in all probability, in an *all'antica* ceiling of 1509 painted by Pinturicchio in the Palazzo Petrucci in Siena, where the couple is associated with a series of scenes from Petrarch's triumphs.[24] There, the pair is seated in a landscape, accompanied by goats (behind Hercules) and cows (behind Omphale) as symbols of fertility. It is also probable that the ceiling celebrated the marriage of Pandolfo Petrucci's son in that year. Thus, the myth, by a seeming reversal, came to symbolize the marital fidelity of the rulers of the court and was widely used in that context. Another impetus for its revival was that from 1420, Hercules himself had become the model for the ruler in the d'Este court in Ferrara. Like the Renaissance theme of the *Choice of Hercules*, the labors exemplified the virtues of the ruler. The Hercules and Omphale scene was included, sometimes in contrast with the labors, or even in culmination as the ultimate or thirteenth labor, as it was represented in ancient art.[25] The Petrarchan idea was that "all men of good heart" must inevitably submit to women, and that there is nothing ignominious in their defeat by Cupid. That is how Vasari, in the *Ragionamenti*, explains the myth to Duke Francesco when they are standing in the Room of Hercules in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence.[26]

In the second half of the fifteenth century, the story of Hercules and Omphale (Iole) was the subject of a room celebrating the love of Federigo da Montefeltro and Battista Sforza in the Palazzo Ducale at Urbino. The paintings are now gone, but among the classicizing decorations a fireplace is flanked by the figures of Hercules and Iole,[27] their names incised over their heads. Directly above them is a Dionysiac triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne with an amor leading the bridal couple whose chariot is drawn by centaurs (Fig. 10). The scene is based on a well-known second-century sarcophagus, which was in Rome and very frequently copied and drawn by Renaissance artists, both of Italy and the North (Fig. 11).[28] This Early Renaissance connection of Hercules and Omphale (Iole) to

[18] *American Journal of Archaeology*, LIII, 1949, 194, pl. 24. The grave relief (Reinach, *Reliefs*, III, 74) also shows the pair surrounded by depictions of the twelve labors.

[19] A statue of the pair, in Naples, shows both figures standing: she with lion skin and club, he with tunic, female cap, and distaff and shuttle. Salomon Reinach, *Repértoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, Paris, 1913, I, 168.

[20] *The Triumphs of Petrarch*, trans. Ernest H. Wilkins, Chicago, 1962, 10.

[21] In telling the story of Hercules' stay in the Lydian court, Seneca gives it as an example of the power of Eros. Also, see below, n. 54, the description of Geminus.

[22] Marc-René Jung, *Hercule dans la littérature francaise du XVIe siècle*, Geneva, 1966, chap. VII, "Hercule et l'amour," 137-157.

[23] Paul Schubring, *Cassoni*, Leipzig, 1923, pl. XLVII.

[24] See Juergen Schulz, "Pinturicchio and the Revival of Antiquity," *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXV, 1962, 49, 50. Bryson Burroughs, "A Ceiling by Pinturicchio," *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, XV-XVI, 1920-21, 3-10, for the repros.

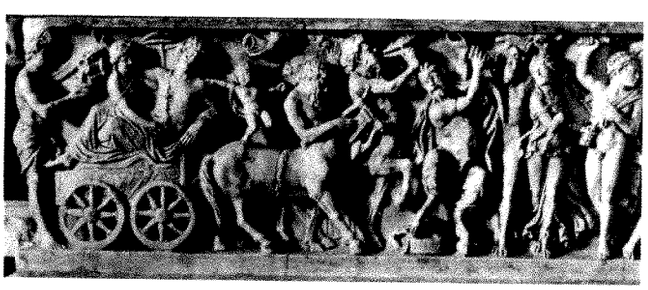
[25] Seneca, Catullus, and Propertius all compare the labors of the lover to Hercules'. In Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, when Petruchio decides to woo Kate, sight unseen, one of the men wryly remarks, "Yea, leave that labour to great Hercules, And let it be more than Alcides' twelve." This idea is common in 16th-century poetry. Amadis Jamyn (*Les Oeuvres poétiques d'Amadis Jamyn*, Paris, 1575) perceives the power and danger of love and that the forces of Hercules are necessary to combat it. "It is to undertake a feat of Hercules/To be able to triumph over love"; cited in Jung, *Hercules*, 152. Also, the constancy and endurance of Hercules in combatting love are frequently mentioned.

[26] Giorgio Vasari, *Ragionamenti del Signor Giorgio Vasari, sopra le invenzioni da lui depinte in Firenze nel Palazzo Vecchio con D. Francesco Medici*, Pisa, 1823. See also Jung, 149.

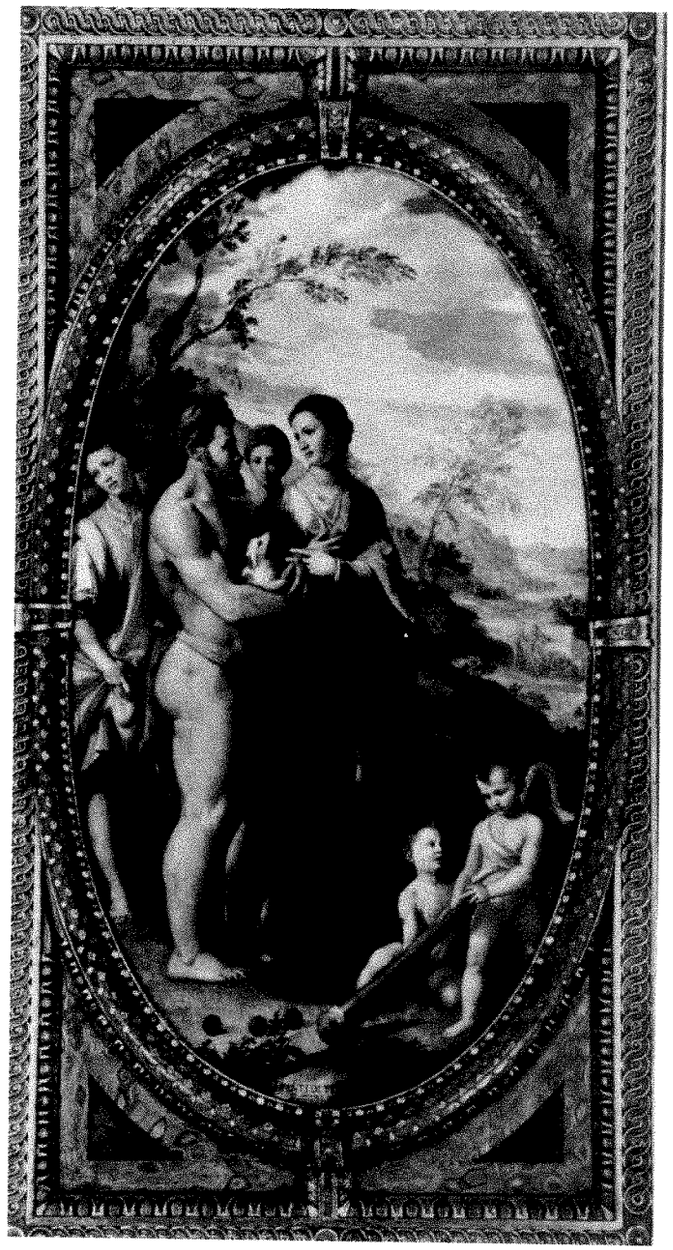
[27] It is Omphale, not Iole. Iole is the cause of Hercules's infidelity to Dejanira and would not be appropriate in this context. Hercules dies when Dejanira, jealous of Iole, gives him the poisoned tunic of Nessus to wear. Jung points out that the latter story was exploited by the Neoplatonists of the second half of the 16th century: they use the image of the poisoned tunic in connection with the body of Hercules being consumed by fire in order to liberate his soul. The two major defeats of the hero by women are by Omphale when she forces him to spin, and by Dejanira, in causing his death.

[28] Pasquale Rotondi, *Il Palazzo Ducale di Urbino*, Urbino, 1950, I, 134, and pl. opp. 134; II, pl. 18. See Ruth Olitsky Rubinstein, "A Bacchic Sarcophagus in the Renaissance," *British Museum Yearbook*, I, *The Classical Tradition*, 1976, 103-156. At the end of the 16th century, the sarcophagus was moved from S. Maria Maggiore to the Villa Montalto. Rubinstein suggests that it was restored then, possibly by Felice Peretti (1538-1600). One can conclude that Rubens knew the sarcophagus and its Dionysiac content. It was later described by Bellori. I cannot resist the conjecture that the two restored figures at the extreme right may have been misinterpreted as a seated Hercules and standing Omphale.

10 Fireplace. Urbino, Ducal Palace, Sala di Iole



11 Roman sarcophagus, *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, 2nd century A.D., detail. London, British Museum



12 Santi di Tito, *Hercules and Omphale*. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Studiolo

an authentic ancient Dionysiac triumph is extremely important. It is particularly so as the scene takes the form of a Triumph of Love in art celebrating the marriage of Federico da Montefeltro and Battista Sforza in 1460.[29]

So the myth appears in an amusing burlesque marriage allegory by Dosso Dossi for the court of Ferrara in the 1530's,[30] and by Primaticcio at Fontainebleau, flanking the Porte Dorée, the main portal in the sixteenth century, for Francis I and Eleanor of Austria (1535-1541). It also appears in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence in the Room of Hercules (1558) where it is juxtaposed to the labors, and possibly in the Studiolo by Santi di Tito (1570's) (Fig. 12).

[29] One immediately thinks of the Petrarchan triumphs on the doors of the *palazzetto* and on the reverse of the portraits of the Duke and Duchess, both led by blindfolded Amors. Also, see Schauenburg, 63, for two southern Italian Aretine relief kraters as examples in antiquity showing Hercules and Omphale drawn by centaurs in a triumph with Dionysiac elements. See Hans Dragendorff-Carl Watzinger, *Arretinische Reliefkeramik*, Gryphius Verlag, Reutlingen, 1948, 81f. Dragendorff believes that these scenes of triumph are connected to marriage triumphs. He thinks the girl playing the lyre, who appears in triumphs of Dionyscs and Ariadne, and also in Attic vases and the Aldobrandini Wedding relief, is associated with wedding celebrations.

[30] Felton Gibbons, "Two Allegories by Dosso for the Court of Ferrara," *Art Bulletin*, XLVII, 1965, 493-99. Felton Gibbons's article and comments by Charles Dempsey, "'Et Nos Cedamus Amori': Observations on the Farnese Gallery," *Art Bulletin*, 1968, I, 369, were my starting points.

Vasari describes the scene as a joke the poets play on Hercules, and he goes on to explain that even Hercules is made weak by women, and the Duke replies that it is a poor joke to play on such a hero. Both Dosso and Santi di Tito add a small white dog to their depictions. For Dosso Dossi the animal is a symbol of marital faith, according to Felton Gibbons.[31]

Where the pair are not used in a courtly association, the story with its reversal of sexual roles lends itself, as it did in antiquity, to ridicule. In single paintings, the stress is on the humiliation of the hero, victimized by love or by feminine malice.[32] In the 1530's, the subject flourishes in Northern art, subject to allegorizing moralization, particularly in half-figure scenes by Lucas Cranach the Elder.[33] In these another dimension is added. In their bitter and perverse sarcasm, and in the composition of the man seated in the center, holding distaff and spindle, and surrounded by spiteful females who place a woman's cap on his head, the pictures are close to scenes of the Mocking of Christ. In fact, a characteristic of Northern examples of the spinning Hercules is an ironic instruction. In one scene by Cranach, an older woman holds out a pointed shuttle, as in the Dosso Dossi. The lion skin and club are absent, and with one exception the figures are in contemporary clothing. They are clearly labeled by the painted inscriptions in the backgrounds.

A Northern example that Rubens surely knew from engravings was by Bartolomäus Spranger for Rudolf II (Fig. 13).[34] Spranger's Mannerist version of the myth becomes an erotic bedroom scene of the type that Rosso made popular with his famous engraving of *Mars and Venus*. A jewel-bedizened Hercules, dressed in female garments, sits with distaff on the bed, while Omphale struts wearing the lion skin and carrying the club over her shoulder (as in ancient gems, Fig. 14).[35] In the background an evil old hag sticks out her tongue and makes a gesture of cuckolding; and an amor immodestly pulls back a curtain revealing the scene. It is the humiliation of Hercules that counts, and the exchange of clothing emphasizes the androgenous aspect of both figures. In Spranger, too, irony is the key to the scene.

This ambiguity is not found in representations made in France, which are the exception in the North. Galinsky pointed out that the French had to rid the story of Hercules of its denigrating and ridiculous aspects in order to make him a proper subject for court ritual.[36] On his way to Italy in 1600, Rubens surely would have seen two paintings of the theme by Primaticcio on the Porte Dorée, which was the main entrance to the Palace at Fontainebleau when it was painted in 1535-1541. The two frescoes have been lost, but we know of them from a drawing (in the Albertina) and an engraving (Figs. 15 and 16).[37] They treated two themes connected with the myth: the more important exchange of garments and a less well-known episode from Ovid's *Fasti* (II. 305-356) concerning the expelling of a satyr, who is deceived by the exchange of clothing, from the bed of Hercules and Omphale. The latter story is first mentioned by Martin de Franc in 1530 in his *Le Champion des dames*, and it is the subject of a poem by Ronsard in 1569, called *Le Satyre*. It appears in paintings by only two other artists, Tintoretto and Abraham Janssens.[38] At Fontainebleau, the two scenes in

[31] Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, Rome, 1613, I, 235, s.v. "Fedeltá"; this reference was made by Gibbons. Scott Schaefer of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, informs me that he thinks the Santi di Tito in the Studiolo represents the story of the discovery of the Tyrrhian purple (a subject also painted by Rubens for the Torre de la Parada and which also includes a dog). My efforts to procure a photograph of the scene mentioned by Vasari have not been successful.

[32] Natale Conti, *Mythologiae*, Venice, 1567, canto V, 203, said of the myth: "He having survived all dangers, after having quelled robbers, and rid the earth of monsters, enslaved by his love for Omphale, committed base actions unworthy of his former deeds. Why was this tale sent down to posterity? Because the ancients wished to warn us that a good man must be ever on the watch, for if he turns his eyes from virtue but a moment. ..."

[33] Max J. Friedländer–Jakob Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach*, Berlin, 1932, 223-26. The German examples have accompanying inscriptions. On a drawing by Hans Baldung Grien, dated 1533, Paris, École des Beaux-Arts, the inscription stresses that Amor has transformed the great lion-killer into a weakling. The painting by Gossaert in the Barber Institute, Birmingham, has been called *Hercules and Omphale*, but the essential attributes are missing. The subject would have been likely for Gossaert whose guilt-laden *Adam and Eve* shows the same condemning moralization. H. Pauwels, H. R. Hoetink, S. Herzog, *Jean Gossaert dit Mabuse*, exh. cat., Rotterdam and Bruges, 1965, pl. IV.

[34] Ernst Diez, "Der Hofmaler Bartolomäus Spranger," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhochsten Kaiserhauses*, XXVIII, 1909-10, fig. 12. See Seneca, "Phaedra," *Four Tragedies and Octavia*, trans. E. F. Watling, Baltimore, 1966, 111.

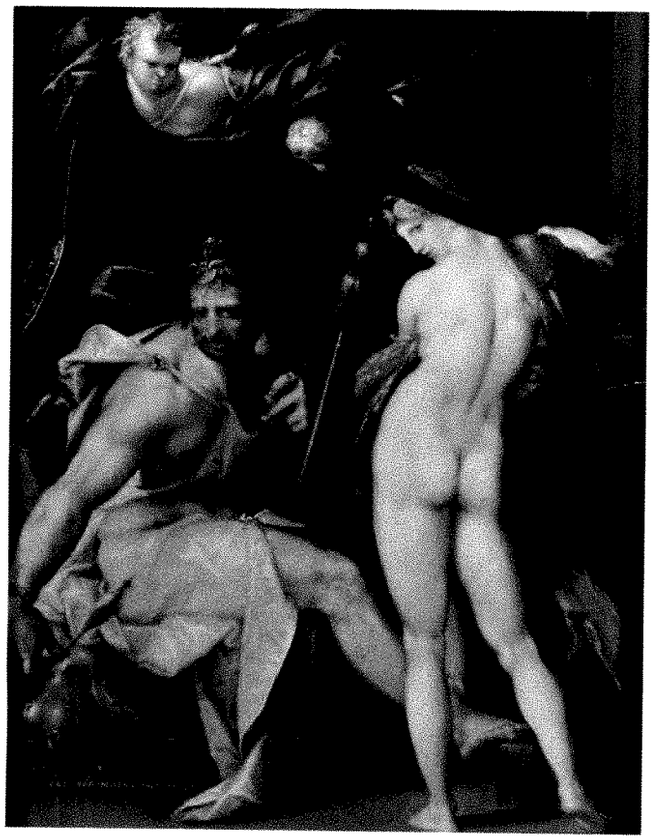
So too Alcmena's son
Dropped quiver and lion-skin — that huge
And formidable garment — and allowed
His shaggy hair to be reduced to order
And emerald rings to grace his fingers,
Bound his legs with yellow ribbons,
Cased his feet in golden slippers,
And with a hand that used to wield a club
Spun yarn upon a twirling spindle.
Thus in an oriental land,
In a rich court of wealthy Lydia,
Was seen, instead of the wild lion's mane,
A silky robe of Tyrian workmanship
Upon that back which once held up
The kingdom of the sky.

[35] The gem was engraved by Galestruzzi; from Leonardo Agostino, *Le gemme antiche*, Rome, 1686, cited by Jennifer Montagu, "Hercules and Iole, and Some Other Bronzes by Foggini," *Apollo*, LXXXVII, 1968, 171-75.

[36] Galinsky, as cited in n. 6, 122.

[37] Raymond Lebegue, "Un Thème Ovidien traité par Le Primatice et par Ronsard," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, VI, ser. 55, 1960, 301-05, reproduces both drawing and engraving. The drawing also appears in Louis Dimier, *Le Primatice*, Paris, 1928, pl. VIII.

[38] Only four paintings of the subject are known, two by Tintoretto (one lost) and two by Abraham Janssens. See Justus Müller Hofstede, "Abraham Janssens," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XIII, 1971, 255, n. 84, figs. 9 and 19. For the Tintoretto, Klára Garas, *Paintings in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts*, Budapest, 1972, 252. One of the paintings given to Janssens is attributed to Abraham Bloemaert by Gustav Delbanco, *Der Maler Abraham Bloemaert*, Strassburg, 1928, 9, XXII.



13 Bartolomäus Spranger, *Hercules and Omphale*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

14 Galestruzzi, *Omphale*, engraving (from Leonardo Agostino, *Le gemme antiche*, Rome, 1586)

their prominent position alluded to the conjugal fidelity of Francis I and Eleanor of Austria. They were conceived in the moralizing vein that characterizes the poem by Ronsard, and they reflected the attitude of the French in their efforts to assimilate a virtuous hero with the ruler. In a sense, the Primaticcios, in their sophistication, are the most contrived equation between the two personnages in a century that moralized the hero.

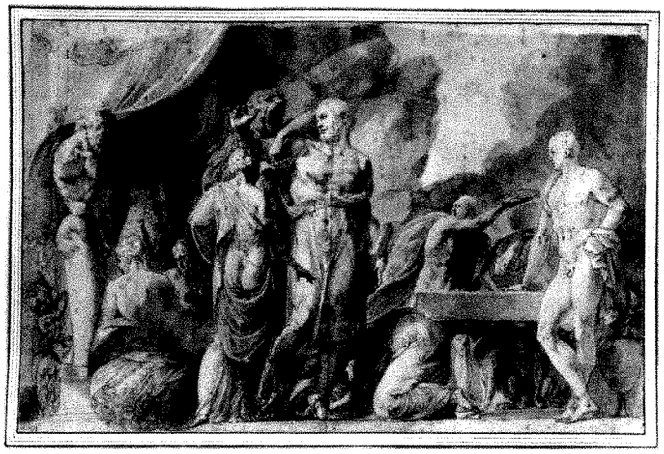
The unusual version of the Hercules and Omphale myth takes place in a rocky grotto (Fig. 15). Ovid tells how Omphale and Hercules had reached the grove of Bacchus and the vineyards of Mt. Tmolus:

> While the attendants were making ready the viands and the wine for the wassail, she arrayed Alcides in her own garb. She gave him gauzy tunics in Gaetulian purple dipped; she gave him the dainty girdle, which but now had girt her waist. For his belly the girdle was too small; he undid the clasps of the tunics to thrust out his big hands. The bracelets he had broken, not made to fit those arms; his big feet split the little shoes. She herself took the heavy club, the lion's skin, and the lesser weapons stored in their quiver. In such array they feasted, in such array they resigned themselves to slumber, and lay down apart on beds set side by side; the reason was that they were preparing to celebrate in all purity, when day should dawn, a festival in honour of the discoverer of the vine (*Fasti* II, 300-337).

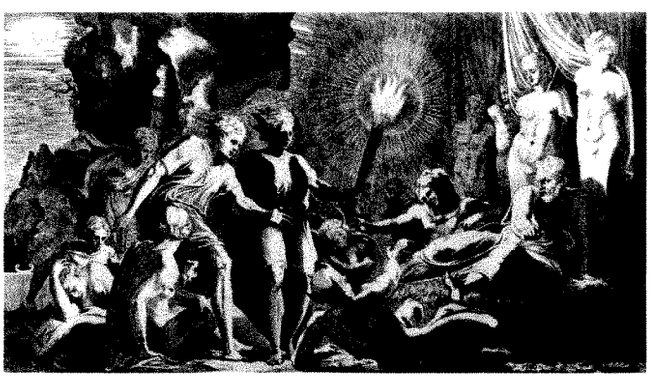
A towering and resigned Hercules, clad in a soft tunic, stands in the center.[39] One hand rests on his club, the other is extended and foreshortened, as Omphale, her face barely visible in the head of the lion skin, aids him with the feminine garment. At his feet a woman kneels fastening his sandal. Another stands in front of Omphale with her back toward the spectator. To the left, beneath a draped curtain, and flanking a bed on which two nude women recline, are two powerful male herms. An amor is lightly indicated at the extreme left. There seem to be vines at the foot of the herm. The entire group must reflect fertility rites.[40] At the right, a nude ephebe-like youth leans

[39] The standing figure of Hercules clad in a tunic appears in two ancient statues: Reinach, *Statuaire*, I, 468, 475. In one, Omphale appears at his side, in the lion skin. The same serious courtly grace can be found in the scene by Santi di Tito in the Studiolo of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. There, Hercules holds the small white dog of the queen.

[40] Herms with drapery flanking a bed are not uncommon. They appear in engravings by Marcantonio Raimondi, in one of an offering to Priapus (or Pan) after an ancient sarcophagus, after Enea Vico; and in a scene of a satyr discovering a sleeping nymph. The first plate from *I Modi* (1524) or *Les Postures*, after Pietro Aretino and Giulio Romano, shows lovers in bed, flanked by two male herms and surrounding drapery which are very similar to those in the Primaticcio. See *Gazette des beaux-arts*, VI^{E} pér., XCII, July-August, 1978, figs. 215bis, 332, 333. The Enea Vico must refer to fertility rites. How fertility rites became associated with marriage is discussed by Ernst Gombrich, "Reynolds' Theory and Practice of Imitation," *Norm and Form*, London and New York, 1971, 129f.



15 Primaticcio, *Hercules and Omphale Exchanging Garments*, drawing for portal at Fontainebleau. Vienna, Albertina



16 Davent, engraving after Primaticcio, *Hercules Expelling the Faun*, from portal at Fontainebleau. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

upon a table supported by sculptured dogs. On the other side of the table, a male figure with cape flying out behind him beats two timpani.

The flanking scene (Fig. 16) takes place in a ruined cave-like structure where Hercules and Omphale recline preparing to celebrate the festival of Dionysos at dawn. Here, too, the beds are beneath drapery, and there are two male herms behind Omphale and two female herms behind Hercules. At the left, three scantily clad women recline, one in drunken slumber, while three male attendants rush in, one of them holding up a large torch which illuminates the night scene. Hercules and Omphale are sitting bolt upright in bed, just after Hercules has kicked the satyr from the bed.[41] The faun enamored of Omphale had approached the bed secretly full of desire for the queen — "rigido cornu durius inquen erat" — and, deceived by the exchange of garments, he mistook the soft tunic of Hercules for that of Omphale. Consequently, he was sent flying. The apotropaic exchange of garments thwarted the satyr, and the scowling Hercules is cast in the unusual role of the protector of marriage. He looks at Amor and motions him away from the bed. Omphale reaches out and cuffs Amor who turns his head to the side. Her expression is benign. Ronsard says of the satyr that all adulterers should be so justly punished. In paintings of the subject, masks are present as symbols of deceitful temptation.[42]

Acquainted with a biting satirical Northern tradition of scenes of humiliation, or of erotic perversity, Rubens would have found surprising the moralizing overtones of Primaticcio's works. Both paintings stress the Dionysiac ritual, as it is related by Ovid: in one, the exchange of garments, in the other, Hercules's rejection of the satyr as a symbol of lust. Lebegue observed that in the role of husband, Hercules assures conjugal fidelity.[43] It is possible that Dürer's engraving of the *Choice of Hercules* may have had something to do with the revival of the faun episode, as there, a moralizing Hercules, in protecting Virtue, attacks a satyr who holds Vice or Voluptas in his lap.

Now let us return to Rubens's painting (Fig. 1) and Sterling's description. In all probability, the commission to Rubens was the result of the wish of a Genoese patron to have a subject that was recently painted in Rome, Annibale's version on the Farnese ceiling which was completed in 1600 and based on Tasso's description of an imaginary relief. On the ceiling, the pair lasciviously cross legs as do the figures in Mannerist bedroom scenes, and Hercules holds a tympanum. Rubens probably also knew the poem by the Cavaliere Marino, written between 1600 and 1606, the "Ercole Filante: d'Horatio Borgianni," if not the painting by Borgianni.[44] He surely knew that Otto van Veen was to include a spinning Hercules in his *Amorum Emblemata*, to be published in 1608.[45]

In his painting for Giovanni Vincenzo Imperiale, Rubens clearly defines Omphale as the Lydian queen in associating her with the spinning Hercules. Like Primaticcio, he includes attendants at her court. As an ancient

[41] There is one strange, unaccountable motif. The pose of the satyr is like that of the drunken Hercules in ancient wall paintings. Lippold observed that the pose of Hercules there is based on that of a Hellenistic bronze of a drunken satyr from Herculaneum. It is rather astonishing in view of this interchangeability that the Hercules in the Fontainebleau fresco seems to have horns: I do not think the horns are a symbol of cuckolding, which, after all, Hercules has prevented, and that notion would not be present in a painting at the main portal. Rather, they may indicate that Hercules himself has taken over the fertility signs of Pan.

[42] Gibbons, 495.

[43] Quite the opposite role is taken by Hercules in a painting in Vienna by Francesco da Ponte, dated 1587, where he spins in a domestic scene crowded with gossiping females in Venetian clothing. There, a window (or painting) in the background shows several of his labors. See Edouardo Arslan, *Francesco da Ponte*, Milan, n.d., II, pl. 257.

[44] Harold Wethey, "Orazio Borgianni in Italy and Spain," *Burlington Magazine*, CVI, April, 1964, 148, n. 11, thinks the poem is a fantasy, but the other poems of Marino are devoted to known works.

[45] Otto van Veen, *Amorum Emblemata*, Georg Olms, Hildesheim- New York, 1970, 82-83, has an emblem of the spinning Hercules and Eros, in which Hercules is rendered docile by the sweet music of love.

ruler, she is placed on a podium, and as a queen she wears a pearled diadem in her elaborately coiffed hair.[46] She does not wear the lion skin upon her head, but instead in a debonair way over her shoulder.[47] Sterling compared her profile with those on ancient gems which show a structured but sensuous profile, with heavy-lidded eyes and imperious, slightly parted mouth, but the type of head with its richly waved hair and tendrils curling down around the neck could have come from any number of ancient, post-Alexandrian examples.[48] The head is distinguished by the hair style, worn low on the forehead and falling in a curve at the side in crinkly waves (Fig. 2). The complicated weaving of pearls into the hair occurs frequently in sixteenth-century painting after Leonardo and Michelangelo, especially in Venetian works — by Veronese for instance — or in Mannerist ones such as those by Spranger. Such elaborate hair arrangements can also be symbolic of Voluptas. What differentiates Omphale's head from these examples, however, are — beautifully interwoven with the pearls and the soft tresses — ivy leaves.

In Rubens's painting, Hercules is almost nude. He has no female garment, but he holds the distaff and thread. He wears a colorful Lydian headband, a woman's turban. He twists his head to one side, wounded by the taunts of the queen, and his expression is pained. His beautiful body appears sexually tense and potentially dangerous. The drapery covering his genitals is caught with a cord around the waist. This clear emphasis on his sex is pronounced in one ancient example, the British Museum altar font, and alludes to his male sexual force, as the bared navel of Omphale emphasizes her reproductive capacity (Fig. 17).[49] As he is masculine — there is even hair on his chest — her belt (the Maeonian zone), her softly pleated chemise tucked provocatively behind the belt, and her sumptuous hair are all feminine. Taunting Hercules, she apes the famous Lysippan pose, leaning upon the club and crossing her legs. She leans forward, extending her arm to pull his

17 Font relief, *Hercules and Auge*, 2nd century A.D. London, British Museum

ear, exulting in her power over the invincible hero.[50] Rubens does not resort to mockery of Hercules; instead, he shows a moment of tension with Pan, in the form of a bust, still coveting Omphale, scowlingly watching the lovers.

Ivy is not only woven in Omphale's hair, but it covers the rustic garden architecture and the niche where the bust of Pan presides. Also Dionysiac is the altar or tripod at the extreme right, where a goat's head, the lusty animal associated with Pan, and a garland with fruit are visible.[51] All of these are emblems of fertility and parallel those in the ancient and Renaissance examples we have seen. Finally, by including the little white dog at Omphale's feet, which Ripa describes as the Renaissance symbol of marital fidelity, Rubens must refer to marriage, as Dosso did before him, although, ironically, the dog bites the lion skin. The jeweled belt that Omphale wears may also refer to marriage, and the ivy leaves may be construed as con-

[46] In his paintings of Roman empresses, e.g., the *Tiberius and Agrippina* in Vienna, pearls form a crown.

[47] In the later Madrid version, the head of the lion is clearly shown between her body and arm, and this surely must have been the case in the Louvre painting, where strange folds have obviously been painted over that area. Sterling-Burchard, as cited in n. 1, fig. 14 (Academia S. Fernando, No. 460).

[48] There are two ancient heads in Mantua in which the classical structure of the face is similar. In one, crinkly waves *à la Cresilas* appear, and the mouth is open and somewhat smiling like that of Omphale. In the other, a bacchante's head, ivy leaves are woven into the hair. Even if these heads were unknown to Rubens, there were many others like them he could have seen. See Alda Levi, *Sculture greche e romane del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova*, Rome, 1931, pls. XXIIa and LIIIb.

[49] The font relief in the British Museum is, I think, extremely close in some ways to Rubens's painting; Schauenburg, *Herakles*, fig. 1 (see *British Museum, A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, by Arthur Hamilton Smith, London, 1904, III, M. 2541). Schauenburg, who discusses it, thought that the Roman Trajanic artist may have taken over certain elements from the Hercules-Auge myth, as there is strife between the two figures, and the female is shown nude from the back. She is trying to place a female cap on Hercules' head with her outstretched arm. He wears a tunic, off one shoulder, with a roll of drapery covering his genitals. The spread of his legs with folds of drapery between them is somewhat like that in Rubens's painting. Omphale's profile with lips parted in a smile is of the same type, and I find similar her arm outstretched toward Hercules' head.

[50] Sterling noted that the tweaking of Hercules' ear was unusual, but that it appeared as well in Pieratti's statue (Fig. 3). It is similar to Omphale's pulling the cap of Hercules in the British Museum puteal (Fig. 17) and in the works by Cranach. It may be transferred from the *Mocking of Christ*, but perhaps Rubens remembered the way Omphale extends her arm to cuff Amor in the fresco by Primaticcio.

[51] In connection with Hercules and Omphale, the goat appears in Pinturicchio and in Dosso. See Ripa, 1613, 294-95, s.v. "Libidine," for the potency of the goat; Ripa, 1613, 25 and 235, s.v. "Amicitia" for the little white dog. These references are from Gibbons, "Two Allegories by Dosso," 495.

jugal as well as Dionysiac.[52] In light of these associations and the Petrarchan tradition of celebrating the triumph of love over the greatest hero, the painting may be placed within the realm of marriage allegory. As Giovanni Vincenzo Imperiale did not marry until 1606, the question of the dating, now generally given as 1602, must be reconsidered. I might remind the reader that Sterling wrote of 1606 "on peut également concevoir l'exécution de notre tableau en cette année," and Evers also proposed this date.[53]

By 1600 the subject of Hercules and Omphale was still at the height of fashion. In the second half of the sixteenth century poets repeated it endlessly. It had been included by Spenser in the *Faerie Queene* which was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth and Shakespeare mentions it in the *Taming of the Shrew*. Given the complicated allegories of the sixteenth century, Rubens surely went back to Ovid's account, as he knew Primaticcio had done before him. His most immediate concern was to make the scene tangible and vital in this commission of the first decade. In a somewhat literal way he used the great poses of Hellenistic sculpture: perhaps he was aware of the ancient tradition of the Lysippan seated Hercules.[54] Highly precocious in relation to his contemporaries is Rubens's powerful and intense concentration on the two protagonists and the contrast he makes between their sexual characteristics in psychological as well as physical terms. He places the attendants in subordinate positions and sets the figures against the dense and shadowy, ivy-covered and rusticated arbor, surrounding them with learned Dionysiac references. Still attentive to the Van Veen-Zuccaro type of weakened allegory, Rubens tells the story emblemmatically, endowing figures from an ancient relief with the Renaissance connotations of blindfolded Amors.[55]

By his inclusion of Dionysiac elements in the painting, Rubens takes a humanistic position in regard to the myth. As a central figure in a Christian-neo-Stoic group, the painter was highly aware that the great hero is the epitome of stoic virtue, brought to his knees.[56] But Rubens also knew that the stoic concept of Hercules did not entirely coincide with the interpretation given him on the remains of ancient monuments, or with that of the paintings which expressed the Petrarchan literary *concetto* of the power of love. Rubens's open treatment of intense passion and strong male-female physical attraction in ancient Dionysiac terms is an early assertion of a dimension of his thought that extended beyond his strong Christian-neo-Stoic ties.

The inclusion of the presiding Pan suggests that Rubens knew certain paintings by Veronese. Similar in concept is Veronese's *Mars and Venus* in New York where the presence of Pan attests to the power of love and fertility.[57] There, Mars bows down in submission to Venus, and is tied to her with a knot by a winged Amor. That subject, interpreted by Edgar Wind, appears earlier in Lorenzo Cossa's *Triumph of Venus* in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara where Mars not only kneels before Venus but is chained to her throne.[58] The reversal of roles produced the type of the so-called *Venus armata* and Wind did not fail to notice her similarity to Omphale.[59] In light of this parallel, it is important to remember that the subject of Hercules and Omphale was very popular in late sixteenth-century Venetian painting. The *Hercules and Omphale* by Veronese is lost, but examples by Tintoretto, Bassano, and Palma Giovane exist. It is a pity we do not know the Veronese. It would be a likely candidate for a model for Rubens.

The conclusion seems to me inevitable that the *Hercules and Omphale* and the *Death of Adonis*, both concerned with love, were made for a particular occasion — the marriage of Giovanni Vincenzo Imperiale in 1606. In one, the hero (or ruler) succumbs to love and is made docile by the "sweet music" of love. In the other, Adonis repudiates love for the hunt (for war?), which brings about his death. One painting might be a warning to women not to be too domineering (like Spenser's Omphale and Shakespeare's Kate); the other a warning to men to seek peace (love) rather than war.

Ackland Art Center, University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill

[52] Ivy leaves are a symbol of marriage in Correggio's portrait of *Ginevra Rangone* in the Hermitage, Leningrad. John Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance*, New York, 1966, pl. 245.

[53] Hans G. Evers, *Rubens*, Brussels, 1943, 114, n. 17.

[54] The descriptions of the lost, colossal bronze seated statue of a lamenting Hercules at Tarentum by Lysippos are extremely interesting in this context, in my opinion. E.g., Hercules was seated on a woven basket (a basket for wool appears on the labeled Hercules-Omphale relief in Naples) on which was spread the lion skin. See Reinach, *Reliefs*, III, 74. A thread is described as being around his thumb. Omphale is mentioned by one writer in reference to the statue, and another writer says that he is the victim of love. A copy of the head (Margarete Bieber, *Ancient Copies*, New York, 1977, fig. 83) seems closer to Rubens's head than that of the Farnese Hercules. See Franklin Plotinus Johnson, *Lysippos*, Durham, 1927, appendix I, 40, 41 (Hercules from Tarentum), 50, 51 (Hercules without weapons). The epigrammatist Geminus, *Greek Anthology*, XVI, 103, trans. William Paton (Loeb Classical Library, 1915, 217), writes: "Heracles, where is thy great club, where thy Nemean cloak and thy quiver full of arrows, where is thy stern glower? Why did Lysippos mould thee thus with dejected visage and alloy the bronze with pain? Thou art in distress stripped of thy arms. Who was it that laid thee low? Winged Love, of a truth one of thy heavy labours."

[55] Reinach, *Reliefs*, III, 368, 369.

[56] That notion was expressed later by Rubens's brother, when he compared Hercules to Samson: "The strength of Hercules also found its limits with the art and cunning of a woman." Philip Rubens, *Asterii ... Homilae*, Antwerp, 1615, 128; ref. from Martin Warnke, *Kommentare zu Rubens*, Berlin, 1965, 29, n. 112.

[57] The fact that Pan was ithyphallic has been overlooked, because his penis seems to be overpainted.

[58] Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, Harmondsworth, 1967, 89f.

[59] *Ibid.*, 94. Also, *Petrarch*, trans. Wilkins, 11, "See lovely Venus, and with her see Mars,/His feet and arms and neck laden with chains."

Poussin's Paintings of Flora*

Thomas Worthen

Poussin's sheer intelligence is one of the most striking and satisfying qualities manifested in his art. This is so clear that there is a temptation to think he was not only intelligent but intellectual, arcanely intellectual, as well. But how evident is this intellectuality in his art? To what extent is that art colored by philosophical speculations that were either original or based on obscure classical passages?

In this study, I will try to define some of the iconographical matters that concerned Poussin in his early years in Rome, specifically in his *Triumph of Flora* in the Louvre, of around 1627 (Fig. 1),[1] and his *Realm of Flora* in Dresden, of 1631 (Fig. 8).[2] The *Realm of Flora* is as strange as it is beautiful, and it has invited the kind of iconographical analysis which presupposes that Poussin was erudite. The *Triumph of Flora* is related to it in theme, and occasionally conclusions derived from analysis of the *Realm of Flora* have been applied, retroactively, to the earlier painting. Most notably, Anthony Blunt has said that in both paintings, "Poussin was consciously referring to the ideas of resurrection and reincarnation. ..."[3] If the two works are related, and I think they are, it seems reasonable to begin with the earlier painting and to establish what it meant for Poussin before contending with the *Realm of Flora*. The *Triumph of Flora* is demonstrably what it appears to be, a celebration of spring, for here Poussin was working with a reasonably well established subject for painting, the triumphs of the seasons. Springtime and the renewal of floral life must, I believe, have remained Poussin's themes in the *Realm of Flora* as well.

Poussin's iconographical sources during his early Roman period were largely visual ones, earlier compositions of the same or related themes by himself or by others. Of course he also used antique literature, for he was a self-conscious classicist; but his choices may not have been obscure. The works of Ovid seem to offer an adequate literary explanation of Poussin's paintings of the goddess Flora. The specific editions of Ovid that Poussin used were Italian translations of the *Metamorphoses* and (less certainly) the *Fasti*. (On Poussin's knowledge of Latin and access to antique literature, see the Appendix.)

The wonderfully unified and poetic scenes that Poussin elaborated upon his various sources are, finally, bound together by his human concerns, the human motivations of his characters and the relationships between them. Poussin's interest in impersonal allegory was conjoined with, even subordinate to, his interest in those figures as people. It would be impossible to understand how Poussin develops a theme like Flora in his successive versions of it without considering this obvious but relatively neglected aspect of his art.

I

The ancient Roman goddess Flora was a goddess of the spring and of flowers, and her feast, the Floralia, was a lusty celebration stretching from late April to early May. Ovid described both the goddess and her festival extensively in his calendar-poem, the *Fasti*.[4] Flora had been painted with fair frequency in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but almost always as a single figure,[5] and rarely so elaborately as Poussin painted her in his *Triumph of Flora* (Fig. 1).

The *Triumph of Flora* was a major painting for Poussin, the largest secular work (165 × 241cm) he was to undertake before the mid-1630's. It shows Flora on a triumphal cart surrounded by three pairs of winged children, above, below, and in front of her. In the left foreground are a pair of river gods, and behind them is a dancing woman attended by a small flock of *putti*. All the other figures in the painting are mortals who were turned into flowers or were otherwise touched by the power of Flora, and who here join her train, each with his or her own appropriate

*Professors Florindo Cerreta and Guido Fink kindly helped correct my translations from the Italian. Among the many other people who aided me in the preparation of this article, Professor Konrad Oberhuber deserves my special thanks.

N.B. A bibliography of sources, cited by author in the notes, appears at the end of this article.

[1] Denis Mahon, "Poussiniana, Afterthoughts Arising from the Exhibition," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, ser. 6, LX, 1962, p. X; accepted by Blunt, 1966, 112, No. 154, and Thuillier, 91, No. 48.

[2] Blunt, 1966, 113, No. 155.

[3] Blunt, 1967, I, 118.

[4] Ovid, *Fasti* V. 183-378.

[5] See Julius S. Held, "Flora, Goddess and Courtesan," *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York, 1961, I, 201-218.

1 Poussin, *Triumph of Flora*. Paris, Louvre (photo: RMN)

flower.[6]

Flora's triumph had previously been used only to represent Spring in series of the triumphs of the seasons.[7] Iconographically, Poussin's work differs from earlier triumphs of Flora only in that his goddess is accompanied primarily by flower-mortals rather than by other deities. Poussin would have been familiar with versions of the Triumph of Flora (or of Spring) in at least two earlier series: a fresco attributed to Taddeo Zuccaro in the Villa Giulia in Rome, painted between 1553 and 1558 (Fig. 2),[8] and a print by Antonio Tempesta, of 1592 (Fig. 4).

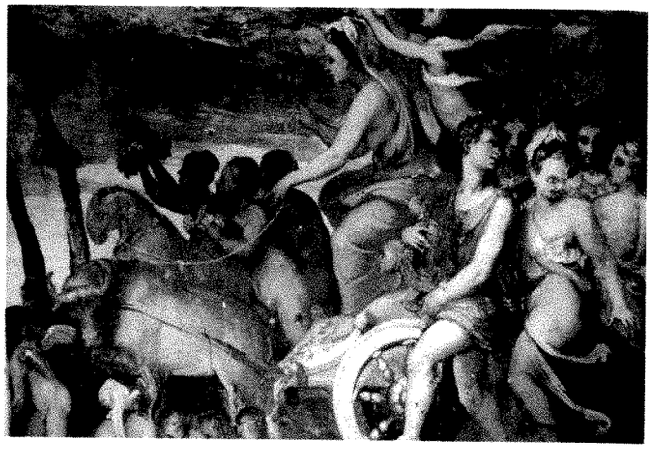
Like Zuccaro, who was his major compositional source, Poussin shows Flora riding her chariot across a flowery meadow toward trees, and being crowned by a figure fly-

[6] Personifications of spring (including those found on Fisher-Price clock toys) always bear flowers because flowers are the most attractive product of the season. The major classical source for such seasonal personifications, in Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* (ll. 187-88), also associates spring with flowers: "Autumn brings fruit; summer is fair with harvests; spring gives flowers; winter is relieved by fire" (Loeb Classical Library, London and New York, 1947, trans. J. H. Mozley). In art it is not always clear who the specific flower-bearer is, for she is sometimes simply Primavera, and sometimes Flora, or Proserpina (e.g., Vasari-Milanesi, VIII, 47), or Venus (Ripa, 316; Cartari, 1636, 37). Flora, however, was the only one who claimed responsibility for metamorphosing humans into flowers (Ovid's *Fasti*, V. 223-28). For the theme of the four seasons, see Hanfmann, esp. I, 278-79 and II, 123-24, n. 109.

The basic iconography of the *Triumph of Flora* was outlined by the first writer to describe it in detail: Bellori, 186.

[7] In addition to the works by Zuccaro and Tempesta mentioned in the text, see the large woodcut illustrated by Wouter Nijhoff, *Nederlandsche Houtsneded 1500-1550*, 's-Gravenhage, 1931-35, pls. 153-54, and the engraving by Virgis Solis, Bartsch 133 (Charles Dempsey, "*Mercurius Ver*: The Sources of Botticelli's *Primavera*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXI, 1968, pl. 72a). An irrelevant exception to the generally serial nature of the *Triumph of Flora* is the print of *Flora's Chariot of Fools* by Crispin de Passe, "a satirical allegory on the mad tulip speculations of the 1630's." See Julius Held and Donald Posner, *17th and 18th Century Art*, New York, n.d., 226 and fig. 232.

[8] John Gere, *Taddeo Zuccaro; His Development Studied in His Drawings*, London, 1969, 56. For another example of Poussin's apparent knowledge of the Villa Giulia decorations, see Charles Dempsey, "Poussin's Marine Venus at Philadelphia: A Re-Identification Accepted," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVIII, 1965, 342-43.



2 Taddeo Zuccaro, *Triumph of Spring*. Rome, Villa Giulia (photo: GFN)

3 Taddeo Zuccaro, *Triumph of Summer*. Rome, Villa Giulia (photo: GFN)

4 Antonio Tempesta, *Triumph of Spring*. London, British Museum (photo: Museum)

ing behind her. In the foreground of both paintings are winged *putti* gathering flowers.[9] In the fresco Flora's chariot is drawn by the zodiacal signs of spring, and the two winged children on the far left are the Gemini, the sign of May. Poussin uses these Twins, now adorned with garlands, to pull the car of his own Flora, though he modeled his specific children on those in another painting from the Villa Giulia series, the *Triumph of Summer* (Fig. 3). Immediately behind the children in Zuccaro's *Triumph of Summer* is a woman offering the fruits of the season to the gods Apollo and Ceres: she served as Poussin's model for his similarly placed figure in the *Triumph of Flora*.

Tempesta's *Triumph of Flora* (or *of Spring*)[10] was less important for Poussin, but he probably knew it for he used a very similar image of Springtime-Flora, a woman who is seated, looking out, with arms spread wide. Tempesta's *putti*, who hold wreathed medallions, each bearing the name and zodiacal sign of one of the months of spring, may have been utilized by Poussin as well. In any event, Poussin's children also represent the months of spring, with a pair of *putti* devoted to each month. The youngest *putti*, those of March, fly above Flora's head and crown her; those of April gather her flowers and attend her, while the eldest, the Gemini of May, draw her chariot onward.

Since the triumph of Flora had previously been used only in groups of the triumphs of the seasons, it is tempting to think that Poussin's painting was intended to

[9] In this case, the specific goddess of the spring is surely Flora, and Zuccaro has taken elements of his painting, directly or indirectly, from the extensive description of the Goddess in Ovid's *Fasti* (v. 195f.): there the three Graces, the women on the far side of the chariot, were associated with her (cf. also Horace's *Odes* IV. 7), and Zephyr crowned her queen of flowers. The *putti* are probably taken from Ovid's description of the Hours (*Fasti* v. 217-220), for though the Hours were usually shown as butterfly-winged maidens, these *putti* perform the action Ovid attributed to the Hours — they "cull [Flora's] gifts in light baskets" (Loeb Classical Library, London and New York, 1931, trans. J. G. Frazer).

[10] The present inscription identifies the goddess as Ceres, but this is a mistake of the letterer's. What should be the subscript on this print is found beneath another season from the series, Summer: "Vere sinum recludit humus floresque comantes: Producens, suaves passim diffundit oderes." Tempesta derived his images of the Seasons primarily from the series of woodcuts of the Seasons, of which *Spring* was mentioned in n. 7, above. His curious teams, among other things, were taken directly from it. His figures in triumph correspond to the personifications of the Seasons in the earlier prints rather than to the gods below them, and these Seasons in turn go back ultimately to Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* (see n. 6), though he turned the Latin female *Hyems* into an Italian male *Inverno*. The figure in Tempesta's first print is thus almost certainly Primavera, not Flora, but were this source not known it would be impossible to tell. The wreath-holding *putti* come from a Medici pageant which was also described by Ripa, 474-77.

be part of such a group as well, but if so, the other scene or scenes have not yet been identified.[11]

In constructing his *Triumph of Flora*, Poussin surely used the primary antique description of Flora, that in Ovid's *Fasti*. He apparently knew Ovid's poem through the translation of it made by Vincenzo Cartari.[12] Cartari's translation is generally accurate, but because some details of the painting came from him and not Ovid, I shall quote the translator.

Ovid's description has not generally been associated with Poussin's painting, perhaps because Ovid placed Flora in a "fruitful garden" (*Fasti* v.209), whereas the *Triumph of Flora* takes place in the open fields. When seen in its context, however, Ovid's fruitful garden takes on a different significance. In the following passage Flora is speaking:[13]

I enjoy perpetual spring, and always
where I am the happy year laughs,
the earth laughs, adorned with green plants
and the trees are proud in their foliage,
nor do they ever set down their green spoils.
There in the fields which were my dowry
I have a garden of the most fertile land
there is.
There is a breeze, and the heavens are temperate and mild;
nor are there lacking limpid brooks
born from live springs whose course
is now twisted and now straight, and here and there
running with a sweet murmur.
In this my husband [Zephyr] made grow
all the most beautiful and lovely flowers
which kindly nature has ever produced,
then he said to me, Now be the goddess of flowers.

The garden, then, is a garden in the fields ("un'orto ne i campi"); it is a garden only because flowers grow there. The *Fasti* also explains the two river gods in the lower left of the painting, who represent the springs of running water.[14]

In her speech in Ovid's *Fasti*, Flora mentions six people associated with flowers:[15] Adonis, Hyacinthus, Narcissus, Crocus, Attis, and Mars. Three of these certainly appear in Poussin's painting. Adonis, crowned with his anemones, carries a spear near the front of the procession, immediately before Hyacinthus, who carries a basket of hyacinths and bends down toward a *putto*. Behind Flora's car, Narcissus raises up his flowers to the goddess. Crocus is not recognizable here, but the woman on the far side of the car raising her bindweed flowers toward Flora is probably Smilax, Crocus's beloved.[16] A fifth, Mars, could easily be identified with the armed man, although he has generally been called Ajax. One of the longest passages in Flora's speech describes how she made Juno pregnant with Mars by touching her with one of her flowers, and the importance of Mars for Flora in Ovid's *Fasti* could explain the prominence given to this figure in Poussin's painting. Ovid calls the remaining flower Attis, who cannot be found in Poussin's painting. In Cartari's translation, however, Attis became Acis (*Aci*), probably through a typographical error.[17] The river god in the foreground may be he.

Thus all, or almost all of Ovid's flowers are found in Poussin's painting. But it is obvious that a number of people in the painting are not cited in the poem. The woman

[11] Thuillier, 91, No. 48, suggested that Poussin's work was painted as a pendant to Pietro da Cortona's *Triumph of Bacchus* in the Capitoline Museum, Rome. Poussin's painting, however, is decidedly larger (165 × 241cm vs. 144 × 205cm) and when the two works are compared, as with slides projected to the paintings' actual dimensions, it is clear that the painting in the Louvre could not have been a companion piece to that in the Capitoline Museum. There are, however, two important, if inconclusive, connections between the two works. First, the Sacchetti family, which had commissioned the *Triumph of Bacchus*, did have a copy of Poussin's *Triumph of Flora* made on the same scale as Pietro da Cortona's *Triumph of Bacchus*: see Giuliano Briganti, *Pietro da Cortona o della pittura barocca*, Florence, 1962, 166, No. 9. Second, a preparatory study by Poussin for the *Kingdom of Flora* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, is much closer in organization and spirit than the painting to the *Triumph of Bacchus*: see Friedlaender and Blunt, 36, A59 (the authors assert, incorrectly, I believe, that the drawing may have been made by a follower of Poussin, after the painting). Thus Pietro da Cortona's painting of the triumph of Bacchus, which can represent the triumph of autumn, not only was an important source for Poussin's *Triumph of Flora* but was also paired with a copy of it.

[12] Cartari, 1551. See the Appendix.

[13] *Ibid.*, 182v-183v (*Fasti* v. 207-212):

La primavera sempre godo, e sempre
Ovunqu'io sono l'anno lieto ride,
Ride la terra di verdi herbe adorna,
E van gli alberi altier delle lor frondi,
Ne pongono giamai la verde spoglia.
Colà ne i campi, quai mi furon dote,
Un'orto ho di terreno il piu fecondo
Che giamai fosse in alcun'altra parte.
Fa l'aura, & il Ciel quivi temprato & lieve,
Ne vi mancano i limpidi ruscelli
Nati da vivi fonti c'hor con torta,
Et hor con dritta riga, & quinci, & quindi
Scorrendo van con dolce mormorio.
In questo nascar fè gia mio marito
Tutti i fiori i piu belli, & i piu vaghi,
Ch'unqua possa produr l'alma natura,
Poi mi disse, hor sij tu la Dea de i fiori.

[14] In Ovid's original, incidentally, there was but a single spring of water: *Fasti* v. 210.

[15] Cartari, 1551, 183v (*Fasti* v. 223-260).

[16] Identified by Blunt, 1967, I, 78.

[17] Cartari, 1551, 183v. Blunt (1967, I, 78) has called the water gods Acis and Galatea. Galatea is usually a sea goddess, and not the deity of a freshwater spring. If Poussin included her here, it was as an adjunct to his Acis.

in the foreground bending down to pluck a heliotrope, for instance, must be Clytie, who turned into that flower. Poussin may have based his *Triumph of Flora*, then, on Ovid's *Fasti*, but he took several of the specific metamorphosed flowers from other stories he had read, and most probably from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Poussin also added a number of figures simply to swell the throng. Six or seven of those who have not been identified are female, and it would probably be impossible to provide mythological transformations for all of them.

It should be noted that one of Poussin's most original conceptions in the *Triumph of Flora* was the very idea of having Flora's flowers attend her in their mortal guises. This is not found in earlier versions of the triumph of Flora, and it is no more than hinted at in Ovid's *Fasti*. Various writers have suggested, apropos of Poussin's later painting, the *Realm of Flora*, that Poussin took his flower-mortals from the poetry of Giambattista Marino. But in every poem that has been proposed, Marino simply described plants, alluding or referring in his descriptions to the mythological people who had turned into them. In none of them did he describe anything more than plants. Since Marino went no further than Ovid, his poems were not essential for Poussin in this case, even though it is possible that Marino's poetry was one of the things that inspired Poussin to treat such a subject and to use these sections of Ovid in the first place.[18] Poussin's love of depicting human relationships was his primary motivation. He wanted to ally Flora more closely with her troop than had been done in earlier paintings and prints, where she had been attended only by springtime divinities who had nothing otherwise to do with Flora. He succeeded beautifully. His *Triumph of Flora* is more unified and more intimate than any earlier version.

The woman on the far left of the painting has generally been called Venus, but though attractive reasons can be produced to justify the name, that is not who she is. She is Primavera, the goddess Springtime. Poussin has taken this figure from another translation of Ovid, this time of the *Metamorphoses*. She is based on a description of Primavera found in the story of Phaethon in Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara's *Le metamorfosi*. The following stanza is Anguillara's elaboration of one Ovidian line,[19] "Young Spring was there, wreathed with a floral crown":[20]

At Apollo's right hand is a girl
who constantly laughs, plays or dances.
She is the season which has a green skirt
sprinkled with flowers, white, vermillion, and yellow;
her face is beautiful, all of roses and milk;
her teeth are pearls, and her lips coral;
and her wanton cupids, who frolic with her,
make her garlands of various flowers.

This description explains the figure's dancing gait, her green skirt, and her accompanying *putti*. Furthermore, Poussin painted the same figure in another picture of the same period, the *Phaethon Before Apollo*, in the Staatliche Museen, West Berlin (Fig. 5), and there every figure is taken quite literally from Anguillara.[21] The same girl who leads Flora's procession is there seen at Apollo's right hand, where she is also accompanied by wanton cupids. In neither painting, incidentally, did Poussin lace her skirt with flowers, which is a Botticellian complexity he would not have liked.

The specific pose that Poussin gave to Primavera in the *Triumph of Flora* — she lifts her skirt, has one shoulder bare, and lowers her head slightly — suggests the pose of the *Flora Farnese* (Fig. 6), and Poussin probably derived his figure from that once-famous Greco-Roman statue.[22] Poussin's dancing girl is not, of course, Flora, but he clearly felt that such a figure was an appropriate model for a goddess of the spring.

The personifications that I have mentioned express the theme of Poussin's *Triumph of Flora*, which is simply the appearance of flowers (as symbolized by Flora and her attendant flower-mortals) in the spring (as symbolized by Primavera and the six *putti* around Flora).

This theme of the fertility of the season is expressed in

[18] See Simon, 58-64. I believe, however, that Simon exaggerates the importance of Marino's poems for Poussin: see n. 29, below.

[19] *Metamorphoses* II. 27, Loeb Classical Library, London and New York, 1916, trans. F. J. Miller.

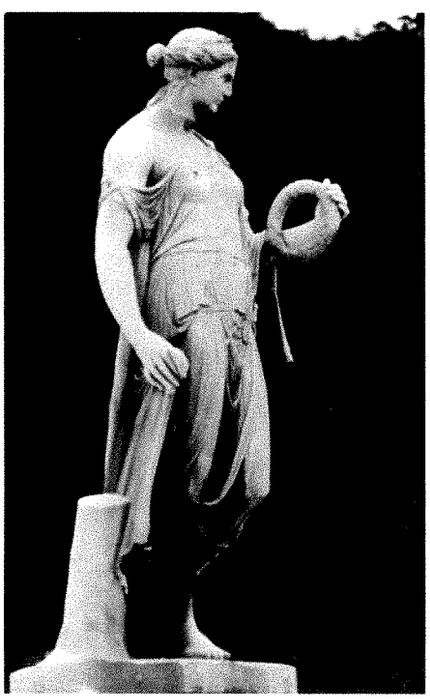
[20] Gli (i.e. next to Apollo) sta dalla man destra una donzella,
Nè mai sta che non rida, giochi o balli,
È la stagion che verde ha la gonella,
Sparsa di bianchi fior, vermigli e gialli:
Di rose e latte è la sua faccia bella,
Son perle i denti, e le labbra coralli;
E ghirlande le fan di varj fiori,
Scherzando seco i suoi lascivi amori

Anguillara, II, 19. All of my quotations are from the edition cited in the bibliog. For a discussion of Poussin's dependence on Anguillara, see the Appendix. Badt, I, 537-38, called this figure Primavera.

[21] See the Appendix. Thuillier, 90, No. 41, dates this painting to around 1627. It may be somewhat later, but I believe it was painted at least before 1631, the date of the *Realm of Flora*.

[22] This statue was not always interpreted as Flora: see Domenico Bassi, *et al.*, *Museo Nazionale di Napoli, compendio della guida*, Naples, n.d., No. 147. Poussin probably also knew the somewhat similar figure of Spring found on the Phaethon Sarcophagus now at Ince Blundell Hall: see Carl Robert, *Die Antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, III, 3, Rome, 1969, No. 332.

5 Poussin, *Phaethon Before Apollo.* West Berlin, Staatliche Museum (photo: Museum)



6 Copy of the *Flora Farnese.* Paris, Jardin des Tuileries (photo: author)

still another way in the painting. The procession forms an even freize stretching from Primavera on the left to the basket-bearing maiden on the right. Only three major figures are separate from this group: the stooping woman and the two water gods in the foreground. These three figures are given an added compositional importance in that they form the lower corners of the triangle whose pinnacle is Flora herself. The two figures to the left appear to be Acis and possibly his consort Galatea, made into a fresh-water stream for the occasion.

They are symbols of water: the robes they wear are blue, the color Poussin generally gave to river gods, and (most important) the woman has a flowing vase between her legs, an attribute that could only mean that she represents the source of that water. The bending woman, Clytie, loved Apollo in vain and was turned into the heliotrope, which still turns its head to follow Apollo's path across the sky. She is dressed in flaming red, and she gathers the "sun-seeking" flower. She cannot help calling to mind the power of the sun which transformed her. Personifications of this power and of the power of water form the compositional base for Flora. Heat and moisture are obviously necessary for the growth of flowers; in addition, Poussin would have been familiar with the antique doctrine according to which these two elements in conjunction, *ipso facto*, produce life.[23] This theory is found, among other places, in the *Fasti*, where Ovid says that these two elements "contain the source of life";[24] and the idea is treated more extensively in his *Metamorphoses*:[25] "For when moisture and heat unite, life is conceived, and from these two sources all living things spring. And, though fire and water are naturally at enmity, still heat and moisture produce all things, and this inharmonious harmony is fitted to the growth of life." Poussin's painting, then, also alludes to that principle in nature necessary for the life which is his primary subject; but there is no way of knowing how seriously he took elemental philosophizing. Perhaps he did mean no more than that water and heat are necessary for the growth of plants.

[23] See, for instance, the first text page of de Vigenère, 2. For another use of this doctrine, one with which Poussin may have been familiar, see Dempsey, as cited in n. 8, 339.

[24] *Fasti* IV. 790-91.

[25] *Metamorphoses* I, 429f, as cited in n. 19. Cf. Anguillara I. 115:

E sebben l'acqua, e il fuoco son discordi,
Posson l'umido e il caldo unirsi insieme;
E fatti amici temprati e concordi,
Fan gravida la terra del lor seme;
E sebben questo a quel par che discordi,
E sempre l'un l'altro contrario preme,
Con la discordia lor concordia fanno,
Che nascon gli animai, vivono e vanno.

Ovid was dealing with the spontaneous generation of animals, and specifically of Python, but the principle is broader. Giuseppe Orologi, in annotations added to Anguillara's *Metamorfosi*, moralized the story of Python and Apollo as follows (p. 26 in the edition *appresso* Bernardo Giunti, MDXCII): "Pitone spaventevole serpente amazzato dallo strale di Apollo, è allegoricamente il soverchio humore rimaso sopra la terra dopò l'inondatione dell'acqua, il quale corrompeva gli huomini, infermavagli e gli uccideva, che fu poi spento da i raggi del Sole, che sono le saette di Apollo, e fu ridotta la terra in una fruttifera purità, che nè il soverchio humore, nè la soverchia aridezza la rendeva sterile, e poco atta à produrre i frutti, che sostentano la vita nostra." For Orologi (and probably for Poussin), Ovid's balance of heat and moisture has more to do with establishing the right conditions for growing things than with a union which *ipso facto* creates life.

In the *Triumph of Flora* Poussin invented the theme of Flora surrounded by flower-mortals. It is continued in a composition preserved in the Louvre of *Zephyr and Flora* (Fig. 7), a copy of a lost study by Poussin.[26] The drawing must be an illustration of the "Flora" section of the *Fasti*, and so it has none of the serial implications of the *Triumph of Flora*.

This sketch can be related to both the *Triumph* and the *Realm of Flora*, and it would appear to have been designed in the period separating the two paintings, 1627-1631. The *Triumph of Flora* was the source both of the general conception of the *Zephyr and Flora* and of many of its details, such as the reclining lovers and the several pairs of *putti*. The *Zephyr and Flora* is closer to the surviving compositional studies for the *Realm of Flora* in Windsor Castle (Figs. 9 and 10)[27] than to the *Realm of Flora* itself. This suggests that the *Realm of Flora* and its studies grew out of the *Zephyr and Flora*. In both the *Zephyr and Flora* and the studies for the painting, Flora is framed by a trellis[28] and is attended by seven flower-mortals (in both, apparently, four men, one woman, and a pair of lovers). Several figures are almost the same, specifically the kneeling *putto* and the reclining woman, one of the lovers in both scenes.

If the Louvre drawing does underlie the studies for the *Realm of Flora* then the central figure in the latter must be Flora. The pose of this figure, however, is also a perfect reversal of that of the Primavera in the *Triumph of Flora*, down to the accompanying *putti*, so she is evidently the goddess Spring as well. The *Realm of Flora*, then, presents us with a deliberately composite deity, a Flora-Primavera. This is a point I shall return to later.

II

The *Realm of Flora* (Fig. 8) is a peculiar painting. At first sight, it seems less a single composition than a compilation of six or seven independent ones. Poussin shows each flower wholly engrossed in its own transformation,

7 Copyist after Poussin, *Zephyr and Flora*. Paris, Louvre (photo: RMN)

with Flora brought down to the level of the flowers and ignored by them. All of these changes, however, reflect Poussin's reinterpretation of the theme as a whole. The superficial disorganization of the composition reflects a deeper unity. Flora is no longer an honored goddess. She is now an unseen spirit wreaking her will on a choice group of poor mortals. They are acting out their deaths and transformations in response to her power.

If the *Realm of Flora* evolved out of earlier compositions depicting the goddess Flora, then it is unlikely that any literary composition could be found which would serve as an adequate basis for Poussin's picture.[29] If Poussin did not depend on literary sources, however, neither did he ignore them. In painting the *Realm of Flora*, the artist probably returned to the two Ovidian books he had utilized while painting the *Triumph of Flora*,[30] es-

[26] Friedlaender and Blunt, 36, A60. The composition is so similar to that of *Phaeton Before Apollo* (Fig. 5) that the two must have been executed around the same time, probably in the late 1620's. See n. 21.

[27] *Ibid.*, No. 214 and A58, accept the earlier state (Fig. 9) as an original, and they date both to ca. 1627. Konrad Oberhuber has suggested, quite convincingly, that both are copies, and he dates the lost originals to the same period as the painting, that is 1630-31. He intends to publish this in the near future.

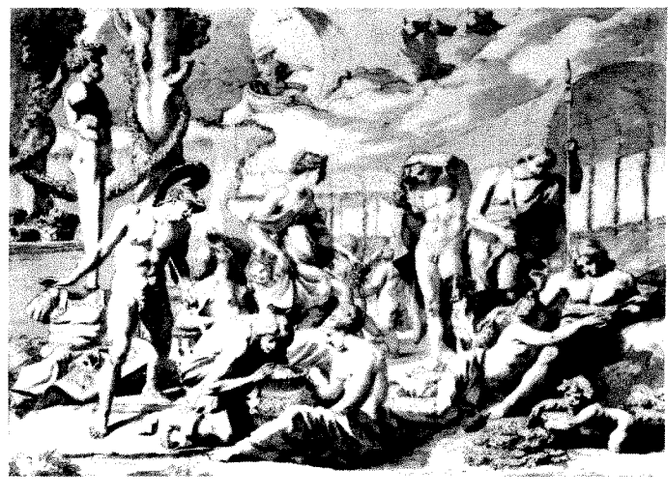
[28] In spite of the trellises, the gardens may both be rustic. The Louvre drawing is too abbreviated to permit us to tell, but the Dresden painting could pass for the kind of "orto ne i campi" that Ovid described in the *Fasti*.

[29] There have been several attempts to find a source for Poussin's painting in Giambattista Marino's poetry, though none of the suggested poems explains that central and most important dancing lady. Spear, p. 565, found Poussin's model in Marino's *La rosa*. Louis Hourticq, in *La Jeunesse de Poussin*, Paris, 1937, 128-136, esp. 130-33, thought the *Realm of Flora* was taken from the sixth book of Marino's *Adone*. The inadequacies of both of these poems have been well demonstrated by Robert Simon, pp. 61-62. Simon, pp. 62-64, thought that Poussin was inspired by the poem *Europa*, though he emphasized that Poussin was primarily struck by Marino's method, and this method led Poussin to develop his scene of flower-mortals. Simon may be partially right, though I believe he overstates the importance of Marino's *Europa*: "Poussin clearly knew Marino's poem [which] probably suggested to Poussin the idea of representing the flowers in human form surrounding a goddess" (p. 64). Poussin had already designed the *Triumph of Flora* and the *Zephyr and Flora*; by this time he needed no help in showing a goddess surrounded by flowers. It should also be noted that the flowers in *Europa* are not so much turned into humans as they are given a supercharged, almost human, sensuousness.

[30] The *Realm of Flora* has often been associated with one or both of these books: Anthony Blunt, *Exposition Nicolas Poussin*, Paris, 1960, 2nd ed., 59, No. 20; Badt, I, 468; Georg Kauffmann, "Poussin's 'Primavera,'" *Walter Friedlaender zum 90. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1965, 94; Robert Oertel, *Nicolas Poussin: Das Reich der Flora*, Stuttgart, 1959, 10-12; Blunt, 1967, I, 117; Walter Friedlaender, *Nicolas Poussin: A New Approach*, New York, 1966, 126. It should be emphasized, however, that to a large extent the influence of these poems on the *Realm of Flora* was not direct, but, rather, came through the *Triumph of Flora* and the *Zephyr and Flora*.

8 Poussin, *Realm of Flora*. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (photo: Museum)

9 Poussin (or copyist), study for the *Realm of Flora*. Windsor Castle, The Royal Library (copyright Library)



10 Studio of Poussin, study for the *Realm of Flora*. Windsor Castle, The Royal Library (copyright Library)

pecially to the *Metamorphoses*. All the transformations painted by Poussin are described by Ovid in that poem; indeed, Poussin paints his mortals exactly as Ovid describes them. On the left Ajax falls on his sword — for Poussin has clarified the Ajax-Mars of the *Triumph* as the suicide, Ajax. Mars did not, of course, become a flower, and so would have been inappropriate here. Narcissus looks at his reflection, and Clytie, who is immediately behind Narcissus, gazes toward Apollo. Hyacinthus, killed accidentally by his lover, Apollo, bends his wounded head (like a broken flower, as Ovid describes it). Adonis has a gouged thigh.[31] Anguillara's translation of the *Metamorphoses* may have been Poussin's source for the couple on the right, Crocus and Smilax, whose story is rarely told (Ovid says only that they were turned to little flowers), and which probably receives as full a treatment here as anywhere:[32]

> Or I will tell how Smilax loved Crocus,
> but was not able to enjoy her beloved's body
> because in the playful battle of love
> they became flowers, one yellow, the other white.

In Poussin's painting, Smilax finally enjoys the beloved body of her Crocus, but she does so as a flower.

Poussin may or may not have referred to Ovid's *Fasti* in making his two preparatory sketches for the *Realm of Flora* (Figs. 9 and 10), but in transforming these drawings into the painting, he probably returned to the *Fasti* for two details, the cornucopia and the *putto* sniffing flowers[33] who balances it, on Flora's opposite side. The goat's horn in the foreground alludes to the star Capella, which arises on the Kalends of May, a date in the middle of the Floralia. Ovid, it is true, said nothing about flowers in relation to this horn. Of it, he said only that before being stellified, the horn had fallen from the goat that had nursed Jupiter, and that the nymph who kept the goat then wrapped the horn with herbs and filled it with fruit.[34] Poussin, however, may well have known this tale from Cartari's translation, and Cartari rendered this last passage as "She took it, and filled it with beautiful flowers, with green herbs, and with fruits. . . ."[35] For obvious reasons, Poussin filled the horn only with "beautiful flowers" when he added it to his painting.[36]

The small boy with the quiver in the lower right of the painting is in part a simple continuation of the *putti* found in every one of Poussin's compositions with Flora, but his image might have been modified by the *Fasti*. He could, of course, be Cupid, though so far as I know Poussin never painted a wingless Cupid (that is, the god of love as opposed to a mere *putto*). Another infant associated with a quiver is Mercury, after he had stolen the arrows of Apollo.[37] Mercury is mentioned as a thief in the *Fasti* at the beginning of the chapter on May, because his mother's name, Maia, was given to the month. Thus it is possible that, like the cornucopia, the *putto* alludes to the time of year of Flora's festival.[38]

Like the *Triumph of Flora*, the *Realm of Flora* deals with fertility. Most obviously, fertility is symbolized by the herm, a Pan or Priapus. The Bacchic relief behind the statue may allude both to antique celebrations made before herms (something Poussin painted several times) and to the license of Flora's festival, the Floralia.[39]

In the *Realm of Flora*, Poussin also restates more clearly than in the *Triumph of Flora* the proposition that life comes from the union of heat and moisture. In the early picture, two flower-mortals, Acis and Clytie, did double duty as symbols of the two elements. In the later picture, heat is represented by the solar god, Apollo, whose sunny chariot is a wholly symbolic feature since the figures on earth are actually lit from the left. Moisture is represented by the nymph with the vase symbolic of Narcissus's spring. This girl has been identified as Echo by Dora Panofsky,[40] and most later critics have accepted her suggestion; but Bellori, who wrote the earliest description of the *Realm of Flora*, was surely correct in calling her "una delle Najadi ninfe."[41] Like the reclining girl in the foreground of the *Triumph of Flora*, and for the same reasons, she is a water nymph.[42] One attribute does suggest that she may be more than this: the undergarment

[31] Climaxes of these various stories are found in Anguillara as follows: Ajace, XIII. 129-131; Clitia, IV. 244-47; Narciso, III. 162-198; Hiacinto, X. 79-96; Adone, X. 302-310. Poussin probably based his Ajax on Antonio Tempesta's illustration of the suicide of Ajax in his *Metamorphoseon* . . ., Amsterdam, 1606, repr., New York and London, 1976, No. 119.

[32] Anguillara IV. 254:
> O dirò come Smilace amò Croco,
> Ma non potè goder l'amato fianco,
> Che nel contender l'amoroso gioco,
> Devenner fior, l'un giallo, e l'altro bianco.

[33] The flowers are usually called violets, but they have the spiky leaves of a narcissus. Poussin may not have been too particular about the shapes of his flowers.

[34] *Fasti* V. 111-28.

[35] Cartari, 1551, 178: "Lo tuole, e lo riempie di bei fiori,/Di verdi herbe, e di pomi. . . ."

[36] Spear, p. 565, thought the horn came from the zodiacal sign of Taurus, the bull that raped Europa. Badt, I, 618, n. 67, thought this was the horn that Hercules tore from Achelous who had assumed the form of a bull (*Metamorphoses* IX. 85-88). This is a goat's horn, however, not a bull's horn.

[37] Poussin would have known the illustration of this scene in Blaise de Vigenère's *Images*, 212. The author wrote that Mercury "enleve à cachettes les flesches d'Apollon" (p. 214). For Poussin's later interest in this scene, see E. Panofsky, "Poussin's *Apollo and Daphne* in the Louvre," *Bulletin de la Société Poussin*, III, May, 1950, 34-36.

[38] For the association of Mercury with Spring and May, see Dempsey, as cited in n. 7, 252, 255-56.

Faunus is sometimes mentioned with Mercury in conjunction with May (*Fasti* V. 97-102; Cartari, 1636, 177). The herm in the *Realm of Flora* may represent this Faunus.

[39] *Fasti* IV. 946; V. 331-354.

[40] D. Panofsky, "Narcissus and Echo: Notes on Poussin's 'Birth of Bacchus,'" *Art Bulletin*, XXXI, 1949, 115-16.

[41] Bellori, 185.

[42] Badt, I, 468, 618, n. 67, is virtually alone in having recognized this.

reaching to her shoulder. Fountains are rarely so well dressed. Poussin, however, had clothed a water goddess in this fashion in one earlier painting, the Chantilly *Youth of Bacchus*;[43] even so, he did not use this detail in his preparatory studies for the *Realm of Flora*. It is possible that Poussin meant the nymph to be Echo (who was after all a nymph, if not necessarily a water one); but her primary role in the painting is that of the goddess of the fountain.

Flora dances midway between these two gods of the elements, in a green gown that could almost be a pigmental mixture of Apollo's gold and the nymph's blue. In the earlier drawing in Windsor Castle (Fig. 9) this relation was more simply expressed, for there the three figures form a rigid vertical column. In the final picture, the relation has softened considerably; it is the attributes rather than the figures which are placed on a (slightly sloping) straight line. Clytie, looking at Apollo, and Narcissus, who looks into the water, are combined with one directly behind the other, because each was the victim of one of these two vital elements.[44]

Poussin deals with fertility a third way, in the landscape of the *Realm of Flora*. Here, in the transition from the brown and watery mountains on the left to the fruitful land in the foreground and on the right, the painter suggests the development of the vegetation of spring out of the watery months of winter (Aquarius and Pisces) or out of the torrents of spring itself. This fits in well with Poussin's interest in the elements of heat and moisture, for the section of the *Metamorphoses* that describes how life comes from heat and moisture follows a description of the wet earth that must be partially dried by the sun to produce life.[45]

In the *Realm of Flora* Poussin was as concerned with the action of each of his flower-mortals as he was with the more general nature of fertility. This emphasis on the activity of each flower forms one of the greatest contrasts between this painting and the *Triumph of Flora*. The earlier painting had shown a largely anonymous troop accompanying Flora, and even those figures who could be identified by their flowers did nothing that gave them any individuality. In the *Realm of Flora*, however, every flower-mortal can be identified, but more than that, each one is wholly involved in his own story. There is no contact between the individual flowers (excepting, of course, Crocus and Smilax); neither do any of them look at Flora. Furthermore, Poussin has used the human stories of these flowers as a basis for arranging them in his picture. Clytie and Hyacinthus both died in the course of their love affairs with Apollo, and here they balance each other, garbed in the same yellow and making related gestures on either side of the solar deity. The four flower-mortals who sit, kneel, or recline in an arc beneath Flora all perished as the result of unfulfilled love, and each still looks at his or her beloved. The three men who died violently stand to either side. The mortals who are still caught up in their passions, Ajax, Clytie, and Narcissus, are placed on the left side of the composition in a landscape that is a natural counterpart to their emotions: they are backed by wild cliffs and surrounded by water, running water before them and falling water behind them. To the right, on the open, even ground before the trellis, are those who died in the course of successful love affairs — Hyacinthus and Adonis — or who, by dying, are united in love — Smilax with her Crocus.

The viewer is acutely aware of the individuality of each person in Poussin's garden, yet paradoxically these people are also more closely identified with their flowers than they had been in the earlier painting. In the *Triumph of Flora*, the figures had carried flowers like attributes, the way Saint Dorothy bears hers. The figures had plucked, carried, or worn them, and the floral and human domains were kept distinct. In the *Realm of Flora*, Poussin has shown almost every figure at the moment of transformation, the moment when he or she became a flower: Clytie, for instance, had stooped to pick her heliotrope in the *Triumph of Flora*, but here she assumes the posture of the sun-seeking flower itself. The human and floral, then, are almost inextricably united in this painting. Bellori's title for the painting, "la trasformazione de' fiori,"[46] is perfectly correct.

In turning the preparatory compositions into the painting, Poussin may have varied his individual flower-mortals slightly, but they suffered no major changes. The studies, however, seem too symmetrical, and one misses the sense of a dramatic unity in them. In making the painting, Poussin changed two of his figures, Flora and Ajax, and by so doing brought the composition to life. Flora now dominates. She dances, almost wholly visible,

[43] Blunt, 1966, 94, No. 134. I accept, however, Thuillier's date of ca. 1627 (p. 89, No. 40).

[44] The chariot of the sun is not a merely casual feature, for Poussin painted it rarely and then with specific iconographic intent. Only in the *Triumph of Bacchus* in Kansas City (Blunt, 1967, II, pl. 89) does the solar chariot have as little obvious purpose as in the *Realm of Flora*. In the *Bacchus*, Apollo is placed immediately above the vase of the water god, one above and the other below Bacchus's triumphal procession. Since a triumph of Bacchus is also a triumph of the vegetation of autumn, surely here too Poussin alludes to the elemental requirements for life. The water and sun are also paired in the *Triumph of Bacchus* as part of a comparison of the earthly and the heavenly: as the fire of earth (which the centauress holds aloft) is outshone by the fire of Heaven, so is earthly water surpassed by the fruit of the vine, which the *putto* holds out for the admiration of the centaur and his passenger.

The Kansas City painting has been questioned (e.g., Thuillier, No. 91a), but it is certainly original, and has been recently accepted, albeit hesitantly, by Anthony Blunt, "Poussin at Rome and Düsseldorf," *Burlington Magazine*, cxx, 1978, 422.

A similar relationship between the personifications of sun and water is found in Poussin's study for the *Birth of Bacchus* in the Fogg Museum (Blunt, 1967, I, fig. 251).

[45] *Metamorphoses* I. 253-437, esp. 416f. See n. 25, above.

[46] Bellori, 185.

within the center of a circle of subordinate figures stretching from Clytie to Crocus, from the water nymph to the distant *amorini*. The colors of this circle are balanced on either side of Flora, with the yellow, deep red, and blue of one side repeated on the other. Flora is also the center of an equilateral triangle whose corners are marked by three things that all seem to be symbols of late April and early May, the time of Flora's feast — the goat's horn, the *putto* smelling flowers, and the chariot of Apollo, whose light strikes the sign of Taurus,[47] the sign that includes the Floralia. Ajax alone is outside of Flora's circle. The cloth at his feet is of a dirty pink, unique in the painting. He stands on the dullest earth in the painting, for elsewhere the ground is at least tinged green. The tones of his body are remarkably close to the earth tones behind him. In fact, Ajax may be dying as a human, but he has not yet become a flower. His flower should be purple, dyed by his own blood, and thus the large white blossom at the hilt of his sword must await its future tint.[48] Poussin has further emphasized Ajax's human death by placing a Bacchic sarcophagus behind him. Nor is Flora the self-absorbed goddess she had been in the drawings, but rather she takes an active role in the process of metamorphosis. She gestures towards Ajax as if to effect his transformation, the diagonal of her body balancing his; and she smiles at his anguish since his death is the birth of a new flower.

The progress of metamorphosis from left to right, from human to flower, is paralleled by the other developments around Flora. The divisions between one part of the picture and another are not necessarily rigid, but they support the suggestion of a transformation within the painting itself: the land is wild and watery, then peaceful and fecund; and the figures are unsatisfied, then at rest. This is the work of Flora and of Spring.

Poussin's Flora may in fact be Spring herself as well. She is so close to Anguillara's description of Primavera, especially in the final painting, that I assume Poussin must have returned to it: not only is she dressed in green and dancing, not only is she accompanied by her wanton cupids and placed at Apollo's right hand; but now she laughs, and we can see the pearls of her teeth between her coral lips.[49]

Poussin's *Realm of Flora*, then, continues the themes of the *Triumph of Flora*; it keeps the flower-mortals and the allusions to the elements, and it unites the two deities of the springtime, Primavera and Flora, as a single person. If this naturalistic interpretation can explain the picture's iconography, is it necessary or even fair to claim that the *Realm of Flora* is an allegory of death and resurrection in general, and even of Christian resurrection, as Anthony Blunt has suggested?[50] If Blunt is right, then either the *Triumph of Flora* must also allude to resurrection or else the two paintings must have very different subjects. Neither of these alternatives is likely, as I have tried to show. The *Triumph of Flora* fits in too well with earlier seasonal triumphs, and the *Realm of Flora* is too closely related to it.

The differences between the two paintings are best understood as changes, not of meaning, of philosophical conceptions, but rather of narrative interpretation. We should not underestimate Poussin's concern with narrative, since in the sequence that goes from the *Triumph of Flora* to the *Zephyr and Flora*, to the early studies for the *Realm of Flora*, and to the painting in Dresden, we can see an increasingly close relationship between Flora and the people around her and between those mortals and their flowers.

The *Realm of Flora* is primarily a description of a garden in the spring. The two men responsible for the genesis of the *Realm of Flora* called it no more than that. The person who commissioned the work, the Sicilian nobleman Don Fabrizio Valguarnera, called it *Primavera*. Poussin himself called it simply a flower garden, "un giardino di fiori."[51]

Drake University

[47] Spear, 565.

[48] The flower has a very slight pinkish tinge. Ajax was supposed to have been transformed into a hyacinth, and this is a carnation. Poussin probably chose the gaudier flower to emphasize its untinted hue. Near the blooming carnation is a bud, the only one in the painting. A bud would be appropriate for a mortal who is becoming a flower, but is not one yet. The Ajax-Mars in the *Triumph of Flora* carries a different kind of flower.

[49] The *Realm of Flora* is a unique painting, but many of its elements, as I have outlined them, can be found in Pietro Testa's large etching of *Spring* (Bartsch 36). In the latter, in the center of the heavens, sits a Flora-Primavera at Apollo's right hand, accompanied both by Zephyr and by wanton cupids. On one side of her is Apollo, on the other are water gods, specifically storm gods. Testa has arranged horizontally the elements that Poussin had arranged vertically. On earth in the Testa, on the same side of the picture as Apollo, is a group of metamorphosed flowers at rest. On the watery side of the picture are several figures in the grip of various passions. These are not flowers, it is true, but they must have been inspired by the flowers on the watery side of Poussin's painting. The iconographical arrangement of this print is so close to that of Poussin's painting that Testa must have been dependent upon the greater master. For other aspects of the iconography of the print, see Elizabeth Cropper's "Virtue's Wintry Reward: Pietro Testa's Etchings of the *Seasons*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXVII, 1974, 154-55. Cropper identified the central figures in the upper zone as Venus and Cupid.

[50] Blunt, 1967, I, 117-18. Blunt further suggests (p. 118) that Poussin's *Realm of Flora* and *Triumph of Flora*, and his other pictures of mortals being turned into flowers, were intended as illustrations of the Pythagorean doctrine of reincarnation, a doctrine Ovid discusses in Book XV of his *Metamorphoses*. This is very unlikely since Ovid's Pythagoras brought up the doctrine of metempsychosis primarily as a justification for vegetarianism. If Pythagoras thought the human soul could be reincarnated as a plant, this would obviously destroy his argument.

[51] Jane Costello, "The Twelve Pictures 'Ordered by Velazquez' and the Trial of Valguarnera," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIII, 1950, 273 and 275, n. 74. The picture mentioned there has been universally accepted as the *Realm of Flora*: Blunt, 1966, 113, No. 155.

If the drawings were made around the same time as the painting, as seems likely (see n. 27), then it is possible that all were made in response to Valguarnera's commission.

Appendix

Poussin, Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara, and Translations of Ovid

Around 1627-28, Giulio Mancini wrote that Poussin had taken up painting only after having learned Latin and after having acquired a knowledge of history and of myths — "doppo haver apreso la lingua latina e havendo acquistato erudition di storie e di favole."[52] There is no reason to doubt that Poussin had studied Latin, but did he know it so well that he would be willing to read a Latin original if a translation were at hand? In at least one painting, the Berlin *Phaethon Before Apollo* (Fig. 5), he illustrated an Italian translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and he reused one figure from this composition twice. I cannot help believing that a classicist like Poussin would have preferred Ovid's original had he been able to read it easily. It seems likely that Poussin was no Latin scholar, at least in his earlier years in Rome,[53] but that, like most of us who are not really fluent in another language, he preferred to use translations. This apparent preference for translations should be considered whenever an attempt is made to find a source for Poussin's work in a Latin author.

Poussin's *Phaethon Before Apollo* is, as I have said, an almost perfect illustration of the beginning of the second book of Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara's *Le metamorfosi*. Every personification in the painting agrees with Anguillara, not with Ovid. Poussin has taken only a few liberties with the text, such as placing an attribute near a figure instead of binding it in his hair.[54] For Poussin, as for Anguillara, the principal personifications were the Seasons and Time itself. I have already quoted the description of Spring. These stanzas follow it.[55]

20. A woman whose face burns and shines,/and who has bound her head with various ears of wheat,/is there with a mirror which the fire of the sun enflames,/and where his ray is turned back and repelled./Everything it strikes it offends in such a way/that it is left dry, destroyed, burnt, and dead./Everywhere it reverberates and illuminates./It bakes the grasses, burns the woods, and dries the rivers.

21. A more mature man is there on the Sun's left hand,/two of the three months which August precedes./He has a red face, a beard already whitened,/and is dirty and fat and filled with must./His breath is polluted, and whoever takes to bed/because of his poison comes to himself again slowly./His garlands are of mature grapes,/of figs and husks of chestnuts, and acorns.

22. An old man is there who exceeds everyone in horror,/and who makes anyone who takes heed of him tremble./Only obliquely does the sun see him at times./He is stiff, and shivers, and his teeth chatter./His every hair is ice, from head to foot;/nor less does he long to ice that shining ray,/and he is wont to breathe out such a fog/that he almost eclipses the brightness of the sun.

23. Another old man is there, most pleasant and more handsome,/much loved and little known./He has wings, and flies constantly, like a bird,/and he seems never to change place./Now he is with winter, now with winter's brother,/now with her who has fire in her mirror,/now you see him with happy springtime,/nor does he ever hold his swift feet still.

24. Always, whomever he is with, he wants to eat,/and he enjoys food not at all precious./His teeth are of steel, and of such hard temper/that they gnaw away everything, however base, however hard./It seems he devours and melts iron and steel,/and things more solid if they can be found;/but much more does he feed and nourish himself/on broken statues and ancient buildings.

The following five stanzas (25-29) describe Time as the father of truth and they say that only three books (*Filosofi*, *Poeti*, and *Oratori*), though somewhat gnawed upon, have escaped Time's gluttony. Anguillara concludes in praise of Henry II of France, to whom the translation was dedicated.[56]

[52] Denis Mahon, "Nicolas Poussin and Venetian Painting: A New Connexion," *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXVIII, 1946, 17.

[53] H. Bardon recognized this: "Poussin et la littérature latine," *Actes du Colloque International Nicolas Poussin*, Paris, 1960, I, 123-25. I suspect that during the twenties Poussin knew even less Latin than Bardon claims.

[54] Poussin also added those standard attributes which go back to Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* (see n. 6). Thus Winter is "relieved by fire."

[55] 20. Una donna, il cui viso arde e risplende,
V'è che di varie spighe il capo ha cinto,
Con un specchio, che al Sole il fuoco accende,
Dove il suo raggio è ribattuto e spinto;
Tutto quel che percote, in modo offende,
Che resta secco, strutto, arso ed estinto;
Ovunque si riverberi ed allumi,
Cuoce l'erbe, arde i boschi e secca i fiumi.

21. Stavvi un uom più maturo da man manca,
Due de' tre mesi, i quai precede Agosto,
Che il viso ha rosso, già la barba imbianca,
E sta sordido e grasso e pien di mosto:
Ha il fiato infetto, e tardi si rinfranca
Chi vien dal suo venen nel letto posto;
D'uve mature son le sue ghirlande,
Di fichi e ricci di castagne, e ghiande.

22. Un vecchio v'è, ch'ognun d'orrore eccede,
E fa tremar ciascun, ch'a lui pon mente;
Sol per traverso il Sol talvolta il vede:
Ei sta rigido, e freme e batte il dente.
È ghiaccio ogni suo pel dal capo al piede,
Nè men brama ghiacciar quel raggio ardente,
E nel fiatar tal nebbia spirar sole,
Ch'offusca quasi il suo splendore al Sole.

23. Un'altro vecchio più grato e più bello,
V'è molto amato e conosciuto poco;
Ha l'ali e vola ognor, come un uccello,
E par che non si muova mai di loco;
Or se ne sta col verno, or col fratello,
Or con lei, ch' ha nello specchio il foco;
Or con l'allegra Primavera il vedi,
Nè mai tien fermi i suoi veloci piedi.

24. Con qualunque si stia, vuol mangiar sempre,
E cibi pur poco preziosi gode;
D'acciajo ha i denti e di sì dure tempre,
Ch'ogni sporcizia, ogni durezza rode.
Par che il ferro e l'acciar divori e stempre,
E se si pon trovar cose più sode,
Ma molto più si pasca e si nutrichi
Di statue rotte e d'edifizj antichi.

[56] Bardon, *Actes du Colloque*, I, 130-31, assumed Poussin knew the Latin text. Blunt (1966, 124, No. 172), thought Poussin deliberately varied Ovid's description; and Erwin Panofsky (*Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1962, 92) thought Poussin summed up a number of Ovid's lesser personifications in the figure of Time.

11 Poussin (or copyist), *Creation of Coral*. Windsor Castle, The Royal Library (copyright Library)

In the background of Poussin's painting the Hours bridle the Sun's horses, a task Anguillara assigned them in stanza 50.

Poussin was not the first artist to find these stanzas attractive. In most of the illustrated editions of Anguillara's *Le metamorfosi*, a woodcut of *Phaethon Before Apollo and the Seasons* was the sole illustration provided for the second book.[57] In the Uffizi is a late Mannerist tapestry of this scene, where, through the reversing process of tapestry manufacture, Primavera is on Apollo's left hand.[58] Apart from its source in Anguillara's poetry, however, Poussin's painting seems to be independent of these earlier versions.[59]

Poussin made several other Ovidian compositions that are closer to Anguillara than to Ovid. One of these is the *Creation of Coral*, known from a copy at Windsor Castle (Fig. 11). Whereas Ovid (*Metamorphoses* IV. 738-752) says that Perseus washed himself on the mainland after Andromeda had been set free, Anguillara (IV. 436-441) wrote that Perseus flew to an island, tied Pegasus to a palm tree, washed himself, and only then freed Andromeda.[60] This accords with Poussin's drawing. Anguillara (but not Ovid) earlier said that Mercury and Minerva "did not fail to help their brother" Perseus ("non mancaro d'ajuto al lor fratello"; IV. 390). Thus Poussin shows them here.[61]

The *Echo and Narcissus* in the Louvre also seems to be touched by Anguillara, who mentions the cast-off weapons, who (unlike Ovid) makes the god of love an active participant in the story (III. 149, 163), and who, far more than Ovid, emphasizes the fact that both lovers *burn* with passion (III. 149-150, 157-58, 168, 183). For most of the themes that Poussin took from the *Metamorphoses*, however, Anguillara's version does not differ significantly from Ovid's.

It is not surprising that Anguillara's translation was the one Poussin used. Within ten years of the first complete edition (1561), Anguillara's *Le metamorfosi* had supplanted every other Italian translation of the *Metamorphoses*, even Ludovico Dolci's previously popular *Le trasformationi*.[62] *Le metamorfosi* went through some thirty-two editions between 1561 and 1624, all Venetian. At the time Poussin was painting his *Floras*, no other Italian translation had been published for around sixty years, with the sole exception of one Latin-Italian version of 1584 from Lyon. Anguillara's translation was so standard that Cesare Ripa in his *Iconologie* augmented Latin quotations from the *Metamorphoses* with selections from Anguillara's Italian without giving credit to anyone but Ovid, as in his quotations of Anguillara's description of the Seasons grouped around Apollo.[63]

One final feature of Anguillara's work should be mentioned. In most editions each book of the *Metamorphoses* is followed by annotations by Giuseppe Orologi that give moralistic and naturalistic interpretations of the various tales. These notes were available to artists like Poussin, who probably used them.[64]

Vincenzo Cartari's *I fasti di Ovidio* was published in only one edition, of 1551 in Venice, and I cannot so easily prove that Poussin used it. Still, that he did use it is not as unlikely as might at first be thought. By Poussin's time, Cartari's work was the only translation of the *Fasti* that had been published in any language. Further, Cartari's translation had been the most recent edition of the *Fasti* published in Italy by over twenty years.[65] True, some six editions had been published in Lyon and Antwerp between 1547 and 1568; but even if Poussin had not deliberately sought a translation (and I, of course, think he did), Cartari's work would probably have been as readily available to him as any other edition of the *Fasti*. As I have tried to show, Cartari's translation does explain rather nicely several details in Poussin's paintings of Flora.

[57] E.g., the edition *appresso* Fabio and Agostino Zoppini, MDLXXX. In some, the illustrations to each book show a variety of events from the book. In this case, the Seasons are not shown around Apollo; e.g., the edition *appresso* Bernardo Giunti, MDXCII.

[58] Tapestry No. 51. It is illustrated by Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, II, 2, Leipzig, 1928, pl. 392.

[59] Still earlier, Primaticcio designed his *Phaethon Before Apollo* in the Salle de Bal at Fontainebleau at a time when Anguillara was probably attached to the court of Henry II of France, and during the period when he was writing this very section of *Le metamorfosi*, around 1553-55 (Mario Pelaez, *La vita e le opere di Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara*, Bologna, 1891, 13-15. For the dating of the Salle de Bal [ca. 1552-58], see Dorothee Rondorf, *Der Ballsaal im Schloss Fontainebleau zur Stilgeschichte Primaticcios in Frankreich*, Ph.D. diss., Bonn, 1967, 15-16). In Primaticcio's scene, there is a figure with two children at Apollo's right hand who may well be Springtime. The painting and the poem may be related, but I do not know which came first or whether Anguillara could have had any influence on Primaticcio's iconography.

[60] The Nike is not found in Anguillara's stanzas, but the palm tree evidently suggested "Victory" to Poussin. I have not been able to find a source for one detail in the picture, indeed, the central motif on the left side of the composition: the *putto* who licks water from the hair of the nymph before him. This of course indicates that Perseus is washing his hands in fresh water; beyond that I cannot explain it.

[61] Blunt, 1967, I, 118-122, suggested that the *Realm of Flora* and the *Creation of Coral* formed part of a series with another composition that has survived as a drawing in Windsor Castle, the *Coloring of the Rose*. This is quite possible. In any event, marginal comments printed next to Anguillara's passage on the *Creation of Coral* fit in well with Poussin's poetic interpretation of natural fact (the following is from the edition cited in n. 25, p. 145): "I coralli, mentre, che stãno sotto acqua sono verghe tenerissime, ma subito che sono tratte all'aria, divẽgono dure come pietra, però q̃sta non è favola, ma historia naturale." Blunt, 1967, I, 119, suggests the allegory is considerably more complex by alluding to a passage quoted by Blaise de Vigenère, p. 261, according to which Perseus represents the sun. That passage, however, refers only to the story of Perseus and Medusa, and does not mention the tale of Andromeda.

Spear (p. 566) and Simon (p. 58) have related these three drawings to Marino's poetry, but Marino's poetry is not a necessary explanation for at least two of the three drawings, as I have tried to show.

[62] Dolce's *Le trasformationi* went through seven editions between the first one, of 1553, and the last, of 1570. I have taken this and the subsequent bibliographical information from published bibliographies, primarily the *National Union Catalogue* and those of the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The number of editions mentioned should thus be considered as minima.

[63] Ripa, 474f.

[64] See nn. 25 and 61.

[65] There had been a number of editions of the *Fasti* in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, the last one from Toscolano, of 1527 or 1528.

Bibliography of Frequently Cited Sources

Anguillara, Giovanni Andrea dell', trans., *Le metamorfosi di Oviâio [1st complete ed. 1561]*, in *Classici italiani*, L-LII, Milan, 1805.

Badt, Kurt, *Die Kunst des Nicolas Poussin*, Cologne, 1969.

Bellori, Giovanni Pietro, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*, Rome, 1672.

Blunt, Anthony, 1966, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin. Critical Catalogue*, London.

———, 1967, *Nicolas Poussin*, New York.

Cartari, Vincenzo, trans., 1636, *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi*, Venice.

———, 1651, *I fasti di Ovidio*, Venice.

Friedlaender, Walter, and Blunt, Anthony, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin*, III, London, 1953.

Hanfmann, George M. A., *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, Cambridge, Mass., 1951.

Ripa, Cesare, *Iconologie*, Rome, 1603.

Spear, Richard, "The Literary Sources of Poussin's 'Realm of Flora,' " *Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, 563f.

Simon, Robert, "Poussin, Marino, and the Interpretation of Mythology," *Art Bulletin*, LX, 1978, 56f.

Thuillier, Jacques, *L'Opera completa di Nicolas Poussin*, Milan, 1974.

Vasari, Giorgio, *Ragionamenti*, in *Le opera...*, ed. G. Milanesi, VIII, Florence, 1906.

Vigenère, Blaise de, *Les Images ou tableaux de platte peinture des deux Philostrates...*, Paris, 1615.

On Velázquez's Working Method*

Gridley McKim-Smith

In the seventeenth century, most painters were also draftsmen. Thus, it remains a puzzle that we possess no undisputed drawings by such major artists as Caravaggio, Hals, Vermeer, and Velázquez. Velázquez's teacher Pacheco tells us that Velázquez did draw in his youth and that he copied works of art on his visit to Italy from 1629 to 1631.[1] None of these drawings is known today, although the loss of a student's sketches or a traveler's notes is not wholly unexpected. None of the early sources, however, mentions drawings made for paintings. For this and other reasons, art historians have held that Velázquez did not need preparatory drawings because he worked out his compositions directly on the canvas. Painting after painting shows revisions made in oils, and these *pentimenti* are cited as proof that drawings never played a part in the creation of Velázquez's canvases.[2] Recent study of the *pentimenti* shows, however, that they prove the opposite. Far from indicating that preliminary drawing was superfluous, Velázquez's revisions can be associated closely with sketches on paper.

Although my study of *pentimenti* has yielded the first sure preparatory drawings by Velázquez, it has not yielded many. By my count his draftsmanly *oeuvre* now totals five. Examination of the five drawings nonetheless provides a new understanding of Velázquez's way of thinking and seeing throughout a career that spans four decades. In this study a description of the five preparatory drawings is followed by a discussion of the role of drawings, *pentimenti*, and underdrawings in the creation of Velázquez's paintings.

Velázquez had to achieve a good deal within the confines of a canvas: to convey fleeting effects of light and color, to represent complicated scenes with accuracy and wit, to satisfy learned patrons, to express current artistic theory—and to reconcile all these demands within forms that were both harmonious and unlabored. Because Velázquez's concerns and accomplishments were so varied, a full discussion of his working method would consider all of them and more. But even if it were possible to identify every element that played a part in the genesis of a painting, a discussion of all these factors would go beyond the limits of this article.[3] Here I will confine myself to one aspect of Velázquez's working procedure. I will describe his way of assembling a painting: his drawings, underdrawings, and revisions in paint. If, in understanding these mechanics, we catch a glimpse of Velázquez's mind at work, of his habits and tendencies, then we may see the discreet painter from a fresh point of view. By understanding Velázquez's process, in other words, we may better comprehend his products.

Preparatory Drawings

Velázquez painted the *Surrender of Breda* in 1634–35 for the Hall of Realms in the Buen Retiro Palace (Fig. 1). On the verso of the studies for the *Surrender of Breda* in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, a sketchy rendition of the victorious general of the Spanish forces, the Marqués de Spinola, fills the lower half of the sheet (Fig. 2).[4] His pose resembles that of the central figure of the painting. The drawing bears an eighteenth-century in-

* Grants from the American Philosophical Society made possible the acquisition of photographs for this study. With the financial support of Tulane University and private foundations in New Orleans, I was able to travel. I am grateful to Jonathan Brown, Priscilla E. Muller, Seymour Slive, Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, Mary Cazort Taylor, Caecilia Davis-Weyer, Peter Glassman, and Umberto Rodríguez-Camillone for advice and assistance, and to my husband Frank for drawing the diagrams. It is thanks to the support of Robert Stevens and Colette Newman that this project was completed. Their faith and enthusiasm provided the momentum for bringing together the many aspects of a complex topic in printed form, and I hope they share my awareness of the importance of their contribution.

N.B.: A bibliography of frequently cited sources follows the footnotes.

[1] Pacheco, II, 13, 146 and I, 160. In the 18th century, Palomino, 901–02, echoed Pacheco on Velázquez's Italian drawings.

[2] Aureliano de Beruete, *Velazquez*, Paris, 1898, 172: "Comment expliquer ce fait (l'incompréhensible rareté de dessins)? Velazquez aurait-il donc executé ses tableaux sans s'aider d'études préliminaires, voire d'un croquis de la composition? Je suis tenté de la croire, car, en admettant même l'incurie de la plus grande de la part de ce qui possédaient ces dessins, il n'est plus guère probable qu'on les ait à peu près tous égarés."

Camón Aznar, 1964, I, 118. "Debía de comenzar el cuadro ya sin dibujo previo." See also I, 148 and esp. II, 891: "La rareza de los dibujos de Velázquez puede explicarse porque pintaba alla prima. El más evidente testimonio que tenemos de ello son sus cuadros, tan retocados, tan espontáneos y hechos de pinceladas improvisadas, que luego tenía que rectificar."

See also Jeannine Baticle, "Les Procédés techniques de Velazquez," *Jardin des arts*, No. 75, 1961, 15, and Gudiol, 1974, 319–20.

[3] Further research, including more technical tests, will be published in my forthcoming book, *Velázquez. The Archaeology of Genius.*

[4] Black chalk on cream laid paper; 264 x 169cm; Angel María de Barcia Pavón, *Catálogo de la colección de dibujos originales de la Biblioteca Nacional*, Madrid, 1906, 491. See Barcia, 1899, 273–76; López-Rey, 1963, Nos. 634, 635; Gudiol, 1974, 319.

1 *Surrender of Breda.* Madrid, Museo del Prado (photo: Prado)

2 *Spinola in Profile* and *Spinola's Head in Profile.* Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 491 (photo: Biblioteca National)

3 *Figure Seen from Behind and Spinola Turned in Three-Quarter View.* Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional 491 (photo: Biblioteca Nacional)

scription: *Velasquez*. The accessibility of the painting might have permitted copies by a hand other than Velázquez's, and in 1973 Gudiol excluded the page of the studies for the *Surrender of Breda* from Velázquez's catalogue.

The problems raised by the studies for the *Surrender of Breda* demonstrate the usefulness of radiographs in determining the role of drawing in the creation of a painting.[5] In the painting, Spinola, the victorious general of the Spanish troops, places his right hand on the shoulder of the defeated Dutch leader, Justinus of Nassau. A crucial sketch on the recto of the studies for the *Surrender of Breda* is intimately related to the painted rendition of Spinola (Fig. 3). To the right of the center figure, a man is represented, his head turned in almost three-quarter view towards the center of the page and his shoulders foreshortened. Barcia noted this sketch in 1899, but it has been overlooked by most later writers. No doubt the cause of the oversight is the condition of the drawing: the chalk has worn away in what must have been a faint notation even when fresh. Now visible only in strong raking natural light, the image is barely discernible in a photograph. The hieroglyph-like mark that appears at the figure's hip level and that resembles a cross atop an oversized tilde is not part of the original sketch but appears on drawings by various artists in the collection of the Biblioteca Nacional.

Barcia, with characteristic intuition, suggested that this faint figure was a preparatory sketch for Spinola. The radiograph made over sixty years later bears Barcia out (Figs. 4–7). In the painting, Spinola first appeared not in profile, but posed almost frontally with his head turned towards the center of the canvas. The horse's hindquarters first filled the spot where Spinola's legs now appear, and it is hard to see the original position of Spinola's lower limbs. In any event, in the drawing Velázquez appears to have worked over the legs, indicating alternative positions. On the verso of the studies for the *Surrender of Breda*, the brief notation of Spinola in profile fills the lower half of the sheet (Fig. 2).[6] Above it lies another faint profile head of Spinola, again noted by Barcia but ignored by later writers.

The role of the figure seen from behind in the drawing (Fig. 3) is not clear. Barcia's guess was that in the painting, Velázquez converted the sketched figure into the young man who holds the reins of the horse. The drawing shows, however, that the young man held a vertical object such as a lance or banner. Metamorphoses that his pose may have undergone in the picture cannot be traced, for the figure is hidden behind the horse and the radiograph is not readable. The existence of the figure seen from behind and the faint notation of the three-quarters view of Spinola, neither of which appears in the final painting, offer convincing evidence that the studies for the *Surrender of Breda* were not drawn after Velázquez's painting. In every way the four sketches have the characteristics of preparatory drawings.

The intricacies of Velázquez's working method are a topic in themselves and will be discussed below. It must be mentioned here, however, that this first certain example of Velázquez's draftsmanship establishes that he did draw when he prepared his paintings. Far from proving drawing irrelevant, Velázquez's *pentimenti* here are intimately linked to his sketches. Judging from the studies for the *Surrender of Breda*, he did not prepare a set of drawings only as a point of departure. Instead, he made drawing an integral part of his creative process, alternately picking up chalk, then brush, then chalk, then brush again as he sorted and refined his images.

Although conclusions drawn from a photograph cannot be as certain as conclusions from an original drawing, recognition of the studies for the *Surrender of Breda* as Velázquez's makes possible the confirmation of another attribution: the *Guardian Angel* in charcoal, destroyed in 1936 (Fig. 9). The *Guardian Angel* has been linked with Velázquez's *Christ After the Flagellation Contemplated by the Christian Soul* of about 1628 in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 8). Although there is nothing in the painting to contradict the relationship, there have been no securely attributed drawings of comparable style, and the identification of the *Guardian Angel* has not found universal acceptance.[7]

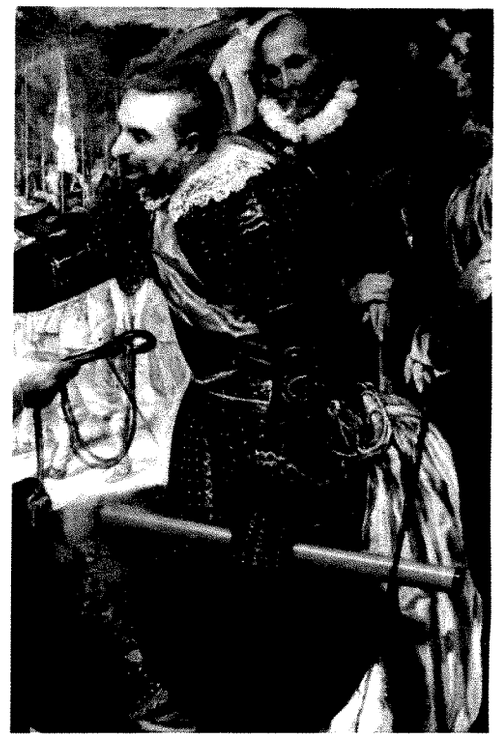
The sketched angel does not match the painted angel exactly. In the painting, the angel has acquired wings and curly hair, and he holds his robe a little less delicately than in the drawing. Here radiographs do not help explain the drawing's relation to the painting. The head of the angel in the radiograph, for example, does not show the cap of straight hair seen in the drawing. A more convincing proof of the drawing's authorship is its stylistic resemblance to the page of the studies for the *Surrender of Breda* of about six years later. The medium is different, but occasionally the artist handles the charcoal and chalk similarly. Spinola in profile (Fig. 2) is a visual abbreviation, whereas the *Guardian Angel* was developed more carefully and, one suspects, more

[5] The radiographs were made in 1960–61. Since then the plates have been in storage. Photographs of plates have been available, but they eliminated detail. Thanks to the cooperation of the Prado Museum, I have examined the plates and compared them with the canvas.

[6] Having set the essential pose, Velázquez may have experimented with the position of Spinola's left arm in chalk and paint. In López-Rey's opinion, the radiograph shows Spinola embracing Justinus with both arms, and López-Rey calls attention to the faint smudge in the drawing which may indicate the upper edge of Spinola's extended left arm (1963, Nos. 634, 635). As I read the radiographs, it is not clear whether Spinola first embraced Justinus with both arms.

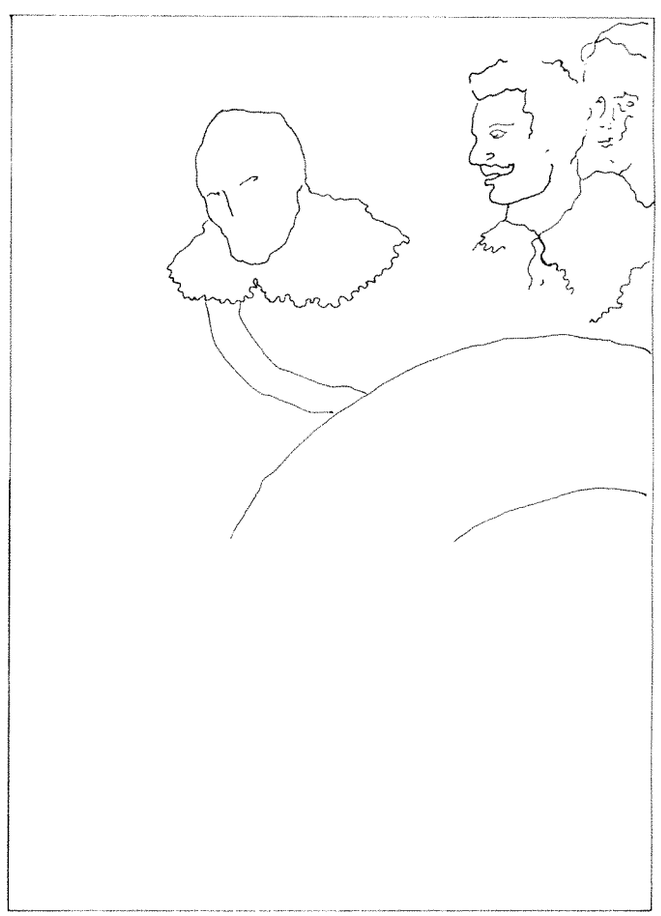
[7] Charcoal on buff paper; 218 x 115cm; Instituto Jovellanos No. 410. See López-Rey, 1963, No. 631; Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *Catálogo de la colección de dibujos del Instituto Jovellanos de Gijón*, Madrid, 1969, 133, No. 410; Gudiol, 1974, 319.

4 Radiograph of *Surrender of Breda*. Madrid, Museo del Prado (photo: Prado)

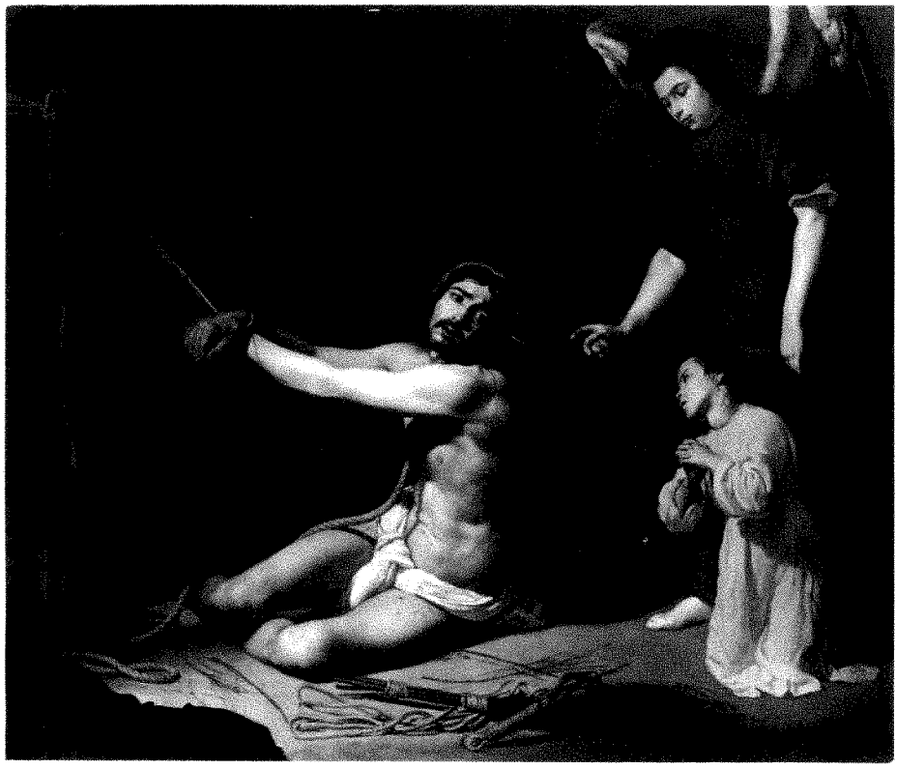


5 Detail of Fig. 4. (photo: Prado)

6 Radiograph of Fig 5. (photo: Prado)



7 Diagram of figures that were later painted out, *Surrender of Breda* (detail indicated in Figs. 5, 6) (diagram: B. F. Smith)



8 *Christ After the Flagellation Contemplated by the Christian Soul.* London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery)

9 Study for *The Guardian Angel.* Formerly Gijón, Instituto Jovellanos 410 (photo: Mas)

slowly. Thinking in geometric terms, Velázquez makes the upper left arm in both drawings a rectangle, and he attaches a trapezoidal forearm to it. In Spinola in profile, Velázquez must have intended to work out hands and feet later, for he omitted them. Even when giving particulars of face and dress in the *Guardian Angel,* he left the hands and feet as oval paws. In intent, the uncommitted strokes that seek a gesture in the right hand of the *Guardian Angel* are not unlike the vestiges of Velázquez's experimentation in the arms of the figure seen from behind or of Spinola in profile.

Don Gaspar de Borja y Velasco (1582–1645) sat for Velázquez between 1637 and 1645.[8] At least eleven oil portraits of Cardinal Borja bear attributions to Velázquez. Opinion as to which is the original differs, and some believe that all the paintings are copies. The fact that the drawing of Cardinal Borja in the Real Academia, Madrid (Fig. 10) communicates greater character than any of the paintings no doubt enhances one's appreciation of it, but the possibility that all the extant paintings may be copies perhaps exaggerates the superiority of the drawing.[9] Compared with the painting of Cardinal Borja at Ponce (Fig. 11), the drawing shows shading of greater subtlety and descriptive power. Delicate transitions of tone masterfully describe the high cheekbones, graying beard, and fatigue-circled eyes.

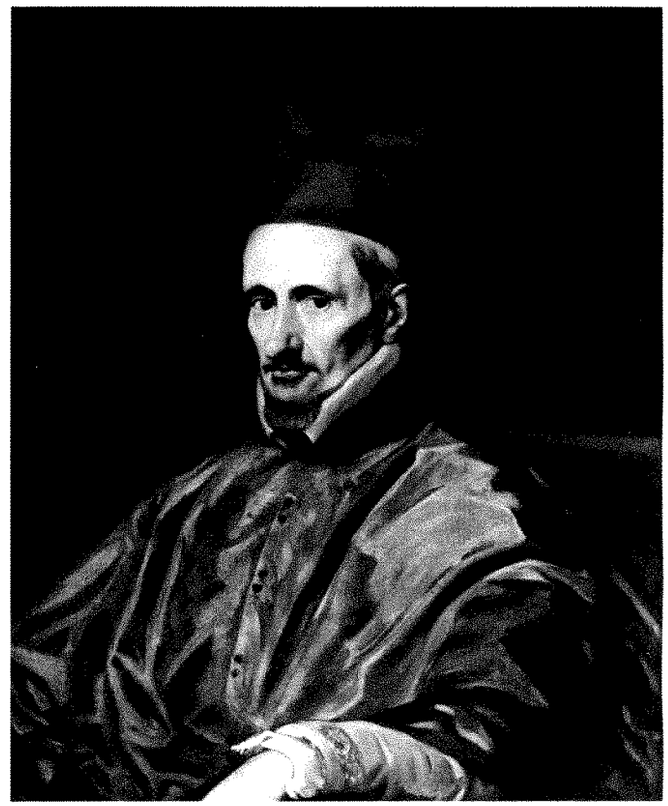
Most writers have assumed that the drawing is preparatory for a painting. If one is determined to be skeptical, the drawing's purpose is questionable, given the lack of a secure painting against which to evaluate it. Careful examination of the drawing offers persuasive evidence, however, that it is preparatory and hence by Velázquez. Not visible in the photograph are slight, tentative lines on Borja's right, indicating that the artist hesitated over the width of the collar. By exaggerating the darks, the photograph makes the drawing look finished, but in the original many strokes appear slight, thin, and experimental.

The study for the *Portrait of Cardinal Borja* offers a case in which a long-accepted drawing is linked to paintings of questionable authenticity. In the case of the studies for the *Portrait of Innocent X,* the situation reverses itself: the painting, which is signed, documented in 1650, and of impeccable provenance, holds a

[8] Juan Carreño de Miranda testified in 1658/59 that Velázquez painted Borja while Borja was Archbishop of Toledo from 1643 to 1645; see Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil, *Anales de la vida y de las obras de Diego de Silva Velázquez,* Madrid, 1885, 242. Gudiol, 1974, 207–08, dates the portrait 1637.

[9] Black chalk on cream laid paper; 186 x 117cm; Real Academia No. 72. See Barcia, 1899, 276; López-Rey, 1963, No. 644: Gudiol, 1974, 208, 318–19.

10 Velázquez (?), *Cardinal Borja*. Ponce, Puerto Rico, Museo de Arte (photo: Museo de Arte)



11 Study for the *Portrait of Cardinal Borja*. Madrid, Real Academia (photo: Eleonor Domínguez)

well-deserved position in Velázquez's *oeuvre* (Galleria Doria Pamphili, Rome; Fig. 12). The two drawings, wisely attributed to Velázquez in 1974 by Taylor,[10] present problems of provenance and have met with verbal opposition from several scholars (Figs. 13, 14).

Both drawings are said to have been found among the possessions of the Doria Pamphili family during the first half of this century. At this writing, no one in the family remembers either sketch, and it seems that the Princes Doria did not collect drawings.[11] This problematic provenance raises the possibility that the drawings are twentieth-century forgeries. Examination of them, however, offers convincing proof of their mid-seventeenth-century origin. Although the watermark in the first sketch (not visible in the photograph) has not been identified, its three hillocks, eagle, and elaborate scrollwork resemble marks on Roman papers of 1650–1700. The choice of pen rather than chalk would be foolhardy for a forger, for until now the best-known drawings attributed to Velázquez have been executed in chalk or charcoal. Neither is it likely that a forger would have had the mastery to execute the drawings with a reed pen, an instrument native to Velázquez's Andalucía, popular in his time, and difficult to use.[12] Although no seventeenth-century references to Velázquez's pen drawings survive, there is no reason to believe that he would be unfamiliar with the medium, and throughout the eighteenth century collectors believed he used pen and ink.[13]

As in the case of the studies for the *Surrender of Breda*,

[10] Mary Cazort Taylor, *European Drawings from Canadian Collections 1500–1900*, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1976, No. 16. First sheet (Fig. 13): pen and brown ink over graphite on cream laid paper; unidentified watermark: *CESINI* or *UCESINI;* 203 x 165cm. Second sheet (Fig. 14): pen and brown ink over graphite on cream laid paper; 260 x 194cm.

[11] Dr. Eduard Sefarik of the Galleria Doria has been extremely helpful in checking the provenance of these drawings.

[12] I am grateful to Marjorie Cohn of Harvard University for observations made on the basis of photographs and to the Conservation Department of the National Gallery of Canada for examining the drawings in the original. For the use of the reed pen in Seville, see Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, "The Use of the Reed Pen by the Artists of Andalucía," *Notes Hispanic*, II, 1942, 1–13; Jonathan Brown, *Murillo and His Drawings*, Princeton, 1976, 22–27.

[13] See the sheet of sketches formerly in the Boix Collection (Mas 33608), Sotheby's, March 6, 1973, lot 178; and the drawing formerly in the Jovellanos Collection (Mas 1958, Jovellanos 407).

12 *Innocent X*. Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili (photo: Mas)

13 Studies for the *Portrait of Innocent X*. Toronto, Theodore Allen Heinrich (photo: National Gallery of Canada)

the most persuasive proof of the authorship of the two studies for the *Portrait of Innocent X* comes from Velázquez's painting. Particularly in the first drawing (Fig. 13), the description of the powerful and not altogether lovable personality of the Pope is comparable to that of the painted image. The fleshy brows draw together over the nose, the lips press firmly shut. Were one forced to evaluate this attribution on the basis of photographs alone, one might refuse to believe that the drawings are Velázquez's, for the camera flattens and distorts. In the original, however, the hatching is exquisitely varied: soft and fragile, a thin web of lines almost invisible to the naked eye varies the structure of the nose and forehead and hollows out the cheekbones. Darker flickering pen strokes accent the eyes, moustache, and ears. Strikingly three-dimensional, the drawing communicates a sense both of texture and of structure, and the effect of Velázquez's subtle penwork is to convey an uncomfortably intense presence.

In sketching the surplice and mozzetta in the second drawing (Fig. 14), Velázquez shows his understanding of the qualities of linen and satin; although he uses a quick, nervous line, the strokes, however light, do not hesitate in describing their subject. The Pope's lower lip is slightly askew; this may represent a slip of the pen or a fleeting grimace. As Taylor points out, the figure at the lower right is closest in pose to the one in the painting. Seated in a square-backed chair, the Pope turns in three-quarter view towards his viewer. In the

14 Studies for the *Portrait of Innocent X*. Toronto, Theodore Allen Heinrich (photo: National Gallery of Canada).

15 Detail of Fig. 12

16 Diagram indicating major *pentimenti* in *Innocent X* (diagram: B. F. Smith)

painting, Innocent holds the letter with Velázquez's signature in his left hand, whereas in the drawing he grasps it in his right. Except for discolored varnish, the painting remains in good condition, and examination of its surface suggests that the letter first appeared in the Pope's right hand. Below the fingers, Velázquez's brushwork changes, and a slanted rectangle in the shape of a letter appears (Figs. 15–16). Within the rectangle, the paint is thicker than the liquid oils used elsewhere. Instead of laying on the pigment with horizontal strokes, Velázquez used a loaded brush to daub from above, leaving clots of opaque white. Although this way of applying the paint may have been useful to blot out a letter, it is inappropriate for the representation of the thin surplice and markedly different from Velázquez's brushwork elsewhere in the robes. In color, the white paint that covers the letter has yellowed more than the surrounding pigment. The area around the fingers of Innocent's right hand suggests further that Velázquez has covered something: not only is the white paint between the fingertips daubed thickly, but this paint lies on top of the fingers. In several places, the intruding white is left unsmoothed, making more painterly the vaporous outline of which Velázquez was always fond.

As for the Pope's left hand, it appears to have rested first more firmly on the arm of the chair, for a *pentimento* appears about three-quarters of an inch above its present outline. This earlier position does not coincide with the position of the left hand in the sketch at the lower right of the first sheet (Fig. 13). Instead, it is close to the sketch at lower left. Once again, Velázquez's flexible, receptive turn of mind is evident. His studies for the *Portrait of Innocent X* seem a collection of trials aimed at finding a pose, and he may have omitted a summarizing drawing, preferring in the painting to pull together his ideas from various pen sketches. Curiously, for this most painterly of painters, there is no extant study of the head turned in three-quarters view. Thinking like a sculptor, Velázquez instead drew images full-face and in pure profile, leaving the three-quarters image to his brush.

In the first sketch of Innocent X, Velázquez used traditional hatching. In the second sheet, however, his profile study departed from convention. Unquestionably, the tangle of light strokes which forms a lively network over the Pope's face indicates textures of beard and aging flesh. Although the system is confusing at close range, at a distance it conveys structure with a softness impossible to mechanically crisscrossed lines. Whether working in chalk or pen, Velázquez was responsive to his medium. Because the sharpened chalk

used in the figure seen from behind (Fig. 3) encouraged fine revisions, Velázquez exploited the possibility with multiple, uncommitted strokes. When the pen hatching in the studies for the *Portrait of Innocent X* did not produce the desired textural effect, he changed to an odd system of modeling more suited to the tool.

The Role of Drawings, *Pentimenti*, and Underdrawings in the Creation of a Painting

A change in any image in a painting affects both how the painting looks and what it says, and formal considerations probably were not the sole causes of Velázquez's revisions. As mentioned before, however, a discussion of issues such as iconography, patronage, politics, or theory is impossible within the confines of this article. Instead, I will concentrate here on what seem the formal consequences of Velázquez's changes.

Pentimenti are visible to the naked eye in the majority of Velázquez's 120-odd canvases. Radiographs that have been made of about fifty of these works and infrared photographs of some twenty of them reveal still other changes. The study of the evolution of Velázquez's paintings makes clear the variety and unpredictability of his creative process. A selection of paintings executed from about 1618 to 1650 gives an idea of a working procedure that is both personal and eccentric.

In the *Immaculate Conception* of around 1618–19 in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 17), Velázquez depicts the Virgin Mary in a pale mauve robe with a dark blue mantle floating behind her. An infrared photograph (Fig. 18) makes clear that originally Velázquez swept the dark mantle around in front of the Virgin, covering her feet and legs. Reconstructing Velázquez's motive for this or any change is a dangerous game, for it means second-guessing an unconventional eye. Nevertheless, some effects of the change may be analyzed. The dark mantle in the foreground may have sealed off the graceful figure from the viewer; by replacing the dark cloak with the pale robe, Velázquez permitted one's gaze to travel unobstructed from the luminous moon to the poised hands and serene face. In the final painting, Mary becomes a shining column of divinity, and the unbroken vertical formed by the moon, her robe, and her face creates a stable, tranquil image as she descends to earth.

This change in a painting of an early date[14] poses a question about Velázquez's reaction to Pacheco's teachings. Repeatedly, Pacheco inveighed against changing images in paint. The good artist, he insisted, settled details in a preparatory drawing.[15] In 1617, Velázquez became an independent master painter, and in 1618, the year in which he may have painted the *Immaculate Conception*, he married Pacheco's daughter. Relations between Velázquez and his father-in-law remained cordial until Pacheco's death in 1644. Perhaps a partial explanation for Velázquez's deviation from his master's teachings lies in Pacheco's attitude towards his own rules. *El arte de la pintura* is full of theoretical ambiguities, and an opinion vehemently expressed on one page may be contradicted on another. Unless Pacheco was hopelessly inconsistent, these contradictions may reveal some flexibility. Furthermore, Pacheco sometimes implied that the gifted may dare to break the rules.[16] In any event, Pacheco's harshly worded invectives against the temptation "to deliver the likeness through the brushwork"[17] failed to dampen Velázquez's enthusiasm for that practice.

The 1620's were a formative period in the development of Velázquez's working method. *Pentimenti* became bolder and included major retouching years after a canvas was completed. The first indication of Velázquez's use of an oil sketch as an aid to studio production also appeared.[18]

Judging from the brushwork in the robes of the *Man with a Globe* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Rouen (Fig. 19), the man's body was painted by around 1624. The head and collar, however, show a freer style, resembling that in Velázquez's work of 1628–29. Radiographs and infrared photographs indicate that an earlier head, presumably done around 1624, lies beneath Velázquez's repainting. The extent to which he may have retouched his canvases after completion (as opposed to revising

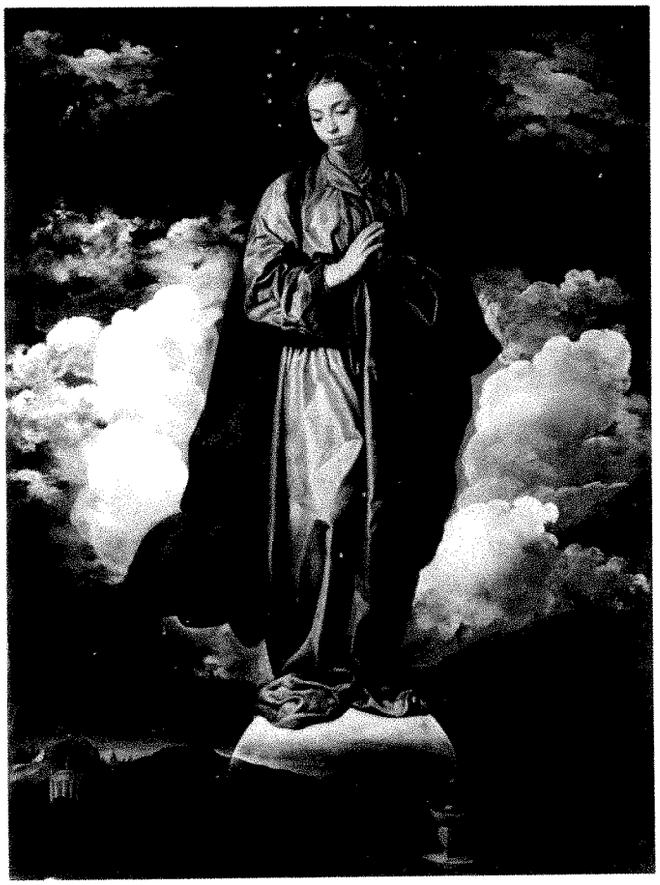
[14] The *Immaculate Conception* is not unique in showing *pentimenti* at this early date. Radiographs of both the *Old Woman Frying Eggs*, dated 1618, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, and *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha*, dated 1618, National Gallery, London, show changes made by Velázquez in paint.

[15] II, 2, 149.

[16] See Pacheco's story about Tintoretto, II, 11–12.

[17] Pacheco, II, 149. ". . . porque no tengo por seguro librar lo parecido a los pinceles, queriendo ir ganando poco a poco al bosquexo y acabado."

[18] Gudiol, 1974, 85, wisely places Velázquez's *Maria of Austria* in 1628 and suggests that it was a model to be used for workshop replicas. See Enriqueta Harris and John H. Elliott, "Velázquez and the Queen of Hungary," *Burlington Magazine*, 1976, 118, 24–26, who publish further evidence that this portrait was painted in 1628. Another oil sketch is generally accepted as Velázquez's: the *Head of Apollo* (formerly private collection, New York), a study for Apollo in the *Forge of Vulcan*, (Prado, Madrid, 1630). I have not been able to examine the *Head of Apollo* in the original. Two bust-length portraits of *Innocent X* exist, in the National Gallery, Washington, D. C., and in Apsley House, the Wellington Museum, London, but their attributions to Velázquez are controversial. Some authors believe that both paintings were sketches for the *Portrait of Innocent X*, in the Galleria Doria Pamphili, Rome, but other authors point out that neither sketch possesses the immediacy and control of the Rome portrait. A careful technical examination of all three paintings should be made before a final decision is taken. The attribution of the *Head of a Man* (the Hermitage, Leningrad), which has been said to be a study for a figure in the *Repast* (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest) is not universally accepted. Although several other oil sketches are mentioned by Pacheco and Palomino, they do not survive. See Pacheco, I, 156, and Palomino, 913.



17 *Immaculate Conception*. London, National Gallery (photo: National Gallery)

them while painting them for the first time) is unknown. Another *pentimento*, of less certain date, reveals a more drastic change. In the image now visible, the man points to a globe and books.[19] Radiographs and infrared photographs reveal that the hand over the globe replaced a hand holding a wine glass (Figs. 21–22). In conception, the man originally must have resembled a jester like the one in the Toledo Museum (Fig. 20).[20] One can only guess at Velázquez's reason for changing the subject from a jester who may belong in a genre scene to a figure with learned associations, and the iconographic shift deserves a lengthier discussion than can be given here. The areas of the *Man with a Globe* that have been radiographed and the infrared photographs of the whole canvas reveal no other *pentimenti* except for a possible color change.[21] In other words, Velázquez painted the hand and wine glass without revision; likewise he posed the hand, globe, and books without amendment. The hand with the wine glass was carefully placed in the area between the man's body and the edge of the frame. The hand pointing to the globe, a masterpiece of draftsmanship, is posed with equal precision. It hovers over the globe, and the interval between them is the product of an exquisite sense of proportion. It cannot be proved that Velázquez worked out the detail of the hand, globe, and books as an underdrawing or on paper. It is clear, however, that he knew exactly what he wanted when he painted the man with a wine glass, and that he had a mental picture of equal clarity when he added the globe.

18 Infrared photograph of Fig. 17 (photo: National Gallery)

[19] Whether the globe dates from the first painting of around 1624 or from the repainting of around 1628–29 is controversial. See Gudiol, 1974, 87; "Notes sur les radiographies de deux tableaux appartenant aux musées de Pau et de Rouen," *Revue de Louvre (Bulletin du laboratoire)*, 1964, suppl. IX, 50; Camón Aznar, 1964, 307–08.

I am grateful to Olga Popovitch of the Museum of Fine Arts, Rouen, and to Mme. Delbourgo of the Laboratoire des Recherches des Musées des France for their cooperation in permitting me to examine the radiographs and infrared photographs of the *Man with a Globe*.

[20] The relationship of the Toledo painting to Velázquez's work deserves further study, for at present it is not clear whether it is autograph. In general the brushwork of the *Jester* is smooth, but the collar is painted more freely and its modeling echoes the distribution of light and shadow in the repainting of 1628–29 of the *Man with a Globe*. What appears to be a 17th-century copy of the *Jester* exists in the Zornmuseet, Mora, Sweden.

[21] Despite August L. Mayer's statement, *Velázquez. A Catalogue Raisonné of the Pictures and Drawings*, London, 1936, No. 448, radiographs and infrared photographs do not show major damage to any area of the painting. Even if repainting were undertaken to cover damage, a scarred image could have been repainted with the same subject. Velázquez's copies of this paintings are a subject in themselves, but it should be pointed out that he changed the iconography in more than one replica: the *Servant*, Chicago, Art Institute, copies *Christ at Emmaus*, Beit Collection, Blessington, but the *Servant* omits the sacred scene.

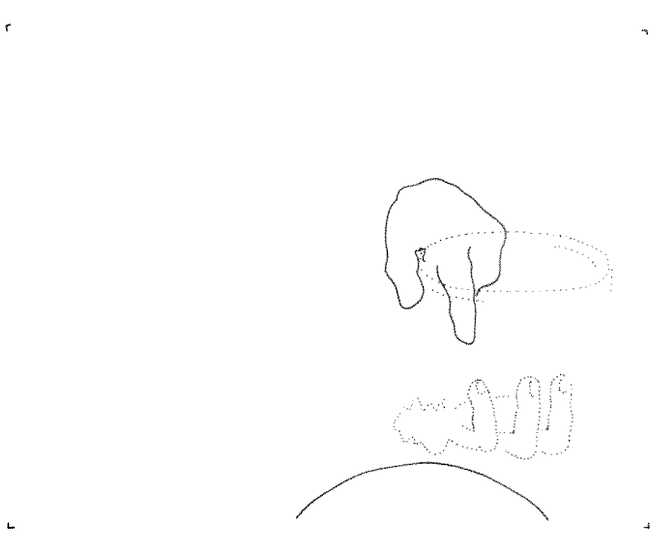
19 *Man with a Globe.* Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: Mas)

20 Velázquez (?), *Jester.* Toledo, Museum of Art (photo: Toledo Museum)

21 Radiograph of hand in *Man with a Globe* (photo: Laboratoire, Louvre)

The bold revisions seen in the *Man with a Globe* do not appear in all of Velázquez's paintings of the 1620's. *Christ After the Flagellation Contemplated by the Christian Soul* (Fig. 8) reveals only slight adjustments, and the angel differs little from the one in Velázquez's preparatory drawing (Fig. 9). It could be argued that because Velázquez worked out the images on paper, he had no need to revise them on the canvas. The numerous changes in oils in the *Surrender of Breda* (Figs. 1, 4–7), for which we also have a drawing, suggest, however, that the existence of a preparatory drawing does not guarantee that the composition is fixed.

Nowhere is the restlessness of Velázquez's brush more evident than in the *Surrender of Breda,* as he tried pose after pose, experimenting, rejecting, and reworking (Figs. 4–7). So numerous are the changes that the radiographs are unreadable at first glance. Patient comparison of drawings, radiographs, and painting makes it possible to follow the progress of the artist at work. With a sharpened chalk, Velázquez outlined on paper his first conception of Spinola, who turns only slightly away from the viewer. When Velázquez transferred the figure to canvas, he shifted the shoulders toward the center of the picture, drawing Spinola into closer rela-



22 Diagram of detail in Fig. 21 (diagram: B. F. Smith)

tionship with Justinus. This early version of Spinola is superceded by another chalk drawing of Spinola's profile. Velázquez's drawing here is clear and decisive, and he drew hastily, forcefully, eliminating detail and fixing the essentials. Just before or just after setting Spinola's pose, Velázquez pressed more gently on the chalk to clarify the contours and modeling of the head in the sketch above. Except for the baton and hat in Spinola's left hand, the painted figure is the same as the one in the drawing. Concentrated and self-contained, the group of Spinola and Justinus now forms the nucleus of the *Surrender of Breda*.

Banners originally filled the space now occupied by lances, and the horse behind Spinola was moved at least twice. The head of the squire who holds the horse's reins was at one point closer to the heads of his fellow Spaniards. The third man to the right of Spinola, now seen in profile, was once turned three-quarters towards the viewer, and a moustached man appeared in profile just behind Spinola, occupying much of the space now filled by the man with the sash who gazes at the viewer. Changes of costume are visible on the left side of the painting, but the lower half of the Dutch group is confused by arcs of paint whose meaning is not clear.

The first placement of the Spaniards shows that the face of the man in profile behind Spinola lined up with the *profil perdu* of the squire. With their eyes riveted on Spinola, these foreground figures must have made a powerful commentary on his importance. Velázquez decided, however, to deflect the intensity of their stares by cancelling the man behind Spinola entirely and replacing him with a man who stands a little to the right of his now-empty place: the balding man with the curled moustache and goatee who wears a sash over his armor. By directly engaging the viewer, he not only introduces a note of theatricality, but also provides an enlivening, if mild, distraction from the central scene. Velázquez did not forget his original desire, nevertheless, to turn more than one head toward the center of the picture. Having painted out the man in profile and replaced him with the man who looks out, he now revived the theme of the moustached admirer in a minor key: in the background, third to the right behind Spinola, a man with a moustache, in profile, replaces the figure who once turned three-quarters toward the front. Similarly, Velázquez was reluctant to relinquish his first sketch of Spinola turned in three-quarters view. A young Dutch soldier just behind Justinus now nearly faces front and so no longer matches the drawing, but his raised hand and bent head may reflect Velázquez's recollection of his first vision of the painting's hero. One wonders if, as the drawings suggest, Velázquez liked to invent his figures in isolation and then to integrate them into a scene. If he did create figures separately, the need to adjust them to each other would explain many *pentimenti*.

Radiographs of the *Surrender of Breda* resemble a time-lapse photograph of a crowd in motion. Of all the wonders of this bizarre procedure, perhaps the most impressive is that, once the figures come to rest, they appear to have been born to their places.

Perhaps because the three works for which drawings survive, *Christ After the Flagellation*, the *Surrender of Breda* and the *Portrait of Innocent X*, are all finished paintings, underdrawings are not visible. According to Pacheco, underdrawings should be made on the primed canvas with matte black chalk: the artist, "standing back an appropriate distance, goes along outlining the entire figure, or history, stepping back frequently, erasing and drawing until the underdrawing suits the patron or [conforms to] the drawing that is present."[22]

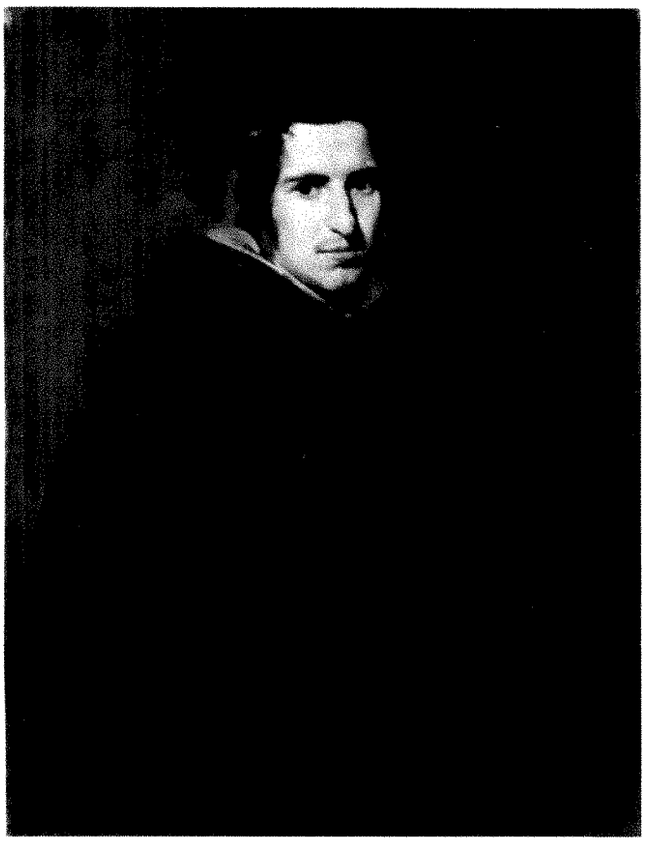
An unfinished painting of about 1628 gives some idea of the appearance of an underdrawing by Velázquez at the beginning of his career in Madrid. The *Portrait of a Man* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (Fig. 23), shows the underdrawing around the collar and in the left hand. Contrary to Pacheco's advice, the underdrawing is not made with chalk. Brushed rapidly in dark liquid, it is no more than a rough sketch. In *Juan Martínez Montañés* of 1635 in the Prado Museum, Madrid (Fig. 24), Velázquez seems to have left his underdrawing deliberately uncovered in an otherwise finished painting.[23] Although this theory cannot be proved, it seems possible that Velázquez turned to underdrawing rather than to a sketch in colored oils because he wished to render the *idea* of the work of art. Here it is worth recalling Pacheco's emphasis upon drawing as "what introduces the genius of the painter by harmonious lines."[24] As Jordan has pointed out, Velázquez often represents mental inspiration by a poised pen or brush.[25] Physically, Juan Martínez Montañés pauses in modeling the king's portrait, but mentally he is at work. As Spanish artists repeatedly insisted during their struggle to have painting recognized

[22] II, 77. ". . . desviándose la distancia conveniente, se vaya abultando el todo de la figura, o historia, apartándose a menudo, quitando y poniendo hasta ajustarse con el patrón, o disegno que está presente."

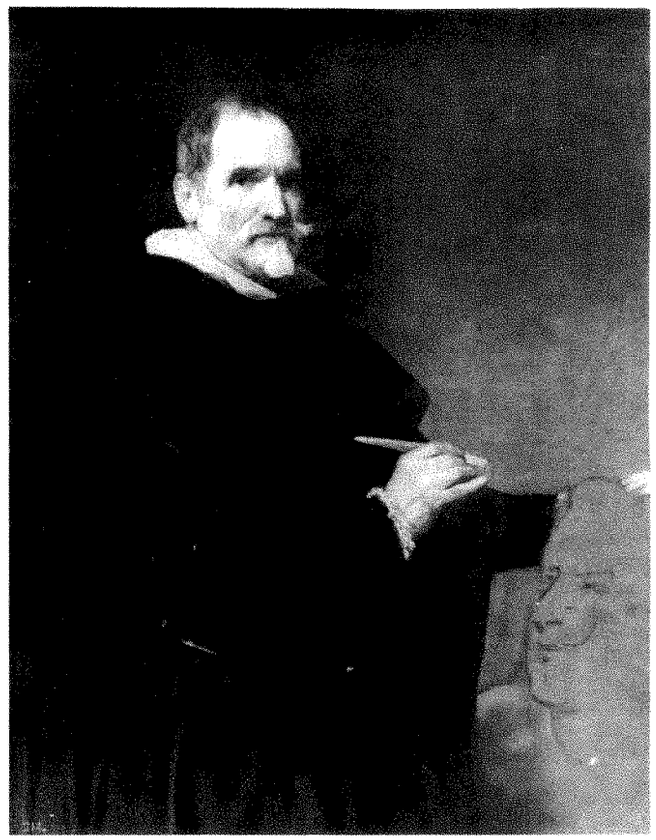
[23] See López-Rey, 1963, 79–80.

[24] Pacheco, I, 21. ". . . será la que introduce el ingenio del pintor con líneas proporcionadas."

[25] William B. Jordan, *The Meadows Museum: A Visitor's Guide to the Collection*, Dallas, 1974, 20–23.



23 *Portrait of a Man.* Munich, Alte Pinakothek (photo: Alte Pinakothek)



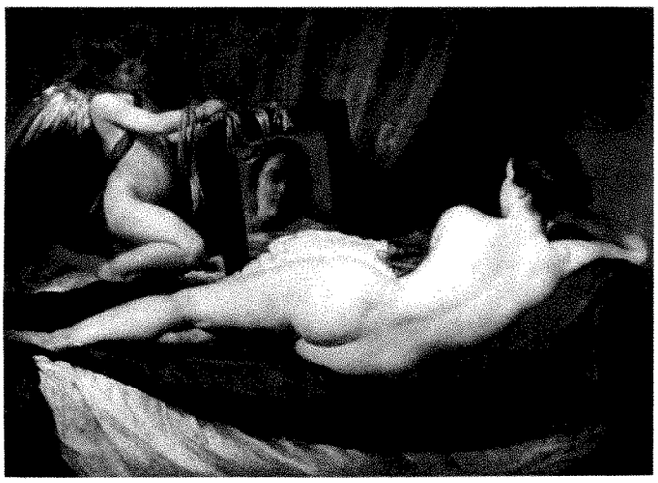
24 *Juan Martínez Montañés.* Madrid, Museo del Prado (photo: Prado)

as a liberal art, painting is based on ideation, that is, on mental rather than physical effort.[26] By reproducing the bust of the king in the form of an underdrawing rather than a painting, Velázquez may have shown his allegiance to the doctrine that idea, expressed by drawing, lies at the heart of artistic creation.

As one might expect of an artist with such a changeable working method, Velázquez's underdrawings were not always brushed on in paint. An underdrawing that has gone unobserved until now is the one visible to the naked eye in *Venus and Cupid* (the "Rokeby *Venus*") of around 1645–48, National Gallery, London (Fig. 25). The rapid, sketchy outline of Venus's face appears more clearly in an infrared photograph (Fig. 26).[27] From the multiple, tentative strokes around Venus's cheek and brow, it is clear that Velázquez is using the canvas as a sketchpad, and the lines are not unlike those which search for a contour in Figure 3. Furthermore, the brushstrokes in the Rokeby *Venus* have a draftsmanly quality which shows that Velázquez drew them with chalk or charcoal. In addition to the lines around Venus's profile, strokes appear in her hair and in the fold of flesh where Cupid's thigh joins his hip. Perhaps one reason for the visibility of the underdrawing is that the Rokeby *Venus* was painted on a white-lead ground. The contours of Venus's cheek are also drawn on a light ground: they are sketched over an earlier version of her pale face. The deviation in the Rokeby *Venus* from Velázquez's more usual red or gray ground is typical of his creative procedure: the artist's varied styles of drawing and his frequent alterations in paint find a parallel in his flexibility in choosing his grounds. The Rokeby *Venus* is a triumph of discreet sensuality, and part of its success is due to the silken veils of color, whose lumi-

[26] See Julián Gállego, *El pintor de artesano a artista*, Granada, 1976; Madlyn Millner Kahr, *Velázquez. The Art of Painting*, New York, 1976, 128–215; Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, Princeton, 1978, 87–110; Mary Crawford Volk, "On Velázquez and the Liberal Arts," *Art Bulletin*, LX, 1978, 68–86.

[27] I would like to thank Joyce Plesters of the National Gallery for pointing out the underdrawing and for taking time to go over the radiographs and infrared photographs with me. I also benefited from her profound familiarity with Titian's paintings, and her comments on the Venetian master's technique broadened my understanding of Velázquez's debt to that painter. Because the infrared photographs of the Rokeby *Venus* show only fragments of an underdrawing, infrared reflectography is not planned at this time.



25 *Venus and Cupid* (The "Rokeby *Venus*"). London, National Gallery (photo: Mas)

26 Infrared detail of Fig. 25 (photo: National Gallery)

nosity is enhanced by the white ground.

Probably only a few years after the Rokeby *Venus*, Velázquez painted the *Portrait of Innocent X*, 1650 (Fig. 12). Whereas Velázquez's use of drawings here indicates a fluid, extemporaneous approach, his treatment of oil paint further illustrates the sometimes improvisational character of his art. In the portrait, Velázquez "pensaba pintando,"[28] painting out the letter in the right hand, inserting it in the left and changing the outline of Pope Innocent's robes. He removed about three inches of surplice on the left of the picture and about two inches on the right, covering the white linen with a red paint so thin that today the *pentimenti* are disconcertingly visible.

One expects to draw general conclusions from the drawings and paintings of an artist, for one assumes the works will reveal a common attitude, a single mind that guided the hand. Contrary to these expectations, it is impossible to assign a single characteristic working method to Velázquez. Over forty-odd years, his way of creating—one might better say "ways" of creating—are eccentric and unpredictable. Velázquez made drawings in different media, in different styles, and for different purposes. In paintings, he used red, gray, or white grounds. His underdrawings ranged from heavy slashes of thick pigment to delicate strokes of chalk or charcoal. He painted canvases with almost no *pentimenti* or with so many that they defy enumeration. His changes produce different effects: they change the color, alter its value, restructure the composition, redefine the relationship of figures to each other, or revise the meaning.

A small unfinished painting may give a final illustration of Velázquez's working method. He probably began the *Needlewoman* in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C., around 1650 (Fig. 27). His reasons for leaving it unfinished are not known.[29] The woman's head, although painted impressionistically, is the most finished portion of the picture. Her right sleeve has been roughed in with brown paint, and Velázquez used the same dark brown for her bodice and to outline her left sleeve and the pillow. Velázquez created and revised simultaneously, for he made alterations even in this unfinished image: the needlewoman's shoulders originally were broader and higher, her right sleeve extended several inches to her right, and the fingers on her right hand were once raised higher.

In this image, a phenomenon occurs that is difficult to reproduce in photographs but that is essential to the understanding of Velázquez's drawings and paintings. Standing before the original painting, one is sharply aware of the influence the medium must have had on the artist. The gray ground is not an inert plane: Velázquez lets it show through to the foreground, using it to tint and model the hands. Indeed, the pillow is no more than priming shaped with white and ocher. Velázquez shaped the silhouette of the shoulders by extending the

[28] Gudiol, 1973, 18.

[29] In Velázquez's rooms at the time of his death was "otra cabeza de una mujer haciendo labor," which may be this painting. See Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, "Como vivía Velázquez," *Archivo Español de Arte*, 1942, 79; Gudiol, 1974, No. 160.

ground over them, and to reduce the right hand, he simply continued the brown sleeve to cover the knuckles. Such creative and economical use of paint, which surely owes something to Velázquez's observation of the Titians in the Spanish royal collection, is feasible only if the artist makes himself receptive to what his palette may suggest. The *Needlewoman* demonstrates what Velázquez's drawings and other paintings imply: that the artist did not always approach his work with a fixed preconception.

The fresh, unlabored quality of Velázquez's paintings also may be due to the fact that he was inclined to recreate an image rather than merely to transcribe it. This can be said of many artists, but in Velázquez's case the revisions are both more frequent and more drastic than usual. Even when Velázquez's preparation included sketches, the painted image was sometimes partially improvisational. This mobility of mind may help explain why it is so difficult to identify the sources of Velázquez's motifs: he may have been more apt to paraphrase than to quote.[30]

The mixed styles of the drawings and underdrawings appear a characteristic expression of the same open mind that created the paintings. On the one hand, the *Guardian Angel* (Fig. 9) and the study for the *Portrait of Cardinal Borja* (Fig. 10) are relatively finished, but on the other, the uncommitted strokes of the figure seen from behind (Fig. 3), the reverberating outline of the underdrawings of the Rokeby *Venus*, and the many trials for the *Portrait of Innocent X* emphasize the artist's willingness to experiment.

The iconography of Velázquez's pictures has long been recognized as challenging, for his meanings are manifold and subtle. His style also is hard to label, for he painted with diverse techniques, and he mixed brushwork from different periods in one painting. It now seems that he had a working procedure as difficult to define as his paintings are to interpret and describe. Instead of a parade of fixed habits, Velázquez's creative process presents a ragged review of changeable ideas. His method is often speculative and most unmethodical, and he was so unpredictable that we cannot say even that he was always unconventional. Velázquez's working procedure is hard to describe in simple terms, for it is full of surprises. But from the painter who created images with multiple meanings and used his paint with splendid idiosyncracy, this maverick "method" perhaps should come as no surprise at all.

Tulane University

27 *Needlewoman*. Washington, D.C., National Gallery (photo: National Gallery)

Bibliography of Frequently Cited Works

Barcia Pavón, Angel María de, "Velázquez en la Sección de Estampas de la Biblioteca Nacional," *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos*, 1899, III, 272–77.

Camón Aznar, José, *Velázquez*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1964.

Gudiol, José, *Velázquez*, Barcelona, 1973 (trans. K. Lyons, London, 1974).

López-Rey, José, *Velázquez. A Catalogue Raisonné of His Oeuvre*, London, 1963.

Pacheco, Francisco, *El arte de la pintura* (Seville, 1649), ed. Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, 2 vols., Madrid, 1956.

Palomino de Castro y Velasco, Antonio, *El Museo Pictórico y escala optica* (Madrid, 1715–1724), ed. Aguilar, Madrid, 1947.

[30] Numerous parallels between the art of Velázquez and earlier artists are suggested by Diego Angulo Iñiguez, *Velázquez, como compuso sus cuadros principales*, Seville, 1947. For the elusiveness of Velázquez's sources in the *Surrender of Breda*, see the bibliography in Carla Gottlieb, "An Emblematic Source for Velázquez's 'Surrender of Breda,' " *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, sér. 6, LXVII, 1966, 181–86.

Richard Payne Knight: Some Unpublished Correspondence

R. W. Liscombe

Sir Nikolaus Pevsner's masterly essay, "Richard Payne Knight," in this journal (XXXI, 1949, 293-320), and more recent writings have illuminated the aesthetic theory of that celebrated English dilettante. To them may now be added new information upon Knight's reactions to the Elgin Marbles and his relations with that other noted amateur, Sir Uvedale Price (1747-1849), thanks to the discovery of a series of hitherto unpublished letters in the correspondence of a mutual friend, George, Fourth Earl of Aberdeen (1784-1860) (Figs. 1-2).[1]

Pevsner devoted the fourth section of his essay to a discussion of the evidence Knight gave before the Parliamentary Select Committee called in 1816 to decide whether, and at what price, the sculptures removed from Athens by Lord Elgin should be acquired for the nation.[2] Pevsner proposed that Knight had been the "only one" who "appeared of the influential class of the dilettanti" before the Committee, omitting mention of Lord Aberdeen, who was also a leading member of the Society of Dilettanti, having been elected to its ranks in 1805 and subsequently to its Committee of Publication, in which capacity he had drawn up the instructions for the expedition it sponsored to Ionia in 1811-13, under the leadership of Sir William Gell (1777-1836). Since 1812, Aberdeen had been President of the Society of Antiquaries, an office he occupied until 1846; on November 25, 1819, he was successfully to nominate Knight to act as his Deputy when political duties prevented his attending meetings.[3] From 1814 Aberdeen served as a Vice-President of the British Institution, an organization formed by the major English connoisseurs to encourage British artists. (In 1825 he was elected President, to resign in 1834 in order to take up the post of Secretary for War in the Peel Ministry.) In 1816, he was invited onto the so-called Committee of Taste, joining Knight and Charles Long, later Baron Farnborough, among other connoisseurs, in advising the Government upon the conduct of official artistic commissions. Moreover, Aberdeen had been appointed a Trustee of the British Museum in 1812, two years before Knight, and thus he was involved in the abortive negotiations between the Government and Elgin that preceded the formation of the Select Committee; incidentally, Aberdeen's estimate of the monetary value of the Collection, £35,000, anticipated the figure recommended for its purchase by that Committee in 1816.

Knight had befriended the studious and classically inclined young nobleman before March 1, 1802, the date on the earliest extant letter of their lengthy correspondence, an exchange that was to range in subject from classical architecture, literature, coins and medals to the London art scene and the contemporary political situation.[4] Exemplifying the breadth, humor, and affection of his letters to Aberdeen, Knight wrote on October 14, 1809, from Stonebrook Cottage (in the grounds of his celebrated house, Downton Castle, which he had just given to his horticulturist brother) and inquired whether Aberdeen had heard from Sir William Drummond, Elgin's successor as Ambassador to Constantinople, about "our Sicilian Treasures" (the Astuto Collection of coins which Drum-

[1] For the Aberdeen correspondence, see British Library, Department of Manuscripts; the Payne Knight letters are contained in Add. MS 43229, CXCI to 43231, CXCIII; and the Uvedale Price letters are in Add. MS 43228, CXC. A review of the Knight letters will appear in the author's forthcoming *William Wilkins 1778-1839* (Cambridge University Press), which also includes a study of Aberdeen's activities. One part of this study has been examined in the author's "Canova, Aberdeen and the Pitt Monument," *Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, 700-05.

Knight's aesthetics and those of his contemporaries are examined at greater length in Walter Hipple, *The Beautiful, the Sublime and the Picturesque in Eighteenth-Century British Aesthetic Theory*, Carbondale, Ill., 1957.

[2] The fullest history of the Select Committee, and of Elgin's Collection, appears in William St. Clair, *Lord Elgin and the Marbles*, Oxford, 1967; for another interpretation of the evidence see *idem*, "The Commencement of Real Art," *Apollo*, CIII, 1976, 34-39.

[3] Society of Antiquaries of London, Minute Book, XXXIV, 274. Aberdeen was already under criticism for lack of attendance; Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries*, London, 1956, 241, n. 1.

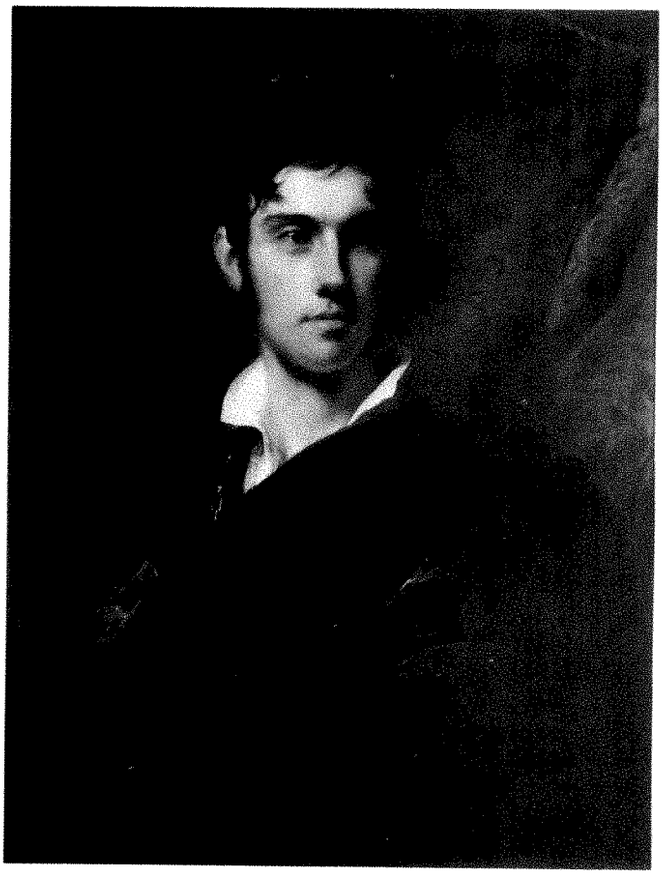
[4] On March 1, Knight wrote to Aberdeen from "Whitehall" about Homer's poetry and the "wild hypothesis of the whole Trojan War," that it was an allegory as argued by Jacob Bryant in *A Dissertation Concerning the War of Troy*, London, 1796, Lawrence Correspondence, Royal Academy of Arts, LAW/1/95. Knight's comment is interesting in light of Aberdeen's visit to the Troas in the summer of 1803 and the review of recent publications on the topography of Troy that he later wrote with Sir William Drummond, published in the *Edinburgh Review*, VI, 1805, 257-283. Aberdeen seems to have met Knight at Bentley Priory, a house belonging to his future father-in-law, John James, Marquis of Abercorn, and both also frequented Holland House. For Aberdeen's early life, see Sir Arthur Gordon, *The Earl of Aberdeen*, London, 1893; Lady Frances Balfour, *George, 4th Earl of Aberdeen*, 2 vols., London, 1923; and Lucille Iremonger, *Lord Aberdeen*, London, 1978. Knight's last extant letter in the correspondence, Add. MS 43231, CXCIII, No. 87, headed only "Soho Square Wednesday" but postmarked November, 1823, and thus written a matter of months before his death, is full of pathos: "I am in such a miserably nervous & depress'd state that I can scarcely hold my pen to write this ... Long life should rather be call'd long death, the greatest of all miseries."

mond, apparently, had secured for them). Knight continued:

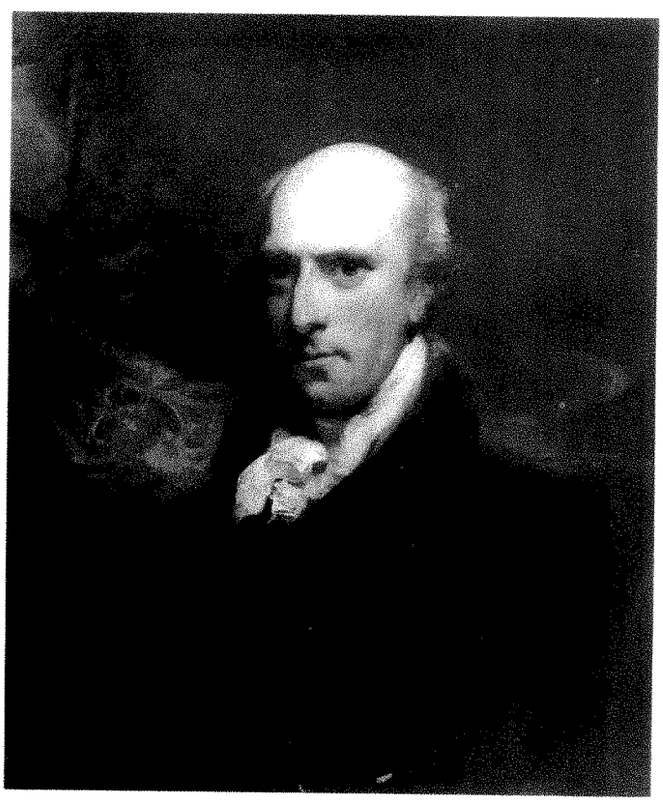
> I am enjoying it [the good weather] to the utmost in the Retirement of my Cottage — nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus bovis. It is a mere sulky with only one sitting Room of sixteen feet square and a Bedroom over it, situated in a little dell, with a little stream, little rocks, and every thing little about it; so that I want nothing but a long Beard, a skull and a Rosary to be a complete Hermit; though I fear that even those symbols of Piety would not procure me canonisation, or a place among the Saints of the Tabernacle, who seem to think that the Text of Scripture, which promises the Saints the Inheritance of the Earth, is better worth fulfilling than that which promises them the Kingdom of Heaven. We are not indeed much troubled with these holy Brethren in this quiet country, though one of them gave a tolerable specimen a month ago of the policy of encouraging them, by convincing the colliers of Clare Hill that the bad Harvest and consequent Danger of Famine were entirely owing to the profligancy [*sic*] of certain Branches of the royal Family, and the wickedness of Government in protecting them. If this curl [churl?; probably Henry "Orator" Hunt, the militant radical leader, who organized the meeting held on August 16, 1819 at St. Peter's Field, Manchester, which ended in the so-called "Peterloo Massacre"] is to guide the Rabble the higher Orders must wear it themselves, or it will only make the rest restive.[5]

Three years later, on May 14, 1812, writing from his London home in Soho Square, Knight told Aberdeen that there was "no society or conversation for which I more willingly exchange them than your own."[6]

In 1807 Aberdeen had been among the first to whom Knight had imparted his initial opinion of the Marbles. In a letter, again sent from Soho Square but dated only Saturday, though almost certainly written early in July, 1807 following the first exhibition of part of the Collection, Knight recounted that he had "just been seeing Lord Elgin's things" and "would eagerly embrace" the opportunity of seeing the Marbles with Aberdeen. The "preserved Fragments of the Frieze are interesting; but I do not think the workers of them deserve any better Title than common *Stone hewers* of the age of Phidias; and doubt not of your being of the same opinion, when you come to compare them with some of the specimens of the real works of the great Artists of that Age in the Townlian [*sic*] collection [in the British Museum since 1805]. The difference is as great as between an Altar piece of Titian and a pannel [*sic*] by Ribera."[7] Aberdeen, much as he respected Knight's judgment, did not accept uncritically those perhaps deliberately provocative comments, not least, doubtless, because a fellow member of the Dilettanti, Sir Henry Englefield, informed him on August 24, 1807, that



1 Sir Thomas Lawrence, *George Gordon, 4th Earl of Aberdeen*, R.A., 1808. Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland (photo: Tom Scott)



2 Lawrence, *Richard Payne Knight*, R.A., 1794. Manchester, University of Manchester, Whitworth Art Gallery

[5] Add. MS 43230, CXCII, No. 29.

[6] *Ibid.*, No. 108.

[7] Add. MS 43229, CXCI, No. 237.

he was "quite astonished both at their number & beauty. As I probably shall never see Athens I am obliged to him [Elgin] for his depredations."[8] Indeed, evidence exists in later letters as well as in the statements both men made to the Select Committee that Aberdeen may have exerted a moderating influence on Knight in this matter.

The earliest indication of this effect occurs in a letter Knight composed on May 26, 1808, in which he thanked Aberdeen for the "references to Pausanias; but I have no thoughts at present of publically discussing the Question, or expressing any opinion concerning it. Phidias certainly did not acquire celebrity by his works in Marble, & the passages are some of them distinct enough to discriminate satisfactorily between what was done under his Direction & what was finished by his Hand."[9] It would appear that Aberdeen, probably after discussion with his friend, the scholar and architect, William Wilkins (1778-1839), had helped to dissuade Knight of his initial, declared opinion that the pediments and metopes, as well as the frieze, were neither executed by Phidias nor finished before the reign of Hadrian.[10] Here, too, might have been the germ of Knight's admission of his new belief that the sculptures were coeval with the construction of the Periclean Parthenon, an idea preserved in the Introduction to the first volume of his *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture*, published by the Dilettanti in 1809. "Of Phidias's general style of composition, the frizes [*sic*] and metopes of the temple of Minerva [Athena] at Athens, published by Mr. Stuart, and since brought to England, may afford us competent information; but as these are merely architectural sculptures executed from his designs and under his direction, probably by workmen scarcely ranked amongst artists, and meant to be seen at more than forty feet from the eye, they can throw but little light upon the more important details of his art."[11]

That implied retraction aside, Knight continued to derogate Elgin and his collection. Witness three other letters written to Aberdeen in the summer of 1812, following a tour of Scotland during which Knight had visited Aberdeen at Haddo House, his ancestral home in Aberdeenshire, and, among other antiquarian acquaintances, W. R. Hamilton, Elgin's erstwhile secretary (who later suggested that his former employer sell the collection of coins he had gathered in Greece to Knight and Aberdeen).[12] In the first letter, despatched from Soho Square on May 14, Knight applauded the poet Byron, one of Elgin's harshest critics, who had recently "publish'd a most powerful and splendid poem," *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, published March 1, 1812,

> in which he has poured out an abundant quantity of bile against [travelers?], more particularly directed against Lord Elgin. It has probably reached Ireland before this time, having made a great Impression here, though not more than it deserves; for I really think it on the whole, tho' very unequal, the Work of the greatest vigour both of conception & Expression that has appeared since Milton ... He has since printed, though not published, another brilliant Invective against the spoilation of Athens [*Curse of Minerva*, privately printed in 1812]; but after what he has published, he may write or say anything. He is, I am told, as indifferent about Life as the Fellow who shot poor Perceval [Spencer Perceval, Prime Minister from 1809 until his assassination in 1812], but pre-eminently prepared in skill to take that of an Opponent.[13]

Aberdeen, as will be shown, did not share Byron's detestation of Elgin's activities in Athens, though Aberdeen invited the poet and not Elgin to join the Athenian Club which he had founded in 1804 upon returning from his tour of Europe, Greece and Asia Minor.[14]

Knight's second letter to Aberdeen, dated June 13, makes reference to the sculptures unearthed in 1811 in the ruins of the Temple of Aphaia, Aegina, by C. R. Cockerell, C. Foster, and Haller von Hallerstein, but only after an amusing passage about "We collectors", who:

> have been preying upon each others spoils lately, like

[8] *Ibid.*, No. 260.

[9] *Ibid.*, No. 312, addressed from Soho Square.

[10] A member of the Dilettanti, Wilkins was the author of a translation of Books III-VI of Vitruvius's treatise on architecture, first published in 1813, for which Aberdeen had written anonymously the introduction entitled "An Historical View of the Rise and Progress of Architecture amongst the Greeks." Wilkins, however, believed that Phidias had only superintended the execution of the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon. Wilkins expressed his opinion to the Select Committee and more forcefully in *Atheniensia, or Remarks on the Topography and Buildings of Athens*, London, 1816, 121-22, stating that his reading of Plutarch and Pausanias in particular indicated that Phidias was "the director and inspector of the architects and artizans employed about the buildings" and that his "performances" were "almost wholly confined to works in metal and ivory," there being only three sculptures in marble definitely attributable to Phidias. Despite this and other reservations about the aesthetic quality of the Marbles — justifiably Wilkins pointed out the variations in the execution of the frieze and the danger of judging the sculptures out of their original architectural context — he strongly recommended their purchase, a fact not included by Pevsner in his account of the architect's testimony (p. 299).

[11] *Ibid.*, xxxix, quoting Wilkins, *Atheniensia*, 119-120.

[12] Add. MS 43230, CXCII, Nos. 108, 117, addressed from Soho Square, and 147, from Stonebrook Cottage. Aberdeen wrote to Elgin about the possible sale of his coins in April, 1816, as St. Clair noted, 224.

[13] In the second Canto of *Childe Harold*, Byron called Elgin the "dull spoiler" (and made an uncomplimentary allusion to Aberdeen), but he reserved his sharpest barbs for the *Curse*, of which Samuel Rogers had one of the few copies; for these poems, see St. Clair, 190 and 194-97.

[14] St. Clair, 190, n. 5; Byron declined.

cray fish in a pond, which immediately begin sucking the shell of a deceased Brother. Chinnery's Vases went chiefly to Hope, Sir H. Englefield, Rogers & myself, & brought good prices. It might be three of the most important to make the Tops of my cases uniform, also three of [the Right Honorable Edmund] Burke's Busts among which there were about ten good — one superlatively so, which I got upon very easy terms. Had I been a Trustee of the Museum I should have felt it my duty to recommend it to the public Collection ... The remainder of Lord Elgin's things are arrived in the River [Port of London], & those found at Aegina are safely deposited at Malta, where they are to be sold by Auction on the 1st of November next; & unless vigour and activity is employed they will still go to Paris. Capt. Percival who carried them, gives the most satisfactory Account of their finish & preservation; and the Dilettanti have earnestly recommended them to the Trustees of the Museum, who met upon the subject to-day: but unless an order of Govt. limits the exportation of them to this Country we shall be outbidden [the Aegina sculptures were subsequently purchased by agents of Ludwig of Bavaria and installed in the Glyptothek, Munich]. — This Captain Percival has also brought some other Marbles to England, & among them a [illegible], which by his Description must be that of which I have casts. He says he has also a Neptune entire even to the nose, & likewise Medals ... While these fine Monuments of the extent of Human Attainment, which only one little Nation during one short period, ever reached, scarcely excite Interest or Curiosity, all the Rubbish of early printing, Cantrus [illegible], Pysnants [illegible] etc. are selling for hundreds per volume at the Duke of Roxborough's Sale, the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Blandford sending unlimited commissions.[15]

In the third letter to Aberdeen, dated September 28, Knight was excited about the discovery of another possible rival to the prestige of the Elgin Collection, the frieze found by Cockerell and his companions, also in 1811, on the site of the Temple of Apollo at Bassae in Phigaleia, which was bought for the British Museum a year before the Parthenon sculptures:

There has been a discovery similar to that of Aegina at Phigalia in Arcadia; and Combe is gone to Malta to secure both for the Museum. This is as it should be; and if the same vigour and Activity had been formerly employ'd when Lord Nelson had the French plunder in his possession, most of what adorn'd Rome and Florence might now have adorn'd London without any of the criminality of taking it. I wish we had an equally satisfactory intelligence concerning our Dilettanti Expedition; the melancholy state of which you have probably heard directly from Gell, — Plague, Famine, Plunder, Insurrection all combine to oppose him and render our plan abortive ...[16]

Knight was to argue the superior aesthetic value of the Phigaleian frieze in an article published by the *Morning Chronicle*, and he continued to try to win Aberdeen over to his view of the comparative merits of this and the Parthenon sculptures, even after both men, as Trustees of the British Museum, had recommended that the Government proceed with the purchase of the Elgin Collection.[17] The last letter of the correspondence concerning the issue was written by Knight on January 16, 1816:

We have lately added two little Cabinets of Coins brought from Greece [to the collection at the British Museum]; and the frieze of Phigalia is itself utmost [word missing]; being beyond all comparison the finest Work in relief that I have ever seen, and though not absolutely *colla pille*, in very good preservation. The Relief is much higher, the details more finish'd, and the style much less archaic than those of the internal frieze of the Parthenon; and did we not know the Temples to be of the same age, I should think these sculptures to be of the time of Praxiteles rather than of Phidias; the draperies being remarkably light and luxuriant; and the limbs and Bodies among the most supple and fleshy extant ... They being sufficiently entire to be restored and

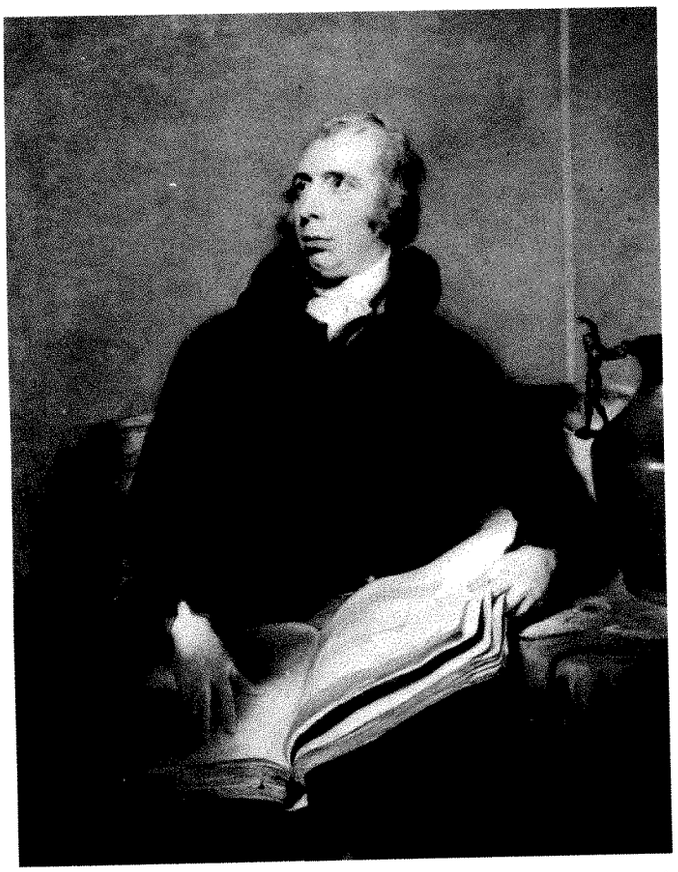
[15] For the Burke and Chinnery sales, see Adolf Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, Cambridge, 1882, 163, and for the discoveries at Aegina, David Watkin, *The Life and Work of C.R. Cockerell*, London, 1974, 9-10.

Later, on December 15, 1821, Knight wrote to Aberdeen from Stonebrook Cottage, again expressing anxiety about the lethargy of their fellow Trustees of the British Museum, Add. MS 43231, CXCIII, No. 25:

Whatever Quantity of Wisdom there may be in a multitude of Counsellors, the difficulty of bringing it into actual use seems to be proportion'd to the Extent of their Number; so that I now begin to despair of any thing being done at the Museum, or of ever seeing a stable [galleries for the collections of antiquities, not built until 1832] provided for the Hobby which I have ridden for so many years, & which I hoped to leave in a secure Repository, where others might hereafter ride him in company with other Nags of the same Breed. With a good Gallery and a liberal valuation I suppose the property of the Ægyptian Antiquities will be soon ascertain'd; & at the rate which other Nations, as well as ourselves, seem now to be exporting them from that Country, the Mines must be soon exhausted, and consequently the value of the Articles increased.

[16] The Bassae excavations are recounted by Watkin, 11-13. Knight's reference to Nelson is imprecise, as it was Captain Troubridge, R.N., who, in command of 200 men, captured Rome from the French army of occupation on July 30, 1799, and repossessed a large quantity of looted antiquities and works of art; see James Ralfe, *The Naval Biography of Great Britain*, IV, London, 1828, 413, which is based on brief references in letters in the Nelson correspondence, British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Add. MS 34912, Nos. 324 and 454; 34913, Nos. 158-59 and 290; and 34914, Nos. 137, 140, 183, and 252.

[17] The article is noted in *Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, XI, 1917, 260; Knight was elected a Trustee of the Museum in 1814.



3 Lawrence, *Sir Uvedale Price*, R.A., 1799. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Robert Jordan (courtesy: Museum)

employ'd as Fixtures or Furniture, which scarcely any of Lord Elgin's are.[18]

Yet when he appeared before the Select Committee in March, just over a month later, Knight qualified his praise of the Phigaleian frieze, perhaps because he knew that in his testimony Aberdeen would declare it to be of less historical interest than the Parthenon frieze, although both compared in aesthetic value. Some weeks after the Committee hearings, Knight was to admit that the Phigaleian frieze was "unquestionably inferior to the best specimens from Athens" in a pamphlet composed in reply to an article published in the *Quarterly Review*.[19] On at least three other occasions in giving his evidence, Knight approached nearer to the conclusions adopted by Aberdeen. First, he acknowledged the weakness of his attribution of the pedimental sculpture to the Hadrianic period, agreeing that it was based upon Jacques Spon's unreliable identification of the two central figures on the west pediment as portraits of Hadrian and his wife, Sabrina, an identification Spon made in *Voyages d'Italie, Dalmatie, de Grèce, et du Levant*, Lyons, 1678-1680. Now Aberdeen was to tell the Committee that he had been, probably, the last traveler to have seen undamaged the statue presumed to represent Hadrian, but that he remembered it as having conformed with the style of the flanking figures which he believed to be Greek. Next, although Knight estimated that the collection as a whole was "in the second rank" because "their surface is gone mostly," he described the metopes as being in the "first class of high relief" and the frieze in the "first class of low relief," which, in addition to comparing with the phraseology used by Wilkins in his testimony, reflects a marked advance towards Aberdeen's statement that the marbles belonged to "the very highest class of art." Nevertheless, Aberdeen, like Wilkins and other artist-witnesses such as the sculptors John Flaxman and Francis Chantrey, qualified his plaudits when invited to compare the collection or individual pieces with those Hellenistic or Roman sculptures which his generation had been taught to regard as epitomes of the classical style. "By this term, however," Aberdeen continued, "I beg to be understood only as expressing a very high degree of excellence, and not as, in strict language, comparing them with the most perfect specimens of art on the continent or even in this Country." In addition, Knight, apart from volunteering that his own estimate of the monetary value of the marbles, £25,000, was too low, softened towards Elgin, conceding that "in bringing them away he is entitled to the gratitude of the country." In this regard, Aberdeen seems to have rather admired Elgin's acumen in exploiting his official position and the favorable political situation to remove the sculptures and so save them from piecemeal destruction by "the frequency of travellers going to that country, and from the continuous endeavours of the French Government to obtain possession of them."[20]

Two years before, Aberdeen had entered upon a detailed correspondence with Uvedale Price (Fig. 3) concerning aesthetics and particularly Burke's theories of the Sublime

[18] Add. MS 43230, CXCII, No. 310, addressed from Soho Square.

[19] Knight's *Explanation of Part of the Evidence of Richard Payne Knight Concerning the Elgin Marbles*, London, 1816, was written in reply to a review of the Select Committee Report and various associated publications, including Ennio Visconti, "Lettres du Chev. Antonio Canova, et deux mémoires lus à l'Institut Royal de France," which appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, XIV, 1816, 513-547, and ridiculed his testimony, 534-542. Much of Knight's pamphlet was given over to what might be called the Bonelli affair, briefly mentioned in a footnote to p. 539 of the *Quarterly Review* article. Bonelli was a dealer whom Knight defended against the medalist Benedetto Pistrucci (1784-1855). Pistrucci claimed that he had engraved a gem for Sir Joseph Banks decorated with the head of Flora which Bonelli had later sold to Knight as an antique. According to Knight, Pistrucci had refused to make a copy to substantiate his charge, while Bonelli had offered to return the sale price. Knight believed that Pistrucci had spread the report to undermine his reputation as a connoisseur and to supply ammunition for detractors such as Visconti. Aberdeen, though he admired his knowledge, commented that Visconti "would write anything he was asked for £10"; St. Clair, 223-24.

[20] Aberdeen removed a large number of antiquities from the Levant, including a fragment of a metope of the Parthenon and a part of the Propylaea, listed in the manifest of objects shipped to him from Malta in 1808; Add. MS 43256, CCXVIII, No. 6.

and Beautiful and, to a lesser degree, the newer category of the Picturesque. About the last Price had written at length, following the publication of his own views in the Introduction to Wilkins's *Civil Architecture of Vitruvius*.[21]

In the Introduction, Aberdeen had hedged between what might, for the sake of simplicity, be defined as the subjective and objective interpretations argued respectively by Knight and Price. In attempting to explain the unanimity of admiration for Greek architecture — he conveniently forgot the architect Sir William Chambers among Englishmen not enamored of it — Aberdeen wrote on the second page, "We can scarcely deny, then, that the pleasure which is derived from surveying the ancient models of Grecian architecture is incalculably heightened by ideas connected with learning, with science, and art ... It is probable, nevertheless, that their buildings possess certain qualities which affect us independently of these associations, and which, even without them, fail not to produce in us sentiments of admiration, and feelings of delight."[22] On the next page, however, Aberdeen described Burke's principles of Beauty, which Price greatly admired, as either "not applicable at all" or only "in a very slight degree." Yet Aberdeen recommended Price's *An Essay on the Picturesque as Compared with Sublime and the Beautiful*, Hereford, 1794, as well as Knight's *An Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste*, 1805, and he was even-handed in his criticism of their ideas. For instance, he contradicted Knight's assertion that the villas and country houses of the ancients were "quite irregular in appearance, and adapted to local circumstances," and he advised Price that he should not look for examples of the Picturesque in ancient architecture: "To a style founded on these principles, it is evident that all precepts derived from the simple and regular structures of Greece must be perfectly inapplicable."[23] Nonetheless, both Knight and Price complimented Aberdeen upon his Introduction.[24]

Aberdeen became more directly involved when, in their dispute, Price sought his aid in compiling a rebuttal to Knight's pointed dismissal in the second edition of the *Analytical Inquiry*, also 1805, 76-80, of the association Price had made between the Temple of the Sybil at Tivoli and Burke's definition of the Beautiful in the second volume of his *Essay on the Picturesque*. Writing to Aberdeen from Foxley, his property in Herefordshire, on February 5, 1815, Price referred retrospectively to Knight's "very virulent attack" and recalled that Aberdeen had "very obligingly looked over" the passage he had prepared in reply for the revised third edition of his *Essay*, II, 1810, 383-406.[25] According to Price, Aberdeen had made "some remarks which were of great use." Price went on to ask Aberdeen to re-read the relevant section of the Tivoli Temple in the *Essay* (II, 1810 ed., 237-240), because he appeared to have changed his mind about the validity of Burke's principles between 1810 and the publication of the Introduction, and perhaps also to test his arguments a second time since Knight had not tempered his comments for the fourth edition of the *Analytical Inquiry*, published in 1814. Price and Aberdeen continued to exchange letters on Burke's theories until at least 1817, Price successively admitting that his philosophical mentor had been guilty of claiming too precise an application for his principles.

In 1818 Price was at work on his *Essay on the Modern Pronunciation of the Greek and Latin Languages*, not published until 1827 (Oxford), which he was also to show to Aberdeen in final draft for criticism.[26] Aberdeen was not the only person to whom Price sent a draft, as in the Preface Price thanked his "much regretted friends Mr. Knight and Dr. Parr" [the classical scholar, Samuel Parr (1774-1825)] for their advice.[27] So Price had not taken umbrage over the Tivoli episode and, before the death of his near neighbor Knight in 1824, their friendship had been rekindled. Indeed, in the summer of 1817 when Price first apprised Aberdeen of his latest literary scheme, he was most disappointed that Knight had not visited him that year, "particularly, as he was my first preceptor on the subject of ancient quantity [measure] &ca, & I am extremely desirous of shewing him what I have written & of talking it over with him."[28] Happily, Knight had traveled over to Foxley before July 28, 1818, when he informed Aberdeen that he had left:

> old Price in good Health and Spirits ... I found the old one employ'd with his usual Eagerness in a Work on the pronunciation of the Greek & Latin languages which he has illustrated by a great variety of apposite quotations, and enliven'd with his usual Keeness and Vivacity of Remark and Expression, so as to make it more amusing than any one else could have made so dry a subject. The opinions which he endeavours to establish have always appear'd to me self-evident; but therefore perhaps the

[21] The correspondence between Price and Aberdeen forms the subject of a forthcoming article by this author.

[22] Chambers, in the third edition of his *Treatise on Civil Architecture*, London, 1791, among other critical remarks, compared the Parthenon unfavorably with St. Martin-in-the Fields, London.

[23] *Ibid.*, xii and xiv.

[24] In a letter to Aberdeen dated May 28, 1812, Knight described the Introduction, which he must have seen in final proof — given the date, as "elegant," and declared that he had "nothing to say but in commendation" apart from noting some typographical errors and minor points of disagreement; Add. MS 43230, CXCII, No. 112. Price wrote from Foxley on January 30, 1815, that he had read Aberdeen's introduction "with greater pleasure & interest than I ever expected"; Add. MX 43228, CXC, No. 30.

[25] Add. MS 43228, CXC, No. 31.

[26] The draft was despatched by coach to Aberdeen on August 1, 1821; Add. MS 43228, CXC, No. 87. On September 12, 1821, Price thanked Aberdeen for his favorable remarks; No. 91.

[27] *Ibid.*, vii.

[28] Add. MS 43228, CXC, No. 77, dated August 4, 1817, Foxley.

> more difficult to prove by Argument. Verse must have been measured by the Ear and not by the Eye in all languages; and in the Greek all the best and most popular existed during the five hundred years without being subjected to the Eye in any Form. Schoolmasters and Professors are however an obstinate Race; and will probably go on as they hitherto have done all over Europe, each chanting his own tune according to the peculiar Idiom of his own tongue, industriously violating the Metre which he pretends to admire; and in the violations of which he can discover and abuse every Barabarism *[sic]* but his own. The English is certainly the most barbarous, and perhaps the German the least; though probably Sophocles and Virgil would be little more able to recognize their own verse at Göttingen than at Oxford.[29]

That letter, colored by Knight's customary sharp wit and sense of intellectual supremacy, contrasts with one sent to Aberdeen from Foxley on November 22, 1821. In it Price wrote sympathetically of Knight's suffering (from a septic carbuncle on the nape of his neck), and continued affectionately:

> He is as much a man of bronze as any in his collection [an allusion to Knight's superb collection of classical bronzes, bequeathed to the British Museum], & may go on to a hundred with all his faculties ... He would have been a great loss both public & private; and I should have felt it very strongly: he is a friend of very old standing, of full fifty years, & I think, like genuine wine, he improves by age: the harshness goes off, & the fulness & flavour remain...[30]

University of British Columbia

[29] Add. MS 43230, CXCII, No. 318, addressed from Stonebrook Cottage.

[30] Add. MS 43228, CXC, No. 94.

"The Ravages of the Axe": The Meaning of the Tree Stump in Nineteenth-Century American Art

Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr.

Throughout most of the nineteenth century and especially after about 1825, when American landscape painting became the primary form of national artistic expression, painters strove to be as articulate as possible about the matters of national and historical purpose that were of such moment to the era. This ambition assumed different forms, but it is always prudent to assume that landscape paintings bear some deliberate charge of meaning, and that their makers used symbols that would make this meaning publicly accessible. Among such symbols are apocalyptic sunsets, autumnal foliage, scenes of untouched wilderness, and even a pronounced horizontal pictorial format, which responds to the nature of American space. The tree stump was also, I believe, employed in American landscapes as a widely understood iconographic device. Although the cut stump appears in European and English art, its frequency and numbers in American art are unique, and it is a special element of American artistic language.[1]

In this inquiry some problems of definition and method should be clarified at the outset. First, one must sharply distinguish between the cut stump and the blasted one — the stump produced by human action and the one produced by natural process. The latter, with its long history of symbolic use in European art, is not the concern of this article. Second, although the tree stump itself is the most succinct and widely used embodiment of the complex meanings to be examined, some related forms are also employed. One is the felled as opposed to the fallen tree. Another is the woodcutter. Stump, felled tree, and woodcutter all evoke the same idea and were for all intents used interchangeably.

A second and more troublesome problem is how to determine with any certainty whether the tree stump does in fact bear symbolic meaning. There is no literature that states in so many words that it does. More seriously, the frequency of the tree stump in art may only reflect its near ubiquity in reality. Stumps were the inevitable consequence of the subjugation of the forest wilderness, a process that began in the seventeenth century with the first settlements in America, but that was most intense in the period beginning roughly about 1820.[2] The English traveler Captain Basil Hall recorded the characteristic aspect of America in these years in a drawing made in western New York in 1827-28 with the aid of his *camera lucida* (Fig. 1), and he and many other travelers described scenes like it. At this time, too, the woodsman achieved heroic status in art, in images of the legendary Daniel Boone, with his attributes of rifle and felled tree,[3] as in an engraving of 1820 (Fig. 3), and in paintings of the middle 1820's by Thomas Cole, such as *Landscape*, 1825 (Minneapolis Institute of Arts), and *The Woodchopper, Lake Featherstonhaugh*, about 1826 (Fisher Collection, University of Southern California).[4] The settlement of the interior of the continent was facilitated and accelerated in the 1820's by the opening of canals, the greatest of which was the Erie, linking Albany to Buffalo, and, later, by the construction of railroads. Both ravaged nature, as a view of the Genesee Canal in New York suggests (Fig. 2). In 1842, Charles Dickens observed on a train trip to Lowell, Massachusetts: "The character of the scenery is always the same. Mile after mile of stunted trees: some hewn down by the axe, some blown down by the wind, some half fallen and resting on their neighbors ... on every side

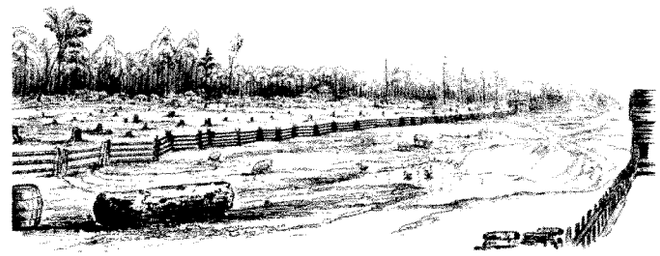
[1] The tree stump has attracted the attention of other students of American art: James C. Moore devoted several pages of his doctoral dissertation to it ("The Storm and the Harvest: The Image of Nature in Mid-Nineteenth Century American Landscape," Indiana University, 1974, 122-28) and Ellwood Parry has told me of his interest in the stump. But only Barbara Novak, "The Double-Edged Axe," *Art in America*, LXIV, Jan.-Feb., 1976, 44-50, has published on the subject. Her article, though brief, abounds in suggestion and insight. She says that the stump is "a symbol of the march of civilization" (p. 48), but her main theme is 19th-century America's paradoxical feelings about progress, for which she supplies the image of the double-edged axe.

[2] For a graphic indication of the extent of the destruction of virgin forest in America by 1850, see the maps in Richard G. Lillard, *The Great Forest*, New York, 1947, 153.

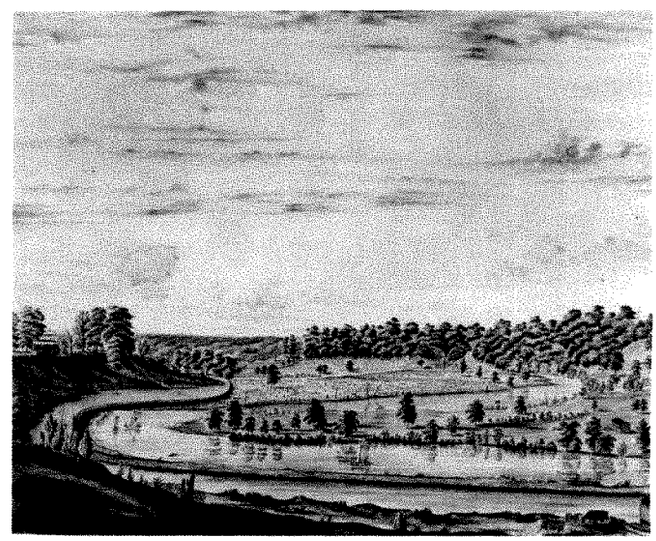
[3] On Daniel Boone, see James Hall, *Letters from the West* [1828], Gainesville, Fla., 1967, 251-52. For an illustration and description of the pioneer, holding his axe, flanked by a tree stump, as an explicit personification of American progress, see "The Pioneer," *The Family Magazine*, XII, 1840, 283. On Americans' prodigious feats with the axe, see William Cobbett, *A Year's Residence in the United States of America* [1819], Carbondale, Ill., 1964, 179. On the virtues of the Yankee axe, see Edward Everett, *Orations and Addresses*, Boston, 1836, 630; and on the development of the axe in America, see Lillard, *Great Forest*, 20-21; for a longer description, see Henry J. Kauffman, *American Axes: A Survey of Their Development and Their Makers*, Brattleboro, Vt., 1972, *passim*.

[4] For the latter, see K. J. LaBudd, "The Rural Earth: Sylvan Bliss" *American Quarterly*, X, 1958, fig. 5.

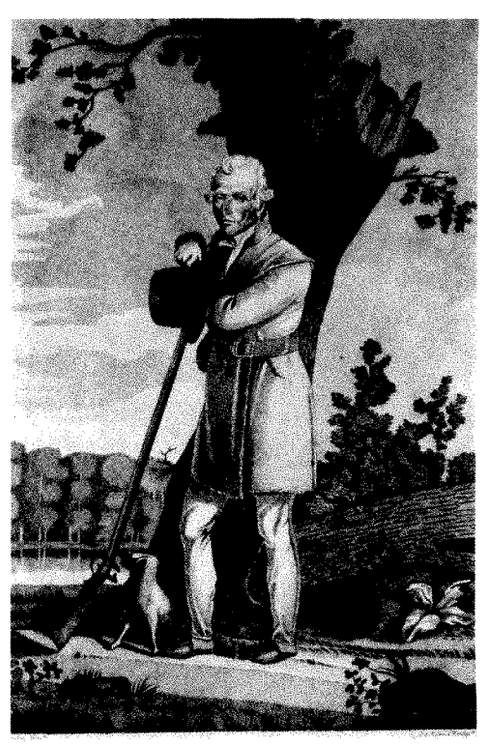
there are the boughs, and trunks, and stumps of trees, in every possible stage of decay, decomposition, and neglect."[5] The settlement of the wilderness was in fact generally conducted with little regard for the preservation of natural beauty. The urgent need to clear land for immediate cultivation and habitation vastly outweighed considerations of beauty and made destruction of forests inevitable. The urgency was so great, and the obstacles so many, that Americans looked upon trees as their enemies, took positive pleasure in destroying them, and were not content until they had denuded the land. Basil Hall observed the "singular degree of pleasurable excitement attending this process of clearing waste lands; for it is apparently not so much the end, as the means, which afford this gratification."[6] Caroline Matilda Kirkland said that "clearing" is the Western settler's "daily thought and nightly dream; and so literally does he act upon this guiding idea, that not one tree, not so much as a bush, of natural growth, must be suffered to cumber the ground, or he fancies his work incomplete."[7] Billy Kirby, James Fenimore Cooper's woodsman in *The Pioneers*, held trees to be "a sore sight at any time, unless I'm privileged to work my will on them,"[8] and Margaret Fuller Ossoli, observing the settlers' disregard and disdain for natural beauty that she witnessed in Illinois in 1843, said, "Their progress is Gothic, ... and their mode of cultivation will, in the course of twenty, perhaps ten years, obliterate the natural expression of the country."[9] So careless were the pioneers of nature and its irreplaceable resources that conservationists were already expressing concern by the 1840's.[10] In 1847, artists were solemnly charged with the "high and sacred mission" of preserving in paint, before it was too late, the wilderness that was fast disappearing before Yankee enterprise.[11] In 1849, a writer noted that



1 W. H. Lizars (after Basil Hall), *Newly Cleared Land in America* from *Forty Etchings, From Sketches Made with the Camera Lucida, in North America, in 1827 and 1828*, London, 1829, pl. IX



2 Unknown artist, *The Genesee Canal*, pastel on sandpaper. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, M. and M. Karolik Collection (courtesy: Museum)



3 John Otto Lewis (after Chester Harding), *Col. Daniel Boone*, engraving. St. Louis, Art Museum

[5] *American Notes*, in *The Works of Charles Dickens*, XXVIII, New York, 1902, 76.

[6] *Travels in North America* [1829], I, Graz, 1965, 146.

[7] *Forest Life*, I, New York and Boston, 1842, 43.

[8] *The Pioneers* [1823], New York, 1964, 219.

[9] *At Home and Abroad* [1856], Port Washington, New York and London, 1971, 35.

Andrew Jackson expressed this as a national mission in his Second Annual Message, December 6, 1830: "What good man would prefer a country covered with trees and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 12,000,000 happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion?" (quoted in Roy Harvey Pearce, *The Savages of North America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization*, Baltimore, 1953, 57).

[10] The immense popularity of the English singer Henry Russell's "Oh, Woodman, Spare that Tree" during his American tour of 1835-1841 was in its way a manifestation of conservationist concern. Even earlier, but somewhat peculiarly, it was recurrently expressed in Cooper's *Pioneers* (1823) and *The Prairie* (1827).

[11] Review of the annual exhibition of National Academy of Design, *The Literary World*, I, May 15, 1847, 348.

4 Thomas Kelah Wharton, *Dalzell's Clearing 1 Mile South West of Piqua, Ohio*, 1831, wash drawing. New York, Public Library, Prints Division, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

> The noble race of forest-trees [is] ... fast fading away. A few blows of the woodman's axe, and the tree whose branches have braved a hundred winters lies prostrate with the ground. The time is not distant when public attention must be drawn to the planting of forest-trees in this country ... *We have destroyed our forests with recklessness, and posterity must face the consequences.*[12]

By the 1860's, conservationism received in George Perkins Marsh's *Man and Nature* (1864) one of its first and greatest texts.[13] The high point of settlement and devastation of the wilderness coincided exactly with the development of a self-consciously national landscape art. It is therefore entirely likely that tree stumps, which were the omnipresent evidence and result of that settlement, found their way inevitably and perhaps insensibly into art in direct proportion to their existence in fact.

In many cases, then, stumps may occur in American art simply as artifacts, not as symbols, and it is perilous to ignore this when inquiring into their meaning. Fortunately, however, there are ways to determine when a tree stump is used as a symbol. To begin with, the most common method of deforestation in the first stages of settlement was not chopping down trees but "girdling" them; that is, removing a ring of bark from their base. This quickly caused their leaves to wither and fall, thereby admitting light to the ground so that a first crop could be planted, and soon thereafter killing the entire tree, which could be removed at comparative leisure. William Dean Howells's father, an early settler in Ohio, reported that girdling or "deadening" "was an easy way to clear the land and get in a crop of almost any grain. To have cut down the trees and cleared them off the ground, would have cost more labor than the new settlers could have afforded, and with their means it could not be done."[14] The English traveler William Faux reported that "Clearing, means simply ... cutting down a few large trees within about three feet of the ground, and deadening or girdling the rest ..."[15] Whereas such girdled trees were sometimes depicted (for example, Fig. 4), they are found in sketches or topographical views, not in art of higher expressive or symbolic aspiration, as far as I can determine.[16] There the meaning of land clearing was usually conveyed by the tree stump because its image was more intelligible and compelling and richer in symbolism than the girdled tree.[17]

There are also some images that are designed to make legible public statements, in which the tree stump can only be understood as symbolic because of the special character of the contexts in which it occurs.

One of the earliest examples is found in the work of Thomas Cole. This is not surprising. Cole's ambition was to make American landscape painting capable of expressing high meaning as precisely as possible; his elaborate serial allegories, *The Course of Empire* and *The Voyage of Life*, achieve this in the fullest form known in American painting. Cole was also profoundly disturbed by "the ravages of the axe," as he put it in his *Essay on American Scenery* of 1836.[18] His long poems, "The Complaint of the Forest" and "The Lament of the Forest," expressed the same

[12] "Vegetation about Salem, Mass.," *Aesthetic Papers*, ed. Elizabeth Peabody, Boston, 1849, 230-31.

[13] On Marsh, see David Lowenthal, *George Perkins Marsh: Versatile Vermonter*, New York, 1958. On preservation, see Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, New Haven, 1967, esp. chap. 6, "Preserve the Wilderness!"; and Hans Huth, *Nature and the American*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957, chaps. 9-11. Other expressions of concern at this time were: William Cullen Bryant, "The Utility of Trees," *New York Evening Post*, June 20, 1865; Anon., "Forests," *Hours at Home*, III, September, 1866, 398-402; and Isabella James, "American Forests," *Lippincott's Magazine*, I, June, 1868, 596-602.

[14] William Cooper Howells, *Recollections of Life in Ohio from 1813 to 1840* [1895], Gainesville, Fla., 1963, 115.

[15] William Faux, *Memorable Days in America* [1823], in Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels 1748-1846*, XI, Cleveland, 1905, 176 (see also [Rebecca Burland], *A True Picture of Emigration; or Fourteen Years in the Interior of North America* [1848], Chicago, 1936, 86-87).

[16] Another example is George Harvey's *Spring: Burning Fallen Trees in a Girdled Clearing*, engraved by W. J. Bennett, in *Harvey's American Scenery*, New York, 1841, n.p. (see *Magazine of History*, extra No. 107, XXVII, 1925, facing p. 139).

[17] See Appendix.

[18] *American Monthly Magazine*, VII, January, 1836, 12.

5 Thomas Cole, *The Pastoral State* of *The Course of Empire*, 1836, oil on canvas. New York, New-York Historical Society (courtesy: Society)

concern,[19] and in letters to his friend and patron, Luman Reed, he cast "maledictions" upon the "tree-destroyers" who were "cutting down all the trees in the beautiful valley on which I have looked so often with a loving eye."[20] When cut tree stumps appear in Cole's art, one may, therefore, reasonably suspect that they carry meaning. One of Cole's paintings, the *Pastoral State*, is particularly useful in establishing the symbolic meaning of the tree stump, and is a key to understanding the larger significance of the theme in American art.

The *Pastoral State* is the second part of Cole's most ambitiously conceived and executed work, his five-part disquisition on the rise and fall of civilization, *The Course of Empire*, completed in 1836. The painting (Fig. 5) depicts nascent civilization through an array of easily understood symbolic objects and activities: a Stonehenge-like structure, a young boy drawing a stick figure, dancers and musicians, a woman with a spindle and distaff, a sage old man inscribing geometrical figures in the dust, a shepherd and plowman. At the far right stands a tree stump. It exists with complete parity among other symbols of civilization and must therefore have a similar meaning. It appears in a context that is obviously contrived. This is, after all, not a scene that Cole actually transcribed from reality, one in which the stump might simply have been an ordinary detail without any special import. On the contrary, the stump, like every part of the invention, is a deliberately used component of the painting's symbolic language.

6 Thomas Crawford, pediment, east front, United States Senate, 1854-56 (courtesy: Architect of the Capitol)

Cole's *Pastoral State* is not alone in using the tree stump as a symbol of the conquest of nature in a work of public allegory. Thomas Crawford's pediment of 1854-56 for the east front of the United States Senate (Fig. 6) has as its theme the epic subject of the victorious progress of American civilization. Immediately to the right of the central personification of America is "the pioneer ... rendered by the athletic figure of a backwoodsman clearing the forest."[21] Busily at work chopping at a truncated tree, he

[19] *Thomas Cole's Poetry*, ed. Marshall B. Tymn, York, Pa., 1972, 100-112. "The Lament of the Forest" appeared in *The Knickerbocker*, XVII, May, 1841, 516-19.

[20] Letters of March 26, 28, 1836, in Louis L. Noble, *The Life and Work of Thomas Cole*, ed. Elliot S. Vessell, Cambridge, Mass., 1964, 160-61. Also, his poem of 1834, "On seeing that a favorite tree of the Author's had been cut down," *Thomas Cole's Poetry*, 68.

[21] Crawford, letter of October 31, 1853 in Robert L. Gale, *Thomas Crawford: American Sculptor*, Pittsburgh, 1964, 111.

has already produced the stumps that separate him from the mournful figure of the Indian farther to the right, who meditates upon the meaning of those emblems of progress.[22] Each part of Crawford's saga of triumphant civilization is obviously emblematic. But the presence of the tree stump in this account — or rather accounting, because it is a kind of inventory of the "effects of [American] civilization and liberty"[23] — indicates its possession of symbolic meaning. Moreover, in contrast to the universal sense that the stump bore in Cole's *Pastoral State*, its meaning, in Crawford's pediment, is specifically American.[24]

In two public allegorical considerations of civilization, then, the tree stump (and its maker) have clear symbolic meaning. On the whole, however, tree stumps are seldom found in such explicitly allegorical settings; as a result, their symbolic function is not always so easily detected. It is possible, nevertheless, to show pervasive patterns in their use. Indeed, the purpose of this inquiry is less to fix the specific meaning of the tree stump — that is simply enough done, thanks to Cole and Crawford — than to show how widely it was used and how generally it was understood by nineteenth-century American artists, both popular and professional, and how it may serve as a tool for interpreting their art.

For example, it is easy to overlook or regard as inconsequential the tree stumps that appear in many images of a lamenting Indian in a landscape. But as the emblem of the white man's civilization, the stump represents the very cause of the Indian's lamentation. It is, accordingly, an essential and indispensable part of such images; to miss the stump is to miss their profoundest meaning. By the middle of the nineteenth century, it was widely held among the large number of Americans who believed in the relentless operation of Manifest Destiny, that the Indian race was doomed to extinction. Thus the Indian family in an illustration in S. G. Goodrich's *Pictorial Geography of the World* (1852) reads its destiny in the artifacts of civilization spread before it in the distance; but the stump and felled tree in the foreground tell the viewer of the inevitability of the Indian's extinction, and of its cause, with solemnity and moving brevity.[25] In the *Centennial Stock Certificate* (1876), the Indian pondering the unmistakable message of the objects of civilization arrayed before him sits on a felled tree.[26]

Nineteenth-century writers also saw a functional and symbolic connection between the destruction of the forest and the extinction of the Indian. In John Augustus Stone's *Metamora; or, The Last of the Wampanoags*, the most popular of the many Indian dramas of the early nineteenth century (first produced in New York in 1829), Metamora saw that his people and the forest had a common fate; "O my people," he exclaimed, "the race of the red man has fallen away like the trees of the forest before the axes of the palefaces."[27] The historian Francis Parkman said that it was the grand design of his *Conspiracy of Pontiac* (1851) "to portray the American forest and the American Indian at the period when both received their final doom."[28] It was certainly this idea, this design, that the tree stump was intended to convey in art.[29]

With the inclusion of the tree stump, the Romantic motive of the Indian mourning personal loss, as in Joseph

[22] "The wife and infant of the chief complete this group of figures, while the grave [sic], being emblematic of the extinction of the Indian race, terminates and fills up [this] portion of the tympanum"; Crawford, *ibid.*, 111.

[23] Crawford, *ibid.*

[24] In George Harvey's frontispiece (engraved by W. J. Bennett) to his *American Scenery*, New York, 1841, n.p. (New York Public Library), the clearing of the wilderness, depicted in its foreground, is recognized as a definite stage in the spread of civilization in America. "The Frontispiece is an epitome of the historic progress of the United States," Harvey wrote in the accompanying text. "The hewing down, rolling, and burning of timber shows the subjugation of the wilderness — the first step towards civilization."

Clearing of wilderness was also an explicit figure of civilization in literature. The *Literary World*'s reviewer of the Academy exhibition of 1847 coined its most succinct figuration in his phrase "the axe of civilization." (See above, n. 11.) See also, Kirkland, *Forest Life*, I, 43; Cooper, *The Pioneers*, New York, 1964, 29; and Alexis de Tocqueville, *Journey to America*, ed. J. P. Mayer, trans. George Lawrence, Garden City, N.Y., 1971, 82, and *Democracy in America*, New York, 1966, 258.

[25] See Goodrich, *A Pictorial Geography of the World*, II, Boston, 1856, 86.

[26] See Ellwood C. Parry, *The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art 1590-1900*, New York, 1974, 130.

Imitation tree stumps were common photographers' props in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. One should not, therefore, construe too much meaning from the presence of such a false stump in a photographic illustration of "A Pueblo Indian of To-day" (E. Dana Johnson, "A University Pueblo" [The University of New Mexico], *The World's Work*, XIV, October, 1907, 9472). Yet given the traditional presence of tree stumps in images of lamenting Indians, it is impossible not to regard the stump here as sadly ironic.

[27] Act III, scene 2, *Metamora & Other Plays*, ed. Eugene R. Page, in *America's Lost Plays*, XIV, Princeton, 1941, 25.

[28] Vol. I, Boston, 1881, preface, x.

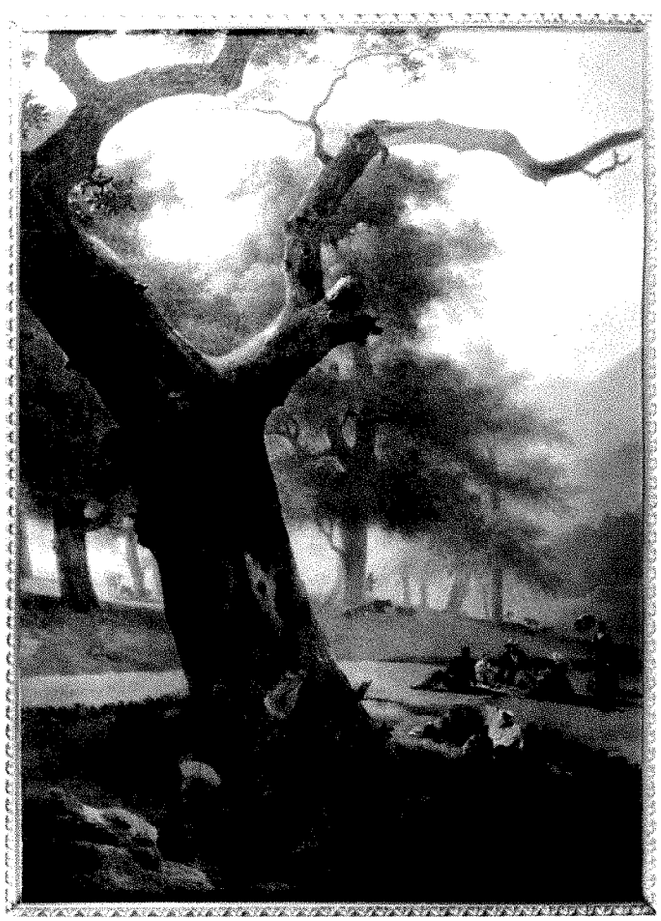
[29] Other depictions of Indians with stumps or felled trees are: George Inness, *Lament*, 1846 (Mrs. Anton Hulman, Terre Haute, Ind.: see LeRoy Ireland, *The Works of George Inness*, Austin, Tex., 1965, 7, No. 11); unknown artist, *Indian Lament*, ca. 1850 (Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, gift of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch; see *101 Masterpieces from the Collection of Edgar William & Bernice Chrysler Garbisch*, New York, 1961, pl. 74); unknown artist, *Oneida Chief Shikellamy*, ca. 1820 (Garbisch Collection; see *101 Masterpieces*, pl. 41); Sala Bosworth, *The Landing of the Pioneers* [at Marietta, Ohio], ca. 1825-1835 (private collection; see *Currents of Expansion: Painting in the Midwest, 1820-1940*, exh. cat., St. Louis Art Museum, 1977, 27); in sculpture, Ferdinand Pettrich, *The Dying Tecumseh*, 1856, and Hiram Powers, *The Last of the Tribe*, 1873 (both National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution; see William H. Gerdts, *American Neo-Classic Sculpture*, New York, 1973, figs. 152, 157).

7 Thomas Cole, *The Pic-Nic*, 1846, oil on canvas. New York, Brooklyn Museum, A. Augustus Healy Fund (courtesy: Museum)

Wright of Derby's *Indian Widow* of 1785 or Anne-Louis Girodet's *Atala* of 1808,[30] is converted into a motive of general mourning, reflecting the uniquely American tragedy of the Indian caught in the unremitting and brutal advance of civilization.

Something similar is provided by an anonymous writer in *The Crayon* in 1865.[31] He summoned American artists to record for posterity the ways and character of the Indian when "Soon the last red man will have faded for ever from his native land," and in proposing subjects for their use, he called attention to an episode in Benjamin Church's account of 1716 of "King Philip's War,"[32] a seventeenth-century Indian uprising. In doing so, however, *The Crayon*'s writer transposed the episode into nineteenth-century allegorical imagery. Church gave it as follows:

> ... he soon came very still, to the top of the great tree which the enemy had fallen across the river. And the Captain [Church] spied an Indian sitting upon the stump of it on the other side of the river. And he clapped



8 Unknown artist, *Picnic in the Catskills*, oil on canvas. New York, Brooklyn Museum, gift of Charles A. Schieren (courtesy: Museum)

[30] See Benedict Nicolson, *Joseph Wright of Derby*, II, London and New York, 1968, pl. 247; and Walter Friedlaender, *David to Delacroix*, Cambridge, Mass., 1952, fig. 26.

[31] "The Indians in American Art," *The Crayon*, III, January, 1856, 28.

[32] The war itself occurred in 1675-76. Church, who led the Colonists against Philip, published his narrative in 1716 as *Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War. ...*; it was regularly reprinted as *The History of King Philip's War* ... throughout the 19th century.

his gun up, and had doubtless dispatched him but that one of his own Indians called hastily to him, not to fire, for he believed it was one of his own men. Upon which, the Indian upon the stump looked about, and Captain Church's Indian, seeing his face, perceived his mistake, for he knew him to be Philip; clapped up his gun and fired, but it was too late, for Philip immediately threw himself off the stump, leapt down a bank on the side of the river, and made his escape.[33]

The recapitulation of this passage in *The Crayon* gave it new meaning: "Towards the close of the war, when Philip's followers were nearly all slain, and his ruin near, the captain suddenly came upon the solitary warrior, in an open clearing, seated on a stump, his face buried in his hands, brooding over the fallen fortunes of his country." Then, to make the image suitable for artistic use, the writer distilled its emblematic possibilities: "A naked man, a stump, a few chips, a gun, would tell the whole history of the war, and a heroic man's great struggles for his nation's liberty." One ancestor of this image is of course the classical type of the nude figure brooding on the reverses of fortune (such as John Vanderlyn's *Marius on the Ruins of Carthage*, 1807, its most famous representative in American art)[34]; but its other parts, the clearing and the freshly cut stump with chips still around it, belong most completely to nineteenth-century America, drawn from its common experience and saturated with its familiar meanings.

There is a prominent tree stump in Thomas Cole's *Pic-Nic* of 1846 (Fig. 7). It was not required by reality because the painting is plainly an invention. Neither was it required by art, simply to fill space; Cole knew the conventions of landscape painting and had more orthodox *staffage* at his disposal if that were his need. The stump must serve a definite purpose.

The picnic was not an American invention, either as a pastime or as a subject in art. Its origin seems to lie in late seventeenth-century Europe,[35] and in the nineteenth century it was an appealing subject for French artists, particularly the realist painters of the middle of the century, as Courbet's *Hunt Picnic* (1858) and Manet and Monet's paintings of the *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* of 1863 and 1865-66 suggest.[36] Indeed, in their hands the picnic was the subject through which some of the most advanced propositions of modern painting were conveyed. These painters' casual yet confident possession of nature was like their picnickers', and both exemplified modern civilization's belief in its complete conquest of the physical world.

In Cole's painting, the tree stump, which could have little personal meaning for Europeans, added a specially American flavor to the general meaning of the picnic. But it also converted the delightful but apparently inconsequential subject into an image of deeper significance. Early nineteenth-century America was transformed by the conquest of its vast forest wilderness. Cole deplored "the ravages of the axe" that were, for him, the bitter fruits of this victory. But he also recognized, with the same perception of grand historical operations that he displayed in epic form in *The Course of Empire*, as well as in numerous less ambitious works, that this was an inevitable and irreversible historical process.[37] The *Pic-Nic* was its expression. Given the tree stump, which indicates that American civilization was directly dependent on the taming of nature, and which, by its evident newness, shows how recently this had occurred, the *Pic-Nic* must be interpreted as an emblematic image of the momentous transition from wilderness to civilization. The work becomes, in this light, another of Cole's history paintings.

The tree stump is the richest iconographical device in the *Pic-Nic*, and it has a fair claim to being the key to that painting's deepest meaning. For Cole, moreover, troubled by the destruction of wilderness, and wishing to touch the consciences of others about it, the stump could serve as a reminder of the price that civilized pastimes like a picnic demanded. The stump is not only the key to this meaning but a commentary upon it.

A reminder that civilization is paid for by the devastation of nature is even more forcefully delivered by the mutilated tree that fills the foreground of *Picnic in the Catskills* (Fig. 8), long attributed to Henry Inman but now given to an unknown artist. An astonishingly disturbing expression of the brutality of human treatment of nature, the tree, as though writhing in pain from its wounds, solicits human compassion. Its contrast with the representatives of civilization behind it — the herdsmen and cattle of traditional images, and modern picnickers — is so emphatic and deliberate that it is impossible to mistake the causal relationship between them.[38]

[33] *Diary of King Philip's War*, ed. Alan and Mary Simpson, Chester, Conn., 1975, 141.

[34] See Kenneth C. Lindsay, *The Works of John Vanderlyn*, exh. cat., State University of New York at Binghamton, 1970, fig. 51.

[35] It originally denoted a shared meal and only later dining out of doors (*Oxford English Dictionary*). The *fêtes champêtres* and *fêtes galantes* of the 18th century are the artistic ancestors of the picnic.

[36] See Linda Nochlin, *Realism*, Harmondsworth, 1971, 137-50, on this subject.

[37] For Cole, see Novak, "Double-Edged Axe," 46-48.

[38] Other pictures of American picnics that include stumps are: unknown artist, *Picnic Scene*, about 1840-1850 (ill. Frick Art Reference Library), and *Outing on the Hudson*, about 1850 (Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, Williamsburg, Va.; see Nina Fletcher Little, *The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection*, Boston and Toronto, 1957, 93); J. S. Blunt, *Picnic on Long Island Sound*, 1823 (in N. F. Little, "J. S. Blunt," *Antiques*, LIV, September, 1948, 172); and Régis Gignoux, *Landscape*, 1849 (Corcoran Gallery of Art).

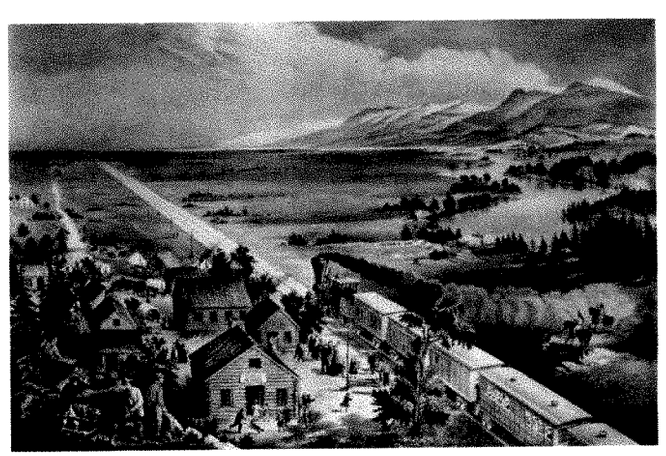
9 Robert Leggett (after Jasper Cropsey), *University of Michigan*, 1856, engraving. New York, Public Library, I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection, Prints Division, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

10 George Inness, *The Lackawanna Valley*, 1855, oil on canvas. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, gift of Mrs. Huttleston Rogers (photo: National Gallery)

Tree stumps appear in depictions of schools and colleges. The two boys at the far right of Henry Inman's *Dismissal of School on an October Afternoon*, 1845, sit on a large stump.[39] Perhaps it is there simply to give them a place to sit. But the appearance of a stump in James M. Hart's *The Old School House* of 1842 (private collection) suggests a pattern of coincidence between tree stumps and images of education.[40] Such a pattern is more apparent in light of the stump in the right foreground of Jasper Cropsey's view of the new University of Michigan (Fig. 9).[41] In each case, the stump may seem to be a meaningless detail, or at best an artistic convenience, until one recognizes that as a symbol of civilization it is a fitting companion to another attribute of civilization dear to democratic America — education.

The tree stump in depictions of schools may also refer to their usually barren settings. This too may be significant, for although such barrenness was the joint result of the frontier passion for denuding the landscape and the niggardliness of those upon whom the financial support of schools depended, it also suggests the haste with which schools were erected. As F. F. Palmer's *Across the Continent* shows (Fig. 12), their construction was one of the first acts of democratic civilization in newly claimed land.

11 Andrew W. Melrose, *Westward the Star of Empire Takes Its Way—Near Council Bluffs, Iowa*, oil on canvas. Art market (photo: Helga Photo Studio)



12 Currier & Ives (after F. F. Palmer), *Across the Continent—"Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way,"* 1868, lithograph. New York, Museum of the City of New York, Harry T. Peters Collection (courtesy: Museum)

[39] Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, M. and M. Karolik Collection; see *Life in America*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1936, 109.

[40] *Ibid.*, 108.
This juxtaposition survives to the end of the 19th century in Clifton Johnson's photographic illustration of schoolboys leaning against a large stump in his *Country School in New England*, New York, 1895, facing 15.

[41] A Rufus Porter overmantle, once thought to be a view of Dartmouth College, contains stumps in its foreground; see Jean Lipman, *Rufus Porter, Yankee Pioneer*, New York, 1968, 108. This image, however, has been identified as a view of the White House, Washington; see *Fine Americana*, sale cat., Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, Jan. 31-Feb. 3, 1979, No. 657. If the identification is correct, the association of White House and stump perhaps indicates that destruction of the wilderness was national policy (see n. 9).

There, schools were often the earliest concrete sign of civilization: "One of the first indications of this advancing amelioration of the rude, and wild, and uncomfortable in nature, and the approach of a genial reign of better and holier influence, is the early appearance of the SCHOOL HOUSE," wrote an essayist in 1852.[42]

The railroad, entirely new and unprecedented in its power to transform one's sense of space and time, was the supreme and universally understood symbol of nineteenth-century civilization. It was a merciless destroyer of nature. "The shrill scream of the locomotive whistle reverberating through every forest proclaims its doom," one author wrote dramatically.[43] "Railroad projectors are no enthusiastic lovers of landscape beauty ... Their business is to cut and to slash, to level or deface," observed Daniel Webster matter-of-factly.[44] The painter Pellerin's allegory of civilization in Flaubert's *The Sentimental Education* (1869) was of "Jesus Christ driving a locomotive through a virgin forest."[45]

Because railroad building involved the wholesale destruction of nature in its path,[46] it is difficult to determine whether the stumps so conspicuous in paintings like Thomas P. Rossiter's *Opening of the Wilderness* of the 1850's (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, M. and M. Karolik Collection)[47] or George Inness's *Lackawanna Valley* of 1855 (Fig. 10) are the railroad's symbolic companions or only its practical consequences. A photograph of Inness's subject, Scranton, Pennsylvania, taken at about the time he painted his picture and from the same viewpoint, confirms that stumps existed in reality just as he depicted them.[48] Inness, therefore, may simply have painted what he or anyone else similarly placed could not avoid seeing, with no additional meaning. In such cases, of course, the tree stump's symbolic character is uncertain. But in others it is not. In an allegorical image of American enterprise in J. H. Colton's *Common School Geography* (1878), the woodcutter resting his axe upon a stump is so closely related to the locomotive immediately behind him that they must embody the same meaning.[49] Similarly, Andrew W. Melrose's *Westward the Star of Empire Takes Its Way — Near Council Bluffs, Iowa*, about 1865 (Fig. 11), is openly symbolic, as one hardly needs its title to see. The locomotive, with its piercing light and relentless forward movement, is the principal actor in this drama of Manifest Destiny ("To countryfolk, railroads are Manifest Destiny," wrote Mary Abigail Dodge in 1873).[50] But the cabin of the pioneer and field of stumps surrounding it, adjacent to the railroad and both literally and figuratively illuminated by it, share in and amplify the railroad's meaning. There can be little doubt in this case that the stump has been used symbolically.

There is no doubt of it whatsoever in F. F. Palmer's *Across the Continent; Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way*, published by Currier & Ives in 1868 (Fig. 12). This densely crowded allegory is a virtual lexicon of civilization symbols: railroad, school house, woodcutters, and, not least, tree stumps,[51] all linked by an allegorical function that is as manifest as the destiny they express.[52] Indeed, *Across the Continent* is for this reason another of the key works, like Cole's *Pastoral State* and Crawford's pediment for the Senate, upon which the identification and interpretation of the tree stump as a symbol are founded.

Inness's and Rossiter's images are reticent compared to the outspoken ones of Melrose and Palmer. But the symbolic meaning that the stump bears so openly in one is surely latent in the other, and is not merely a mute artifact of civilization. This must to some extent be true also of the stumps present in such railroad subjects as Thomas Cole's *River in the Catskills*, 1843 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Karolik Collection), James Hope's *Bird Mountain, Castleton, Vermont*, 1855 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Karolik Collection), and Samuel Adams Hudson's *View of the Great Curve near Newton Lower Falls on the Boston and Worcester Railroad*, 1852 (Robert C. Vose, Jr., Boston).[53]

The stumps in Inness's *Lackawanna Valley* are not unmistakably symbolic perhaps because they express private concerns as much as public issues. From the very beginning of his artistic life, Inness preferred invention to description and artifice to imitative accuracy. Such preferences, he certainly knew, set him radically apart

[42] "Forest Life and Progress," *The New American Magazine* (Cleveland), I, July, 1852, 20.

[43] Quoted in John B. Jackson, *American Space*, New York, 1972, 93.

[44] "Opening of the Northern Railroad to Grafton, N.H.," *The Works of Daniel Webster*, II, Boston, 1851, 412.

[45] Trans. Perdita Burlingame, New York, 1972, 293.

[46] A. H. Guernsey wrote in 1876: "The consumption of forests by railroads, even though coal should be mainly substituted for wood as fuel, must be enormous. We have about 75,000 miles of railroad in operation, requiring 2,500 ties per mile, or in all more than 185,000,000, and, as a tree usually furnishes but one tie, and as these last only about six years, 30,000,000 trees are demanded every year for this purpose" ("Spare the Trees," *Appleton's Journal*, n.s. I, Nov., 1876, 471).

[47] See *American Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, II, Boston, 1969, pl. 286.

[48] See Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., "George Inness and the Hudson River School: *The Lackawanna Valley*," *American Art Journal*, II, fall, 1970, 50, fig. 8.

[49] Colton, *Geography*, 20.

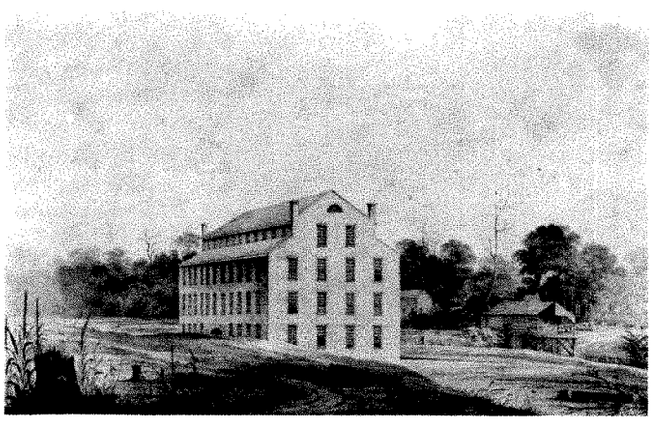
[50] *Twelve Miles from a Lemon* [1873], Freeport, N.Y. 1972, 135.

[51] In one of Mrs. Palmer's sketches for *Across the Continent*, in fact, the woodcutters and stumps were placed in the center of the composition. (See Harry T. Peters, *Currier & Ives: Printmakers to the American People*, I, New York, 1929, pl. 19.)

[52] O. Rodier, *View of Ottawa, Illinois, from Starved Rock*, 1876 (art market; see *The American Indian Observed*, exh. cat., M. Knoedler & Co., New York, 1971, 30, fig. 53), includes a similar display of civilization symbols — cabin and stump-filled field, railroad, steamboat, and distant town — being observed by a group of Indians on a bluff.

[53] For Cole, see *American Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, II, pl. 230; for Hope, see *M. and M. Karolik Collection of American Paintings 1815-1865*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, No. 163; for Hudson, see *Antiques*, CIX, April, 1976, 773.

13 Jasper Cropsey, *Wa-Wa-Yan-Dah Lake, New Jersey,* from *Home Book of the Picturesque,* New York, 1852 (photo: Library of Congress)



14 Thomas Kelah Wharton, *Bosson's Factory Near Troy, Ohio,* 1831, wash drawing. New York, Public Library, Prints Division, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

from his contemporaries, nearly all of whom were careful and devoted students of nature. His attraction to French Barbizon landscapes in the 1850's, when they were a novelty even in Europe, separated him still further from the tastes and pictorial practices of his American colleagues. Inness's artistic convictions, coupled with his keen intelligence, made him sensitive to the railroad's public significance and private usefulness. As a shaper of nature to man's design, the railroad was a counterpart of his artistic inclinations; as a symbol of progress, it expressed their novelty. Inness understood the public meanings of the railroad and may well have appropriated them for the expression of private artistic ones — which is one reason why the *Lackawanna Valley* is such a rich and compelling picture. He could also grasp the public meaning of the tree stump and make it similarly expressive. Many years after painting the *Lackawanna Valley,* Inness openly stated his preference for "civilized" over "savage and untamed" landscape;[54] but the tree stumps that liberally dot its foreground were already an avowal of that preference, to anyone who could understand their meaning.

The fulfillment of America's Manifest Destiny, the occupation of its continental limits, was a national act, almost a national mission (the "occupation of wild territory ... proceeds with all the solemnity of a Providential ordinance," wrote Governor William Gilpin of Colorado).[55] Even in images of Westward movement lacking the railroad, the stump and its variants appear with significance. James Beard's *Westward Ho* of 1850 (art market) includes a felled tree to the right of the ragged pioneer family;[56] in Emanuel Leutze's breathless *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way* of about 1861 (National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution), woodcutters are busily at work at the left in the path of the oncoming pioneers;[57] and in Albert Bierstadt's *Oregon Trail* of 1869, the stump and felled tree at the left are, in effect, a marginal gloss upon the central text of Westward migration and they explain its essential meaning.[58]

The railroad of course belongs to the class of industrial subjects in nineteenth-century art, although no other member had its special meaning. Wherever industry and nature met, the latter was left scarred and beaten. In the 1830's, for instance, Mrs. Trollope described the new and burgeoning town of Lockport, New York, on the Erie Canal:

> As fast as half a dozen trees were cut down, a *factory* was raised up. ... It looks as if the demon of machinery, having invaded the peaceful realms of nature, had fixed on Lockport as the battleground on which they should strive for mastery. ... Nature is fairly routed and driven from the field, and the rattling, crackling, hissing, splitting demon has taken possession of Lockport for ever.[59]

In such situations, it is obviously impossible to say if stumps are anything more than inevitable artifacts of the industrial rout of nature. In Jasper Cropsey's vignette illustration *Wa-Wa-Yan-Dah Lake, New Jersey* (Fig. 13) in *The Home Book of the Picturesque* (1852), the stump at the right seems not to serve its usual symbolic purpose in this tranquil and unspoiled landscape, but Cropsey's description makes clear that it does: "Near the lake, and

[54] "A Painter on Painting," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* LVI, 1878, 461.

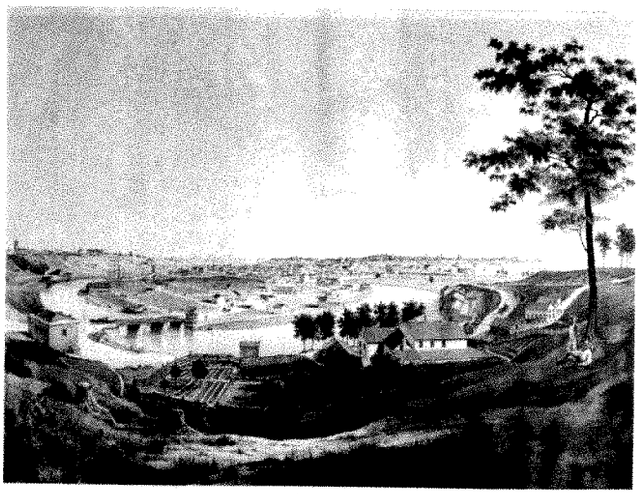
[55] *Mission of the North American People, Geographical, Social, and Political,* Philadelphia, 1873, 136.

[56] See Hermann Warner Williams, Jr., *Mirror to the American Past,* New York, 1973, 116.

[57] See Joshua C. Taylor, *America as Art,* Washington, 1976, 134.

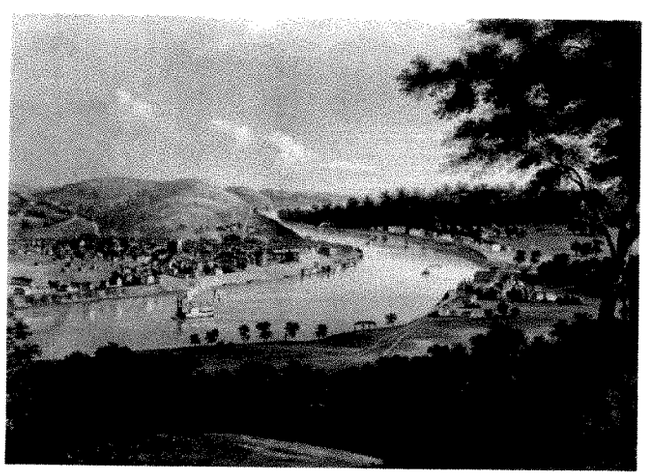
[58] Butler Institute of American Art, Youngstown, Ohio; see Gordon Hendricks, *Albert Bierstadt,* New York, 1973, fig. 94.

[59] Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans* [1832], ed. Donald Smalley, New York, 1960, 378.

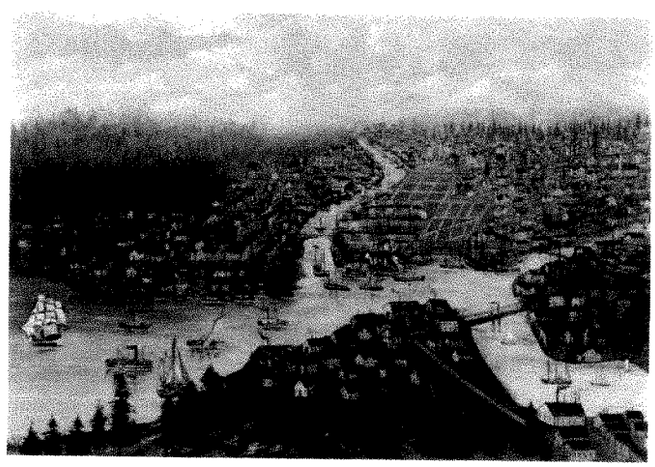


15 J. Mueller, *Cleveland*, 1851, lithograph. New York, Public Library, I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection, Prints Division, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

17 Thomas Kelah Wharton, *Dayton from the South East*, 1832, wash drawing. New York, Public Library, Prints Division, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations



16 John C. Wild, *View of Cincinnati*, gouache. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, M. and M. Karolik Collection (courtesy: Museum)



18 Unknown artist, *Northwestern Town*, oil on canvas. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, from collection of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch (photo: National Gallery)

supplied by its water, is an iron work with a pretty clearing in the woods around — with numerous neat little cottages for the workmen — a store — the manager's house, and all that kind of incident that indicates a new-made but flourishing place."[60] In Elbridge Kingsley's wood-engraving, *Morning from the Shadow of Mount Holyoke*, about 1889, the conspicuous stump and felled tree in the foreground of this peaceful panorama stand for an industrial presence suggested otherwise only by the distant "Puffs of steam and smoke ... shooting up through the vapor, showing the beginning of day at the mills."[61] In these two cases, the stump, as a symbol of civilization, is the clear and fitting sign of modern civilization's major implement, industry. Therefore, when a stump is placed with evident care in Thomas Selah Wharton's sketchbook drawing *Bosson's Factory Near Troy, Ohio*, 1831 (Fig. 14), or when stumps appear regularly in Thomas Cole's depictions of industry, one may comfortably believe them to be

[60] *Home Book of the Picturesque*, New York, 1852, 114.

[61] Elbridge Kingsley, "Originality in Wood-Engraving," *The Century*, XXXVIII, August, 1889, 579, 582.

more than neutral details.[62]

Views of cities and towns frequently contain stumps (Figs. 10, 15), either because they were easily observable results of settlement or compatible symbols of it. Stumps appear almost exclusively in views of new settlements of the middle and far West, and rarely in those of long-established cities of the East. Perhaps these stumps indicate the newness of civilized settlement. For what made such settlements impressive was not their appearance, which was usually rude and makeshift, but their astonishingly rapid growth, so rapid that stumps often stood in their streets. Basil Hall, describing Macon, Georgia, and likening it to such "juvenile" towns in New York State as Utica, Syracuse, and Rochester, said, "The woods were still growing in some of the streets, and the stumps were not yet grubbed up in others."[63] In *Home as Found*, Cooper contrasted the long-settled town of Templeton (a fictional place he introduced in *The Pioneers*) with "those places that shoot up in a day" and that become "precocious cit[ies] while the stumps still stand in [their] streets."[64] Cincinnati, Ohio (founded as a village in 1802) was the city whose growth from wilderness to refinement inspired the most comment. One of its inhabitants, Timothy Flint, said proudly in 1826, that it "has been won from the wilderness within forty years."[65] James Hall, who visited Cincinnati in the 1820's, wrote that its "indications of wealth, of business, and refinement, were too striking to pass unobserved, by one who reflected how recently the forest frowned upon this spot."[66] And Charles Dickens, who saw it on his American tour in the 1840's, reported:

> The inhabitants of Cincinnati are proud of their city, as one of the most interesting in America: and with good reason: for beautiful and thriving as it is now, and containing, as it does, a population of fifty thousand souls, but two-and-fifty years have passed away since the ground on which it stands ... was a wild wood, and its citizens were but a handful of dwellers in scattered log-huts upon the river's shore.[67]

It is not, therefore, fanciful to suppose that the tree stumps in views of Cincinnati (Fig. 16), and cities of similarly sudden growth, are both reminders and measures of the rapid conquest of the wilderness, which was their most admired and noteworthy trait. Two works in particular suggest that the stump was used as a symbol in the depiction of such subjects, rather than simply as a frontier variant of conventional landscape *staffage*. In a drawing of 1832 in Wharton's sketchbook, *Dayton [Ohio] from the South East* (Fig. 17), the juxtaposition of the freshly felled tree in the central foreground and the newly settled town behind it in the distance is deliberately pointed; and, in an unattributed and undated view of an unidentified Northwestern city (Fig. 18), only purposeful symbolism can explain the centrality of the stump in its foreground.

One of the most popular subjects in American landscape art in the middle years of the nineteenth century was the home in the wilderness, the log hut of the pioneer settler in a stump-filled field surrounded by wild forest (Fig. 19).[68] It was popular, of course, because, movingly and compactly, it expressed so much of both the ideology and experience of mid-nineteenth-century America. The subject as a whole is emblematic, so that it makes no sense to speak of the special symbolism of the tree stump. But the stump is clearly its most highly charged ingredient,

[62] E.g., his drawings *Looking Across the Genesee River* (see *The Genesee Country*, exh. cat., Memorial Art Gallery, University of Rochester, 1976, 73) and *Adirondack Iron Works* (both Detroit Institute of Arts); and the paintings *Mill Dam on the Catskill Creek*, 1841 (Henry Melville Fuller Collection; see *19th Century American Painting from the Collection of Henry Melville Fuller*, exh. cat., Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, N.H., 1971, 33, No. 17) and *Schroon Lake*, 1846 (Adirondack Museum). In the last, the foreground stump may refer to the settlement in the middle distance, or to the water mill at the right to which it seems almost to gesture.

[63] *Travels*, III, 277. See also his "Embryo Town of Columbus [Georgia], on the Chatahoochie," in *Forty Etchings, From Sketches Made with the Camera Lucida, in North America, in 1827 and 1828*, London, 1829, pl. XXVI.

[64] *Home as Found* [1838], New York, 1961, 126. For related observations, see Charles Fenno Hoffman, *A Winter in the West*, I, New York, 1835, 97-98; and Hugh McCulloch, *Men and Measures of Half a Century* in *Travel Accounts of Indiana 1679-1961* (*Indiana Historical Collections*, XLVII), Indianapolis, 1970, 142-43.

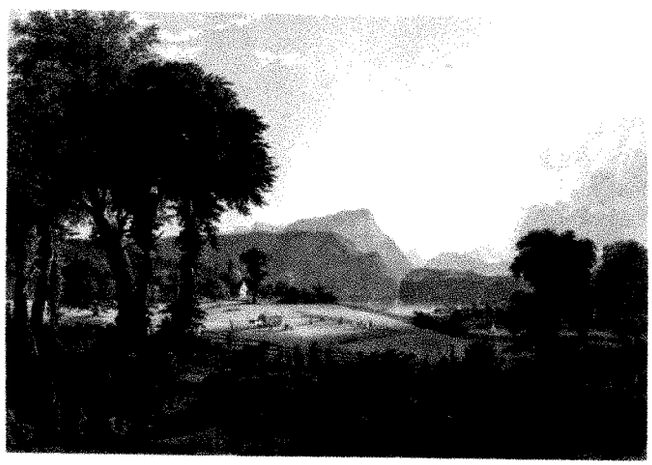
[65] *Recollections of the Last Ten Years in the Valley of the Mississippi*, Carbondale, Ill., 1968, 30.

[66] *Letters from the West*, 158.

[67] *American Notes*, 195.

[68] Others are: Sanford Gifford, *Twilight on Hunter Mountain*, 1866 (art market; see Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., *Sanford Robinson Gifford, 1823-1880*, exh. cat., University of Texas at Austin, 1970, cover in color, and Novak, "Double-Edged Axe," 48) and *A Home in the Wilderness*, 1866 (Cleveland Museum of Art; see *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, LX, Jan., 1973; 17-18); Jasper Cropsey, *Eagle Cliff, New Hampshire*, 1851 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Karolik Collection), *Eagle Cliff, Franconia Notch, New Hampshire*, 1858 (North Carolina Museum of Art), *Pioneer's Home, Eagle Cliff, White Mountains*, 1859 (art market; see *Faces and Places: Changing Images of 19th Century America*, exh. cat., Hirschl & Adler Galleries, New York, 1973, fig. 20), and *Sunset After a Storm in the Catskills*, 1861 (art market); Asher B. Durand, *A Woodland River*, watercolor, undated (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Karolik Collection; see *M. and M. Karolik Collection of American Water Colors & Drawings: 1800-1875*, I, Boston, 1962, fig. 68); Frederic Edwin Church, *Scene in the Catskill Mountains*, 1852 (Walker Art Center, Minneapolis); Thomas Cole, *Home in the Woods*, 1847 (Reynolda House, Winston-Salem, N.C.; see *Reynolda House: American Paintings*, Winston-Salem, 1971, 21); Jervis McEntee, *Indian Summer* (Detroit Institute of Arts; see *Detroit Institute of Arts Bulletin*, XLV, 1977, 91-92); and Currier & Ives, *"A Clearing" on the American Frontier* (see Fred J. Peters, *Railroad, Indian and Pioneer Prints by N. Currier and Currier & Ives*, New York, 1930, 87, No. 140).

19 Asher B. Durand, *The First Harvest*, 1855, oil on canvas. New York, Brooklyn Museum (courtesy: Museum)



20 James Smillie (after Jasper Cropsey), *American Harvesting*, 1851, engraving. Poughkeepsie, Vassar College Art Gallery

21 Thomas Cole, *View of Catskill Creek*, oil on canvas. New York, New-York Historical Society (courtesy: Society)

conveying as no others do the aggressive contest with nature, and the newness, resourcefulness, and mobility that characterize the civilization of which it is such a special attribute. These cabins might have the charm of an English rural cottage or a French peasant's hut without the tree stump, but their specifically American significance would vanish.

Thomas Cole's *Summer Sunset* (New-York Historical Society) and Jasper Cropsey's *American Harvesting* (Fig. 20) depict a later stage in the development of the home-in-the-woods theme, in which roughness has been polished and rudeness refined.[69] In these paintings, the prominent tree stumps and the encounter with the forest that they denote are carefully placed beyond the pale — the fence — of civilization. (In Cole's painting, however, the freshness of the stump and the presence of the woodcutter and the felled log upon which he has been at work indicate that the subjugation of nature is still in process.) In Cropsey's *Schatacook Mountain and Housatonic Valley, Connecticut* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Karolik Collection)[70] and David Johnson's *Mount Marcy, New York* (Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts), the stumps that tell of the civilizing process are confined to the foreground, separated from the settled and cultivated landscape filling the middle distance. The construction of these paintings is plainly in contrast to that of other home-in-the-woods paintings, in which stump-filled fields abut the settlers' cabins and thereby suggest active, intimate, and still unsettled engagements with the wilderness.

Cole's *View of Catskill Creek* (Fig. 21) shows the prelude to settlement. In a mood of hushed expectancy, the painting depicts American nature on the eve of civilization's arrival, still mostly unspoiled but touched by portentous signs of change: the small figure in the center, the wisp of smoke in the distance, and the stump and felled tree.

To demonstrate that the tree stump is a symbol, one must first look at subjects in which it appears with discernible meaning. But subjects or situations in which it does *not* appear, because its meaning would be inappropriate or contradictory, can be equally informative. In almost no representation of Niagara that I know of, for example, is there a tree stump — broken trees frequently, but no stumps. For the tree stump, the token of man's work, of mere civilizing enterprise, could have no fitting place in Niagara's awesome spectacle of undefilable natural power, which Americans universally understood as the

[69] For Cropsey's painting, see *The American Scene 1820-1900*, exh. cat., Indiana University Art Museum, 1970, pl. 28. The Indiana painting is a replica of 1864, probably by Cropsey himself, of the original of 1851, which was acquired and distributed by the American Art-Union and engraved for it by James Smillie (Fig. 20).

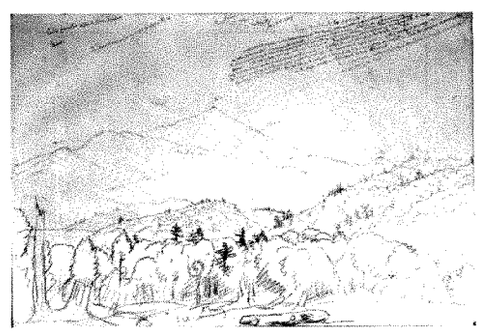
[70] See *M. and M. Karolik Collection*, No. 92.

paramount natural symbol of their national spirit.[71] Although Jasper Cropsey's *The Old Home, Warwick, New York* of 1884 (private collection) may be classified as a home-in-the-woods subject, it does not contain tree stumps.[72] This is because Cropsey, reflecting post-Centennial America's fascination with its historical past and its sense of settled civilization, stresses the antiquity of his subject; the tree stump, redolent of newness and rawness, did not fit. Still another instance of the telling absence of a tree stump is Cole's *Schroon Mountain* of 1838 (Fig. 22). It is a stirring vision of wild and uncontaminated nature, summoned up with fullest dramatic power to remind Americans of the condition of their vanishing natural past. Cole found his subject on a trip to the Adirondacks in 1837 and recorded it in his sketchbook (Fig. 23).[73] The painting generally followed the sketch, but Cole omitted the stump and felled trees that appear in the sketch. Although they existed in reality, they would be offensive reminders of civilization in Cole's reconstructed Arcadia and he banished them from it.

The use of the tree stump as a symbol in art was most widespread before the Civil War. But one major artist after the war, Winslow Homer, continued to employ it as a symbol.

Homer perceived the changed character of post-Civil War America more clearly than any other American artist. The substance of that change was that civilization, the unabashed human domination of nature, was no longer either a prospect or a process, but a visibly accomplished fact. The stump-filled landscape background in his first major painting, *Prisoners from the Front* of 1866,[74] may embody Homer's perception of the profound changes in American life and belief that the war caused, although the painting represents a military operation and exemplifies the human devastation of war. Whereas other American artists celebrated the end of the war with paintings that were imaginative returns to or reminders of American innocence,[75] Homer's ravaged landscape, in which not a tree remains standing, is stark evidence that this innocence had been forever obliterated, along with the virgin wilderness that had been its symbolic residence and from which several generations of Americans had received messages of spiritual and national purpose.[76] This perception was expressed more charmingly but no less plainly by the generation of youthful Americans that inhabit Homer's art until about 1880. They are unfailingly engaged in civilized pastimes, usually at resorts and tourist attractions where nature had been made to serve human pleasure. In *Waiting for a Bite* of 1874 (Fig. 24) a representative of that generation is at ease in a landscape scarred by civilization — a landscape, as it ought now to be put, liberally dotted with its symbolic attributes — and he is as comfortable there as were Thomas Cole and William Cullen Bryant in the wilderness setting of Asher B. Durand's *Kindred Spirits* of 1849 (New York Public Library), a testament of pre-war belief. The type of Homer's generation, and of post-war America (Fig. 25), stands not in humble adoration of virgin wilderness but in the posture of its heroic conqueror, bearing his trophies of victory and resting his foot on the symbol of the cause he served.

22 Thomas Cole, *Schroon Mountain*, 1838, oil on canvas. Cleveland, Museum of Art, Hinman B. Hurlbut Collection



23 Thomas Cole, *Schroon Mountain*, drawing. Detroit, Institute of Arts

[71] The one depiction of Niagara with a tree stump that I know of is John Vanderlyn's (Senate House Museum, Kingston, New York), of uncertain date (Lindsay, *Works of John Vanderlyn*, 57, fig. 45, proposes a date in the early 1840's). There, the felled tree and two Indians are emblematic of the meaning of Niagara as Americans understood it by mid-century: "... Niagara — eternal movement — is the grand, central, characteristic object of American scenery, the majestic symbol of unceasing life and irresistible progress" (*The United States Illustrated*, I, ed. Charles A. Dana, New York, [1853], 13).

[72] See *Jasper F. Cropsey 1823-1900*, exh. cat., National Collection of Fine Arts, 1970, fig. 14.

[73] See Howard S. Merritt, *Thomas Cole*, exh. cat., Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, 1969, entry 35.

[74] Metropolitan Museum of Art; see John Wilmerding, *Winslow Homer*, New York, 1972, 24.

[75] E.g., Inness's *Peace and Plenty* (1865), Durand's *Catskill Clove* (1866), Cropsey's *Starrucca Viaduct* (1865), and Church's *Rainy Season in the Tropics* (1866).

[76] For more on this deceptively simple painting, see Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., "Winslow Homer's Prisoners from the Front," *Metropolitan Museum Journal 12*, 1978, 155-72.

24 Winslow Homer, *Waiting for a Bite*, 1874, oil on canvas. Jacksonville, Cummer Gallery of Art, Bequest of Ninah M. H. Cummer, 1958

25 Winslow Homer, *Huntsman and Dogs*, 1891, oil on canvas. Philadelphia, Museum of Art, William L. Elkins Collection

Homer also represents this conquest in another way. The stumps in *Waiting for a Bite* and *Huntsman and Dogs* (Fig. 25)[77] are clearly old ones. They tell, therefore, not of newness, as did the stumps in home-in-the-woods subjects, but of old settlement, established conquest of wilderness, and matured civilization. This is, of course, largely self-evident. But in 1876, almost exactly the time of *Waiting for a Bite*, William Nowlin, a pioneer settler of

[77] An emblem of the civilized though belligerent occupation of nature, Homer's hunter in a landscape with a stump has many pictorial predecessors. In them, the stump is so frequently a feature that it must be understood symbolically. Some examples are: A. F. Tait, *Going Out: Deer Hunting in the Adirondacks*, 1862 (Adirondack Museum, Blue Mountain Lake, N.Y.; see *A. F. Tait: Artist in the Adirondacks*, Adirondack Museum, Blue Mountain Lake, N.Y., 1974, cover in color and pl. 24. It was published by Currier & Ives in 1863 as *American Hunting Scenes — An Early Start*); Jasper Cropsey, *Sportsmen Nooning*, 1854 (art market) and *Indian Summer*, 1866 (Fine Arts Collection, University of Cincinnati; see *Jasper F. Cropsey 1823-1900*, fig. 50); unknown artists, *On the Ohio River*, about 1845 (National Collection of Fine Arts); *Coon Hunt*, about 1875 (National Gallery of Art, Gift of Edgar William and Bernice Chrysler Garbisch; see *National Gallery of Art, American Paintings and Sculpture: An Illustrated Catalogue*, Washington, 1970, 133, No. 1327); and *Hunting Scene*, undated (ex-M. Knoedler & Co., New York).

Michigan, also saw the historical transition from new to old settlement in the aging of tree stumps: "Father's farm improved with astonishing rapidity and became quite a pleasant place. Some of the stumps rotted out, some we tore out and some were burned up. In these ways many had disappeared and it began to look like old land."[78] Such imagery indicates recognition that the civilizing enterprise, once singlemindedly devoted to the eradication of the forest, had now reached its fulfillment, a recognition also reflected by the institution in 1872 of Arbor Day, dedicated to the restoration of trees that during the previous half century had been so compulsively destroyed.[79]

Early nineteenth-century American civilization expressed itself artistically through objects and activities that were its artifacts and instruments, not, as the later nineteenth century preferred, through invented emblematic personifications, as in, for instance, George W. Maynard's *Civilization* of 1888 (National Academy of Design).[80] No object is so frequently found in its landscape art as the tree stump. Although the woodcutter, railroad, or schoolhouse might more immediately serve as figures of the civilizing process, the stump was, if less exact, also less narrow in its meaning. In spite of its simplicity, its message was more moving, more richly resonant of the feelings — of conquest and loss, enthusiasm and guilt[81] — that attended the civilizing of America. As Barbara Novak has shown, Americans' feelings about the spread of civilization were paradoxical.[82] They regretted the destruction of the wilderness, but welcomed the comfort and convenience that civilization brought, and reconciled themselves to the inevitability of change. The tree stump expresses this paradox. It clearly signifies the subjugation of nature. It is also a nearly self-evident symbol of mortality; in replicas of stone the cut stump was by mid-century actually used as a funeral monument.[83] Thus, at the same time that the stump affirmed civilization's conquest of nature, its connotations of death — of violent death — were a constant reminder that this conquest was brutal and final, and that the wilderness that civilization destroyed could never be restored.

University of New Mexico

Appendix

To some English and European travelers in America, the aspect of girdled trees was deeply affecting and they described it movingly:

> The cleared spaces ... looked to our eyes not less desolate, being studded over with innumerable great black stumps; or, which was more deplorable still, with tall scorched, branchless stems of trees, which had undergone the barbarous operation known by the name of girdling. An American settler can hardly conceive the horror with which a foreigner beholds such numbers of magnificent trees standing round him with their throats cut, the very Banquos of the murdered forest! The process of girdling is this: a circular cut or ring, two or three inches deep, is made with an axe quite round the tree at about five feet from the ground. This, of course, puts an end to vegetable life; and the destruction of the tree being accelerated by the action of fire, these wretched trunks in a year or two present the most miserable objects of decrepitude that can be conceived. The purpose, however, of the farmer is gained, and that is all he can be expected to look to. His corn crop is no longer over-shadowed by the leaves of these unhappy trees, which, in process of time, are cut down and split into railings, or sawed into billets of firewood, — and their misery is at an end (Basil Hall, *Travels in North America* [1829], I, Graz, 128-29).

> ... You come to a wood where all the trees seem to have been struck by sudden death. In full summer their withered branches seem the image of winter. Looking at them close-up, you see that a deep circle has been cut in their bark, which, by preventing the circulation of the sap, has brought them to a speedy death (Alexis de Tocqueville, *Journey to America*, ed. J. P. Mayer, trans. George Lawrence, Garden City, N.Y., 1971, 361).

> You can have no idea ... of the picture of desolation which is presented by a large tract of girdled trees, not only destitute of verdure, but entirely stripped of their bark; some black to the top, with fire which has been applied to them; some falling, as you pass, with a great crash; and others going by fragments into decay (Adam Hodgson, *Letters from North America Written During a Tour in the United States and Canada*, I, London, 1824, 38-39).

In spite of such descriptions, Americans' transactions with the forest were in literature usually rendered by a phrase such as "the sound of the axe," equivalent in symbolic succinctness to the tree stump and, like it, terse in statement but rich in implication.

Admitting light to the ground by such methods as girdling was obviously a practical and not a symbolic act. But that it might acquire a symbolic dimension, if only when viewed retrospectively, is suggested by William Nowlin's remark, made in the middle 1870's, about the removal of the forest: "The light of civilization began to dawn upon us. We had cleared up what was a few years before, the lair of the wolf and the hunting ground of the red man" (*The Bark Covered House; or, Back in the Woods Again* [1876], Chicago, 1937, 170).

[78] *The Bark Covered House; or, Back in the Woods Again* [1876], Chicago, 1937, 237.

About half a century later, Archibald MacLeish wrote the poem, *Land of the Free* (New York, 1938, 25), which explores the proposition that American liberty, once the function of limitless land, is now "behind us" irretrievably in the past, while the future belongs instead to society and social action ("liberty ... that's/Men: not land"). One of MacLeish's illustrations is a Russell Lee photograph of a farmer leaning on a stump on cutover land near Iron River, Michigan. The picture is accompanied (in part) by the lines:

Now that the forests of Michigan lie behind us —
Millions of acres of stumps to remember the past by —

[79] The establishment of the first National Park — Yellowstone, in 1872 — is a more comprehensive expression of this condition.

[80] See *Academy: The Academic Tradition in American Art*, exh. cat., National Collection of Fine Arts, Washington, D.C., 1975, 207, where, however, it is incorrectly dated about 1893; it was exhibited at the Society of American Artists, New York, in 1888.

[81] "Every thing here [Illinois about 1840] bears the mark of ancient undisturbed repose. The golden age still appears, and when the woodman with his axe enters these territories for the first time, he cannot resist the impression that he is about to commit a trespass on the virgin loveliness of nature, that he is going to bring into captivity what has been free for centuries" ([Burland], *True Picture of Emigration*, cited n. 15, 86).

[82] "Double-Edged Axe," *passim*.

[83] See Edmund V. Gillon, Jr., *Victorian Cemetery Art*, New York, 1972, figs. 161, 162, 166, 167, 169, 170, 175, 178.

Documentation

Addenda: The Madrid Academy

Mary Crawford Volk

In an article printed in this journal a short time ago ("On Velázquez and the Liberal Arts," March, 1978, 69-86) which discussed Velázquez in relation to efforts among painters in Madrid to free themselves from a guildsman's identity, I wrote that it could be conjectured "... that the idea of founding an academy of painting was alive again in court circles during 1628-1633" (p. 82). My conjecture was based on a reading of the court painter Vicencio Carducho's *Diálogos de la pintura*, being written at the time, which emphasized that the artist was a learned man, or an academic, after the fashion of earlier Italian treatises on the subject. At that writing, I had encountered no further documentary material on the matter beyond the papers of 1606 in the Archivo de Protocolos, Madrid (*legajo* 2269, fols. 1094ff.), which articulated, apparently for the first time, a desire among painters in the capital for an academic foundation. That conjecture can now be made into a firm statement, thanks to a document in the *Actas de las Cortes de Castilla*, where an entry for April 20, 1624 reads:[1]

> The Assembly treated of the declaration made by the painters of this city of Madrid, namely, that for the common good and reputation of these realms, it is necessary that there be in this court an Academy where the arts of drawing can be scientifically taught. Because of this lack, foreigners are necessarily employed as experts in this art for fortifications, the construction of artillery, cosmography, all classes of arms, architecture, painting, sculpture, embroideries, tapestries, clocks, silversmithery, and an infinitude of other things. Lacking good design, they are made here imperfectly, and so they are either imported or foreign artisans are brought to make them. Since Spain abounds in both talent and materials, it is clear that the problem lies in the system and not elsewhere. These arts would be taught in this Academy at no cost whatsoever to either His Majesty or the Kingdom, beyond the implementation of ordinances for its proper functioning.

The entry resulted from a formal petition brought by the painters before the Cortes, the organized body of representative government in Castile. The immediate outcome, so far as subsequent volumes in the *Actas* indicate, was the appointment of commissioners by the Cortes to consult with the painters on the matter. This was obviously not the result desired by the painters, and may in part explain why in 1626 and 1629 several of them, including Carducho, had to be defended in a suit brought against them by the Consejo de Hacienda for their unwillingness to pay the *alcabala*, or general sales tax, levied on them as members of the guild.[2] That there was an economic motivation behind the petition of 1624 to the Cortes is clear from the document. An *accademia del disegno* was sought in order to improve the quality of design in a variety of disciplines, including — but by no means confined to — painting. And the need was apparently exacerbated by foreign competition, both in products and in personnel, whose superiority, it was claimed, derived simply from better training. These circumstances place the petition within the general context of reforms at court during the decade of the 1620's, many of which were of an economic nature, and which also attempted to loosen the hold of foreigners and give more opportunity to natives.[3] Just exactly how this climate led to the painters' petition in 1624 can only be guessed at, but it is tempting to think that the artists were in some measure inspired by the wave of reformist zeal emanating from the palace, as Olivares sent one fiscal project after another to the Cortes in vigorous, if usually unsuccessful, attempts to restore the Crown's finances.[4] The painters may have sincerely felt that a drawing academy would improve the quality of clocks, silverwork, tapestry and artillery made in Madrid, as well as favorably affect the skills of architects, sculptors, and painters, and they were careful to point out that such an institution would cost nothing — either to King or city. These arguments were, of course, secondary in the long run, for beneath the academic impulse lay a desire for status of a kind that would eventually have altered one of the fundamental economic structures of the city, the guilds. To acquire this status would have changed the nature and function of the painters' guild itself.

The protestations by Carducho and other painters before the Consejo de Hacienda in 1629 were based quite clearly on the ideal of the painter as a creative, cultivated individual whose work should not be taxed because it was not a commercial product.[5] Julian Gállego has discovered in the Archivo de Protocolos in Madrid the volume containing the 1633 review of their case, and he discussed its contents in a valuable essay.[6] Carducho's central involvement in the issue in 1633 is clear from these new documents. The appearance of his *Diálogos*, in which the model for the painter is emphatically a learned one, in exactly the same year can be attributed to coincidence only with difficulty. And given his Tuscan origin, and proud proclamation on the book's title-page of his membership in the Florentine *accademia del disegno*, it would also not be surprising if he turned out to have been the moving force behind the painters' petition to the Cortes a decade earlier.

Brown University

[1] "Trató el Reyno de que los pintores desta villa de Madrid signifcan que para el buen común y reputación destos reynos, es necesario aya en esta corte una Academia a donde se enseñan cientificamente las artes del dibujo, que por careçer della ... obliga a valerse de los extranjeros como personas scientes en esta arte, para la fortificación, para la fábrica de la artillería, para la cosmografía, para todos géneros de armas, para la arquitectura, pintura y escultara, bordados y tapicerias, reloges y platería y otras infinitas cosas que por faltarles el dibuxo se hacen imperfectas, y se embia por ellas o por los artifices a otros reinos, y que pues abunda España de ingenios y de materiales, es visto estar la falta en el modo y no en otra cosa; lo qual se enseñara en esta Academia sin que a S. M. ni al Reyno cueste cosa alguna, más de mandar se garden las ordenanzas que para el dicho efecto se hicieren..."
Actas de las Cortes de Castilla, XLI, 124-25. I am very grateful to John H. Elliott of the Institute for Advanced Study for kindly calling my attention to the document.

[2] Juan Alonso de Butrón, *Memorial informativo por los pintores en el pleito que tratan con el senor fiscal de su magestad en el real consejo de hacienda*, Madrid, 1629.

[3] The reforming spirit of these years seems directly inspired by the vigorous Sevillian who rose to omnipotence as Philip IV's favorite, the Count-Duke of Olivares. A number of his most significant projects at this time are discussed, together with the texts related to them, in John H. Elliott and José F. de la Peña, *Memoriales y Cartas del Conde Duque de Olivares*, I, Madrid, 1978. See also J. H. Elliott, *El Conde-Duque de Olivares y la herencia de Felipe II*, Valladolid, 1977.

[4] See especially Elliott and de la Peña, 37-47.

[5] Carducho, *Diálogos de la pintura*, fol. 161r (see the edition of Carducho of 1979 with notes by Francisco Calvo Serraller, Barcelona, Ediciones Turner), and Butrón, *Memorial, passim*.

[6] Julian Gállego, *De artesano a artista*, Granada, 1977. Regrettably, this publication was brought to my attention after my article of 1978 was in proof. The documents cited in it are important additions to the material and bring to a conclusion the discussion of 1628-1633, without, however, fully resolving the issue behind its appearance.

Book Reviews

CHRISTOPH SCHWINGENSTEIN, *Die Figurenausstattung des griechischen Theatergebäudes (Münchener Archäologische Studien*, ed. E. Homann-Wedeking), Munich, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1977. Pp. 208. DM. 28

MARY C. STURGEON, *Corinth*, IX, Pt. II, *Sculpture: The Reliefs from the Theater*, Princeton, N.J., American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1977. Pp. xvii + 148; 90 pls., 3 text figs. $30

The Greek theater is a perennially exciting subject and there is always some aspect of it that calls for investigation. Following a suggestion made by the late Margarete Bieber in her majestic *History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (1961), Schwingenstein has written a thesis on the figurative decoration (more literally, "furnishings") of the Greek, but not the Roman, theater. The subject has not been treated in detail in recent scholarship, and a summary of evidence, literary, epigraphic and archaeological, is most welcome, even if Schwingenstein's effort cannot be considered the last word on the subject. In his introduction, Schwingenstein rightly notes that from a purely architectural study of ancient buildings, scholars have been turning increasingly to an integrated point of view, seeking to consider together structure, decoration, utilitarian function, and ideological intent.[1] He defines as his material the scanty literary sources, the more numerous inscriptions, and, in art, the painted, engraved, and sculptured representations in all media. He excludes small bronzes and terracottas. The arrangement of the book purports to follow "the functions assigned to the theater in Greek times" (p. 14), and the author rightly notes that as a place of public assembly the theater eventually assumed functions far beyond the theatrical performances (meetings of the people, of the *ekklesia*, religious performances, other entertainment). Accordingly, in the first part of his book, Schwingenstein divides his treatment into three major functional-ideological aspects: monuments connected with cult and religion, monuments connected with theatrical performances, and monuments connected with the state. The first major division encompasses the cult of Dionysus and the Dionysiac *thiasos* as well as theater masks, erotes, and the marine *thiasos*, as well as creatures of the sea generally. A second category includes representations of gods whose sanctuaries had theaters, such as Apollo in Delphi or Amphiaraus in Oropos. A third category are divinities, who had some definite function in connection with theatrical performances and competitions: The Muses, Victory (Nike), Nemesis, and Tyche. Other gods without obvious connections could have statues in theaters: Zeus, Hermes, and Herakles.

The second major division comprises two categories: honorary monuments for people connected with performances (poets, actors, musicians, and athletes); and honorary monuments for people involved with the actual theater structure (such as donors and architects).

Monuments related to the state form the third major division. These include the representations of mythical polis heroes, historical statesmen, and meritorious citizens, honored by the polis with statues, or inscriptions in the theater. A final section discusses Hellenistic rulers.

Designed to answer the question, "which aspects of Greek life were reflected in the monuments used to adorn the Greek theater?", this functional-ideological survey takes up six chapters. The key issue of the book, the placing and integration of the figurative decoration into the theater building, is then considered in two chapters described by author as "Formale Aspekte der Figuren und Inschriften," and "Bauplanung und Figurenausstattung." It is this chapter which contains the author's most important conclusions. The book ends rather lamely with a sketchy, chronological survey: "The deficient literary and monumental tradition makes it difficult to give a relevant weight to the chronological consideration of the theater figures" (p. 141). I cite this sentence because it reflects the resigned attitude of the author toward his subject, and because it is a fair sample of the stilted writing characteristic of the book.

Schwingenstein's study has, nevertheless, considerable merit. Out of a long sequence of detailed discussions based on a comprehensive collection of statues, statue bases, architectural sculpture, and inscriptions, the conclusion emerges with surprising force. Although sculptural decoration and the placing of statues in the theater were initiated by the Greeks not later than the 5th century B.C., the Hellenistic period did not as a rule develop regular systems of figurative sculptural decoration for the Greek theaters. Despite some steps taken toward programmatic arrays (indicated by inscriptions from Syracuse and the series of honorary statues at Segeste and Magnesia), "the idea of a figurative program is a Roman accomplishment" (p. 144). Another striking result of Schwingenstein's survey is the small quantity of Hellenistic sculptural decoration attested from all sources. One comes to wonder whether the same Greek architects and sculptors who overdecorated the Mausoleum and overloaded the altar of Pergamon with sculpture, simply did not consider the sculptural decoration of theaters as a coherent, unified task.

Schwingenstein's careful examination of the distribution of sculpture among the different parts of the Greek theater leads to some interesting, although tentative conclusions (p. 118). (1) The corners of the orchestra and the ends of the analemmata were perhaps the first to display sculpture. (2) The best attested feature of architectural sculpture are supporting figures (caryatids), especially satyrs, sileni, and Pans (Segesta, Syracuse, Delos, Tralles, 129). (3) In several cases, architectural friezes are placed on the entablatures of the paraskenia, with the friezes of the theater of Pergamon the best

[1] On the general problem of the role of sculpture in Greek urbanism, cf. G. M. A. Hanfmann, *From Croesus to Constantine*, Ann Arbor, 1975, chaps. 3 and 4, esp. p. 39, on the theater of Priene and the *prepon* theory, and C. Vermeule, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste*, Ann Arbor, 1977. For individual classes of monuments and complexes, Schwingenstein cites H. Kapossy, *Brunnenfiguren der hellenistischen und römischen Zeit*, Zurich, 1969; P. Zanker, "Das Trajansforum" (Sitzung am 13. Mai 1969), *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1970, 499f, and *idem*, *Forum Augustum*, Tübingen, 1968, and *Forum Romanum*, Tübingen, 1972; D. Pandermalis, "Zum Programm der Statuenausstattung in der Villa dei Papiri," *Athen. Mitteil.*, LXXXVI, 1971, 173-209. Immediately relevant and partly overlapping with Schwingenstein's discussion is Mary C. Sturgeon's discussion of Greek and Roman theater friezes, *Corinth*, IX, Pt. II, *The Reliefs from the Theater*, Princeton, N.J., 1977, chap. 6, "The Theater Friezes," 124, which appeared at the same time as Schwingenstein's book.

Hellenistic examples. (4) Honorary statues were relatively frequently placed along the parodoi. (5) Statues placed in front of the *proskenion* or stage did not develop into a regular decorative feature.

If the sculptural decoration of the Greek theater thus seems to present a disappointing view of incoherent starts and experiments, the same need not have been true of painting. It had certainly preceded sculpture when the theater structures were still of wood, and by virtue of painted stage decorations visually dominated the performances. Schwingenstein devotes a chapter (misleadingly titled "Gattungen von Dekor") to the scattered but curious literary references and the scanty remains of actual paintings found in the Greek theaters.

According to Schwingenstein, inscriptions of 274 B.C. indicate that at Delos an entire wooden front of the theater stage was painted. The author argues that the Delian façade imitated architecture, which is very likely, especially in view of the contemporary painted façades of Macedonian tombs. He also invokes Vitruvius's (VII. 5) attack on the paintings of the stage-like *ekklesiasterion* of Tralles (hardly earlier than 100 B.C.), which Vitruvius calls "little theater," suggesting that figures similar to "statues, centaurs" painted by Apaturios of Alabanda in Tralles may have occurred in the Delian painting. For want of material, it must remain uncertain whether such coherent and unified painted façades may have influenced the use of sculptural decoration in the Roman *scenae frons*.

Schwingenstein also discusses the possible meaning of *pinakes* and interprets as a figurative *pinax* the picture that showed Demeterios Poliorketes riding on the Oikoumene and was painted "on the proskenion" of the Athenian theater during the festival of Demetria.[2] It was not, however, a permanent feature. Like the famous cycle of the Dionysiac paintings in the porch behind the theater of Dionysus in Athens (Pausanias I.20.3), it appears as an isolated occurrence.

The strength of Schwingenstein's book lies in the conscientious collection of material and his careful and sober examination of evidence, case by case. It could serve as a most informative guide to sculpture associated with the Greek theater, but unfortunately the book has no general index. A list of some 90 theater buildings is of some help, but one cannot readily locate the discussions of individual monuments or subjects, which often occur in several chapters. The lack of a detailed index is particularly distressing because the book is not illustrated and thus each monument discussed calls for a reference to an illustration. No doubt the editors of the series were hesitant to make the costly investment in illustrations. Ironically, the author had selected as his motto a passage from Margarete Bieber (p. 8) which calls for restoring to their places the sculptural decorations of the theater "at least in reconstructed drawings." Schwingenstein should seriously consider bringing out in a companion volume some of such reconstructions as well as a selection of other illustrations. This would immediately heighten the value of his meritorious study.

Mary C. Sturgeon's handsome publication of the theater reliefs at Corinth absolves an old debt. The American excavations at Corinth began in 1896; the first fragments of friezes decorating the theater were found in the same year and the last fragments traceable from records were found in 1929. Although various fragments were published by E. M. Gardiner, T. L. Shear (Sr.), and E. Capps Jr.[3] at first as Hellenistic, then as Roman, the friezes have never been completely published or considered in relation to the theater building. Such an effort was only possible after the theater itself had been systematically investigated by R. Stillwell.[4] This also resolved the dating problems, as the friezes are shown by their findspots to belong to the *scenae frons* of the second building phase of the Roman period. Thus dated to ca. A.D. 125–150, they have become a fascinating ensemble of great interest for the character of Roman classicism in Greece. Sturgeon recapitulates Stillwell's results and adopts his reconstruction (as redrawn by Karle Packard) to indicate schematically (by dark rectangles) the proposed integration of the three sculptured friezes within the *scenae frons* of the theater. On the basis of very careful consideration of findspots as well as of heights and estimated lengths, Sturgeon places the friezes on the straight part of the podia, under the columns of the stage building. The Gigantomachy (18 slabs?, 0.98m high) Sturgeon thinks to have been the lowest of the three, the Amazonomachy (14 slabs?, 0.816m high) in the middle, and the deeds of Herakles (14 slabs?, 0.83m high) at the top, with pilasters framing each slab thus creating the effect of metopes rather than of a continuous frieze. This effect is well conveyed by the three invaluable reconstruction drawings of the three friezes made by Diane G. Peck (pp. 8–9, 56–57, and 92–93). The *pulpitum* may have been decorated[5] but if so, its decoration was lost when the theater was transformed into an arena for *venationes* (hunts) and later *naumachiae* (sea battles).

As Sturgeon shows, the friezes of Corinth are based on pattern books which included models from different periods. The Early Classic temple of Zeus at Olympia, the Amazonomachy of the Phidian Parthenos, the Parthenon metopes, and the Hellenistic Gigantomachy from Pergamon were among the major sources mixed in with other less canonical ones. Despite the "remarkable lack of originality" (p. 5), such eclectic creations constitute a distinctive aspect of Hadrianic-Antonine Classicism in Greece. A second aspect, not as yet systematically studied, are the "straight" copies for which the Piraeus reliefs, ordered from one Attic workshop, are a good example.[6] The third, relatively more creative aspect is represented by the Greek "Attic" sarcophagi. In their important attempt to reconstruct the development of Attic sarcophagi in terms of masters and workshops, A. Giuliano and B. Palma sketch an analogous tripartite model. They, too, differentiate for Hadrianic times a Neo-Attic eclectic workshop specializing in reliefs and decorative furnishings (al-

[2] Douris of Samos in the 22nd book of *Histories*—Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* XII. 536 a. Schwingenstein thinks the painting may have covered a larger part of the stage wall (pp. 19–20) rather than only one intercolumniation of the *proskenion*.

[3] E. M. Gardiner, "A Series of Sculptures from Corinth: A Hellenistic Gigantomachy," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XIII, 1901, 304. T. L. Shear, "Excavations in the Theater District of Corinth," *ibid.*, XXX, 1926, 444. E. Capps, Jr., "The Labors of Herakles from Corinth," *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, Princeton, 1936, 46.

[4] R. Stillwell, *Corinth*, II, The Theatre, Princeton, 1952.

[5] M. Sturgeon has presented plausible arguments for placing on the front of a Hadrianic pulpitum the well-known reliefs of the Theater of Dionysus in Athens: "The Reliefs on the Theater of Dionysus in Athens," *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXXI, 1977, 31–53.

[6] W. Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der Neuattischen Reliefs*, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes, Ergänzungsband*, XX, 1959, 3, 27, 130, 186, and esp. 189f; pls. 34f.

tars, candelabra) from a workshop that specialized in copying famous Classical masterpieces. In their view, a distinctive sarcophagus style emerges out of the Neo-Attic workshop around A.D. 140.[7] Sturgeon makes the interesting suggestion that sarcophagus carvers were hired to speed up the endeavor of decorating the three storied *scenae frons*, "perhaps in anticipation of the approaching visit of the emperor, possibly Hadrian."

Despite the variety of hands, Sturgeon (p. 137) thinks that one artist sketched the designs for all three friezes. With six senior sculptors and their assistants, the work may have lasted three to four years. Thus there emerges the picture of a skilled workshop active at Corinth in the Hadrianic period. The author has some good remarks on the style of this atelier, which is especially remarkable for its "spacious composition" with much empty background and squat proportions. Sturgeon argues that the spaciousness was the consequence of optical needs, namely the great distance from which theater sculpture was seen. It is a phenomenon observable not only in Corinth but in other Roman theater friezes as well. This is not, however, the whole story—many decorative Neo-Attic reliefs display the same tendency.[8] We are dealing here with a kind of "mode"—something that was considered an emphatically classical feature appropriate to certain contexts. Other obvious features are the squat proportions and the undramatic character and toning down of traditionally violent and dramatic scenes.

Sturgeon's recomposition of the Corinth sculptures is a major gain for scholarship. It was made possible by detailed, precise, dedicated work, ranging from searching the marble piles for additional fragments, through very precise descriptions of 272 fragments, to the clearly argued stylistic and iconographic discussions stating the reasons for the proposed restoration of each slab. This fundamental research is carried on in the catalogue descriptions and in the general introductory sections to each subject: Gigantomachy, Amazonomachy, and the deeds of Herakles, which come out to the unusual number of 14. There is also added a section of some 60 fragments which cannot at present be attributed to particular slabs.

With remarkable ingenuity, the author has sought to use every recognizable fragment, but given the small size and poor preservation of the majority, many of her reconstructions cannot be regarded as more than plausible guesses. Even so, the general character of serial friezes emerges clearly. There are a number of reconstituted slabs which provide a definite impression of style and workmanship, for instance the Hera, Zeus, and Aphrodite slabs of the Gigantomachy, two slabs of the Amazonomachy (A 4,6,8) and, in the poorly preserved Herakles series, the large eagle-like Stymphalid birds, the curiously small, very Hellenistic mare of Diomedes, a peacefully ambling Erymanthian boar, and two renderings of Herakles. In one he takes a large stride (a Cerberus scene?), and in the other he is seen from the back and holds a great shield with gorgoneion (H 12, perhaps from a Geryoneus scene). In general, one may say that although some of the heads, especially in the Gigantomachy, are more smoothly and "Hadrianically" Classical, the general style tends to muscular and facial exaggeration[9] and in Greece could equally well be late Hadrianic or early Antonine.

In 1934, Jocelyn M.C. Toynbee published an admirable series of studies, entitled somewhat misleadingly *The Hadrianic School, A Chapter in the History of Greek Art*. She claimed for Hadrian an ecumenical style reviving or reinforcing preexisting Hellenistic traditions. Yet, though calling it "the province with which any investigation of provincial art in Hadrian's time would naturally begin," she left aside Greece.[10] In 1968 Cornelius C. Vermeule published his *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968); here the emphasis falls on "Roman official art," on works "that have to do with the Roman state." Characteristically, neither book treated the theater friezes of Corinth. We are still waiting for the *magnum opus*, the book that would consider and carefully document all types of sculpture produced in Greece under the Roman rule. Sturgeon's treatment of the theater sculptures of Corinth is an exemplary contribution toward this objective.

A few remarks on individual questions and problems may be appended. The richly footnoted "History of Gigantomachies (11–12)" contains an ambiguous sentence: "In all the Archaic and even the 5th century B.C. examples, the giants are depicted as Greek hoplites." The author is thinking of sculpture only; for the wild, nude stone-flingers, see the Etruscan bronze reliefs from Marzabotto of ca. 500 B.C.[11]

The useful survey of "Theater Friezes" in chapter 6 states that the Pergamon theater frieze, usually dated ca. 150 B.C., "heads the list of theater friezes, the rest of which are Roman in date" (p. 125). Schwingenstein lists as Greek not only Pergamon, but also the bucrania-tripod metopes of Delos. He also maintains the association with a Hellenistic proskenion of the frieze with the deeds of Herakles found in the Roman theater of Delphi.[12] A date around 160–159 B.C. and Pergamene affiliation had been proposed by P. Perdrizet for these curious reliefs. As I pointed out in 1945,[13] a date in the second half of the second century B.C. receives support from the appearance of similar elongated figures on the Etruscan urns from Volterra. I am not persuaded by Sturgeon's attempt[14] to assign the Delphi frieze to a non-theatrical Hellenistic monument.

In addition to its other virtues, Sturgeon's book is easy to use. It has an up-to-date bibliography, a good index, and excellent illustrations.

GEORGE M.A. HANFMANN
Harvard University

[7] A. Giuliano and B. Palma, *La maniera ateniese di età romana: I maestri dei sarcofagi attici*, Rome, 1978, 11.

[8] Cf. for instance, some of the Piraeus reliefs; N. Leipen, *Athena Parthenos*, Toronto, 1971, No. 34.

[9] For instance, the threatening Hadrian from Hierapytna; C. C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, 254, fig. 138.

[10] J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, Cambridge, 1934. She did, in fact, include a brief mention of Greece and some "Attic Sarcophagi"; xxxi, 220.

[11] "Studies in Etruscan Bronze Reliefs, The Gigantomachy," *Art Bulletin*, XIX, 1937, 463.

[12] Schwingenstein, 129.

[13] "Etruscan Reliefs of the Hellenistic Period," *Journal of Roman Studies*, LXV, 1945, 54, n. 54, figs. 5–6.

[14] "A New Monument to Herakles in Delphi," *American Journal of Archaeology*, LXXXII, 2, 1978, 226, and in the book under review, 96. P. Levêque, "La Date de la frise du théâtre de Delphes," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, LXXV, 1951, 247f, argued for a Roman date.

K. WEITZMANN, W. C. LOERKE, E. KITZINGER, and H. BUCHTHAL, *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1975. Pp. 184; 148 ills. $28.50

This volume consists of four papers that were read at the symposium, "The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art," held in April, 1973 to honor Kurt Weitzmann on the occasion of his retirement from Princeton University.

Weitzmann's own essay, "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination, Past, Present, and Future," provides an outline of various approaches to Byzantine manuscript illumination. He turns first to the formal and expressive achievement of Byzantine miniature painting with a brief discussion of what he calls its six fundamental "modes of expression": narrative, hieratic, classicizing, spiritual, liturgical, and emotive. He associates each mode with a particular phase of Byzantine art as a whole, for example, the narrative mode with the 6th century, the classicizing one with the Macedonian Renaissance, and the emotive manner with the Palaeologan period.

The major portion of Weitzmann's essay is devoted to the formulation of a series of basic tasks that confront the student of Byzantine manuscript illumination. The first is to gather basic catalogue information concerning the surviving illuminated manuscripts, to arrange them in groups, and to analyze them according to the basic texts that their miniatures illustrate and according to the scriptoria from which they come. The second and third tasks involve reconstructing lost works and tracing the sources of miniatures that were not invented for the settings they now occupy. The fourth area to be investigated is the copying of miniatures in monumental painting, icons, and other media, and the fifth concerns the impact of Byzantine manuscript illumination beyond the borders of the Empire. The sixth and seventh objectives are the exploration of the Jewish sources of Old Testament illustration and the study of book illustration in the Greco-Roman world and its links with Jewish and Christian developments.

The principal focus of this analysis is clearly the Byzantine illuminated manuscript as the bearer of a cycle of illustrations and the sources, development, and interrelationships of such cycles. Thus, this program reflects the concerns and interests that have guided a considerable part of Weitzmann's long and distinguished career. Indeed, his emphasis on the importance of these matters, and the principles and methods he has devised for studying them, are among his most fundamental contributions to our understanding of this field.

Other aspects of the study of Byzantine manuscript illumination, however, do not receive as much attention here. Although in the first section of his paper Weitzmann asserts that much of Byzantine manuscript illumination is liturgical in character, he does not directly consider questions of function, program, and patronage. In an essay of this kind, one would have appreciated fuller discussion of the ways in which the manuscripts may reflect specific liturgical, exegetical, political, or other concerns and the impact such factors may have had upon the history of Byzantine miniature painting.

William Loerke's contribution, "The Monumental Miniature," seeks to demonstrate the dependence of several of the miniatures of the Rossano Gospels upon monumental painting and to identify these sources. He first discusses briefly the problem of establishing the derivation of miniatures from such monumental prototypes, stressing quite rightly the necessity of deducing the use of such models from specific dislocations in the miniatures rather than from general features of style. He then recapitulates in abbreviated form his argument that the otherwise puzzling features of the manuscript's second trial scene, representing Christ and Barabas before Pilate, can best be understood as the result of the transfer of a composition that had originally occupied an apse to the flat page of a book.[1] He does not, however, consider here his earlier suggestions concerning the existence of a third trial scene and the source of all three in the monumental decoration of the Domus Pilatii in Jerusalem. As Loerke points out, his reconstruction of the monumental source, an apse composition flanked by two large, round-headed flat fields, has a format very similar to that of the sanctuary of S. Vitale. This is certainly most suggestive. One would like to know, however, if any apse compositions exist that are similar in content or arrangement to the Rossano miniature, although the uniqueness of the original setting the author has proposed must be kept in mind.

Loerke also maintains that the miniature of the *Communion of the Apostles* is derived from a monumental source. He points out that the best parallels for the Rossano scheme are found among apse decorations such as those in Hagia Sophia in Ohrid and Hagia Sophia in Kiev rather than in other representations of the scene in Byzantine manuscripts. He believes that the model for this version was found in the Coenaculum in Sion Church in Jerusalem and he adduces a 7th-century Armenian description of the Holy Places that mentions a representation of the *Last Supper* in a wooden dome there, and a 12th-century German description that also mentions a representation of the *Last Supper* in the upper church. In addition, he argues that the Stuma and Riha patens contain visual references to this dome scene.

Finally, Loerke emphasizes the liturgical character of the sequence of the miniatures and the fact that the visual scheme with one or more New Testament scenes above four Old Testament figures, with texts related to these episodes, is a tightly knit *concordia veteris et novi testamenti*. He suggests that this scheme is derived from the walls of a basilica. He stresses the links of this typology with the liturgy of Jerusalem and notes that the closest parallel for the inscription of the Communion scene is found in the writings of Cyril of Jerusalem. He introduces the frescoes of S. Angelo in Formis as a comparison for this scheme as well as for the presence in a single field of the scenes of the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet. Full evaluation of this hypothesis would require consideration of a variety of other works as well. What is the significance of the fact that the only other surviving illustrated Greek Gospel manuscript of this period, the Sinope fragment, also juxtaposes New Testament scenes and Old Testament figures with scrolls and texts? Do the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo have any light to shed on this question?

Jerusalem is clearly at the center of Loerke's conception of the Rossano miniatures. He does not, however, consider the implications of the links with that city for the extremely difficult problem of the origin of the manuscript or for the

[1] W. Loerke, "The Trials of Christ in the Rossano Gospels," *Art Bulletin*, XLIII, 1961, 186ff.

nature of the program of illustration as a whole. One would very much have appreciated knowing his views on these matters.

Ernst Kitzinger's contribution, "The Role of Miniature Painting in Mural Decoration," is particularly stimulating. He turns first to a review of the relationship between the Genesis mosaics of the narthex of S. Marco and the Cotton Genesis, the most famous instance of the dependence of a monumental cycle upon an illuminated manuscript in the Middle Ages. His discussion of the Venetian mosaics and their miniature model is especially valuable in demonstrating that if we are to understand such a relationship fully, we must consider several other questions in addition to whether the cycle was copied from a manuscript source and what the model may have been. To begin with, we must ask why one work has been selected as a model for another. As Kitzinger indicates, the use of the Cotton Genesis in the S. Marco mosaics must, of course, be seen in the context of the by now well-known Early Christian revival in Venice in the 13th century.

We must also ask how the copying was carried out, for the nature of this process is by no means self-evident. The transfer of images from the pages of a manuscript to the walls of a church must have been a complex undertaking, given the differences in scale, medium, relationship of image to image, manner in which the scene or cycle is experienced by the spectator, and, in some cases, shape of surface. The process is, thus, better understood as an adaptation rather than a simple transfer and it would have entailed a broad range of decisions regarding modifications and adjustments. This is readily apparent in the narthex of S. Marco with its complex and varied surfaces. Yet even in the case of the walls of the basilica, the process cannot have been simply a mechanical one, although it is often dealt with only as a matter of the availability of space. Kitzinger has long been interested in many aspects of this problem and he devotes a significant portion of his essay to a discussion of the means by which miniature cycles actually reached church walls.

He argues very convincingly that manuscripts, such as the Cotton Genesis, that served as models for monumental cycles were too precious to be kept in the mosaicist's or fresco painter's atelier. Thus, intermediary pictorial guides were necessary, and Kitzinger marshals a substantial amount of visual and literary evidence concerning them. He distinguishes between guides made for a specific undertaking and generic ones designed for repeated use as standard models. As an example of the first type, he discusses the Vercelli Rotulus, an Italian work of the 13th century, the drawings of which are copies of a monumental cycle that was to be painted anew in the same church it had previously decorated. As Robert Branner has noted and as Kitzinger has pointed out elsewhere, a number of other works that appear to have been designed as guides for particular programs are also in roll form. In contrast, the works that he associates here with the category of generic guides are codices, and this is also the usual format of another important kind of model book, the "motif book."[2] One wonders whether this distinction may be of some significance. By its very nature, the roll allows many images to be seen in relation to one another, whereas in the codex this is only possible for those which occupy facing pages. Thus, the roll is better suited for presenting the overall structure and continuities of an extended cycle.

In the last section of his paper Kitzinger examines the Old Testament mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore with respect to the relationship between miniatures and monumental painting. In contrast to the prevailing view, he suggests that the Old Testament cycle was not based on a specific manuscript model, but was, instead, created largely *ad hoc*. He attributes the few points of contact with other representations of these scenes to the fact that an advisor who may have been familiar with other cycles guided the mosaicists with general verbal or pictorial instructions. As he points out, the roughly contemporary Quedlinburg Itala miniatures appear to be the product of just such a process. It should be noted that Beat Brenk has come to very similar conclusions in his recent monograph on the mosaics.[3]

Nevertheless, Kitzinger stresses the numerous connections between the Old Testament mosaics and manuscripts of the period such as the Vatican Vergil and the Ambrosian *Iliad* in regard to figure types, compositional and pictorial techniques, and even the treatment of the frame. He maintains, however, that these links are the result of a deliberate attempt to present these Old Testament scenes "in the guise of pages from a sumptuously illustrated manuscript of Homer or Vergil" (p. 132), rather than a carry-over from a manuscript model.

Such an allusion to a specific category of works in another medium is not, in itself, implausible. The evocation of the Roman triumphal columns in the Joshua Roll is certainly fundamental to its meaning, to cite an example from a later period. For Kitzinger, the elements that link the Old Testament mosaics and the manuscripts constitute what he calls an "epic mode." As he notes, however, many of these features are derived from Roman triumphal art. The question, therefore, arises whether these elements as a group would have specifically called to mind such illustrated manuscripts of the *Aeneid* and the *Iliad* for the contemporary observer. Kitzinger's proposal is nonetheless a most suggestive one and it fits well, as he points out, with our understanding of other aspects of the program of the mosaics and of the architecture.

Hugo Buchthal's contribution, "Towards a History of Palaeologan Illumination," offers an important discussion of several aspects of manuscript illumination in Constantinople in the 14th century. He begins with a brief account of some instances of iconographical innovation, ranging from the impact of Western influence to the appearance of a new liturgical theme. He then turns to three groups of illuminated manuscripts that appear to mark the major phases of the development after the first decade of the 14th century. The first group, the most impressive and well-known member of which is a Gospels on the island of Patmos (Monastery of St. John, Cod. 81), dates from the 1330's. The

[2] R. Branner, "Le Rouleau de Saint Eloi," *L'Information de l'histoire de l'art*, XII, 1967, 55f. and esp. 65f. For Kitzinger's earlier discussions see *The Mosaics of Monreale*, Palermo, 1960, 43f. and 63; "Norman Sicily as a Source of Byzantine Influence in Western Art in the Twelfth Century," *Byzantine Art: A European Art. Lectures*, Athens, 1966, 139f., and his review of V. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics* (London, 1966) in the *Art Bulletin*, L, 1968, 291.

[3] B. Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, Wiesbaden, 1975, 125f., 178f.

second consists of a series of manuscripts written in the 1330's and 1340's by a single scribe, Chariton, in the Hodegon Monastery, and related works. The third group centers on the famous copy of the theological works of John Kantakouzenos in Paris (Bibl. Nat., Cod. gr. 1242) written between the years 1371 and 1375 by the monk Joasaph, also at the Hodegon Monastery. Buchthal convincingly argues that a Gospels on Mount Athos (Koutloumoussi, Cod. 62) and another in the Vatican (Cod. gr. 1160) contain miniatures by the hand responsible for those in the Kantakouzenos manuscript and he suggests that both volumes were also written by Joasaph at the Hodegon Monastery. He briefly points out some of the links between some of these miniatures and contemporary monumental painting, focusing mainly on the similarities between the style of the Kantakouzenos group and the frescoes of the Peribleptos in Mistra.

In the context of the theme of the symposium, this essay is of particular interest in reminding us that the role or place of manuscript illumination in Byzantine art was not fixed and immutable. In the Palaeologan period, in contrast to earlier phases of Byzantine art, manuscript illumination played a largely secondary role, as Buchthal points out. Despite the relatively large number of manuscripts that have come down to us from this period, the variety of texts illustrated is more limited than in earlier phases, and narrative cycles are now comparatively rare. With the exception of a few especially brilliant and accomplished manuscripts, the most impressive and innovative works of painting in the Palaeologan period are to be found among frescoes, mosaics, and icons.

Manuscript illumination in the Palaeologan period also exhibits other distinctive features with respect to earlier phases of Byzantine art. One of the most important is the fact that the tradition of the unified scriptorium, in which text, ornament and miniature were all produced as part of a single, closely integrated enterprise, no longer seems to prevail. Instead, miniatures frequently appear to have been produced outside the scriptorium by artists also, and perhaps primarily, engaged in other forms of painting. Connections with icon painting are particularly close. In this essay Buchthal only briefly touches upon these matters. They are, however, among the principal concerns of the recent study which he jointly undertook with Hans Belting dealing with a major group of late 13th-century Constantinopolitan manuscripts.[4] That study clearly reveals the importance of the investigation of changing patterns of workshop organization and patronage for our understanding of late Byzantine manuscript illumination.

This volume is, then, a welcome one. It surveys past achievements, advances new ideas and interpretations, and suggests fruitful lines of inquiry for the future. As such, it is a most fitting tribute to Weitzmann's many years at Princeton University and to his fundamental contribution to our knowledge of Byzantine manuscript illumination and of Byzantine art as a whole.

MICHAEL JACOFF
Brooklyn College of the City University of New York

[4] H. Buchthal and H. Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople. An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy (Dumbarton Oaks Studies,* XVI*)*, Washington, D.C., 1978.

PETER K. KLEIN, *Der ältere Beatus-Kodex Vitr. 14-1 der Biblioteca Nacional zu Madrid. Studien zur Beatus-Illustration und der spanischen Buchmalerei des 10. Jahrhunderts (Studien zur Kunstgeschichte,* VIII*)*, 2 vols., Hildesheim-New York, Georg Olms Verlag, 1976. Pp. 631; 243 pls. DM. 148

It is now almost 50 years since Wilhelm Neuss published his magisterial study of the illustrations in the copies of Beatus of Liebana's Commentary on the Apocalypse. With it he gave his readers a complete history, description, and bibliography of the more than 20 surviving manuscripts, and employed the tools of art historian, historian, textual scholar, and palaeographer to reach his goals, defining the genealogical tree of the manuscripts and the character of the first illustrated Commentary. Subsequent Beatus literature has largely ignored these questions in order to concentrate on the aesthetic qualities of the miniatures, in particular those belonging to the Commentaries of the 10th and 11th centuries. Here was found a style that appealed to a younger generation whose own art was anti-naturalistic. Furthermore, it could be exploited in the interests of an emerging national theme, Spain's independence from the rest of Europe. Thus, demonstrations of a decisive Oriental influence remained a favorite topic even after the general historiographical tendency to seek the roots of medieval art outside of Europe had waned. Now, however, another scholar from Bonn, Peter Klein, has given us a new basic monograph for Beatus studies that returns to the issues that preoccupied Neuss, for, despite the narrowness implied by its title, 135 pages of the text, plus more than 200 pages of notes, are devoted to an analysis of Beatus iconography in order to arrive at an archetype and the essential stages of its development. The very choice of Biblioteca Nacional Vitrina 14-1 was dictated by this concern. It is one of the least opulent of the Commentaries and over half of its miniatures have been removed. It is, however, the oldest survivor and its text belongs to the most primitive tradition.

Neuss's analysis led him to propose that around A.D. 785 Beatus fashioned a Commentary on the Apocalypse by compiling various Patristic texts and by dispersing through them some 75 illustrations of Apocalyptic scenes adopted from a North African Apocalypse of the 5th or 6th century. To this essential core he would have appended various introductory miniatures and a Commentary written by Saint Jerome on the Book of Daniel, the latter illustrated after the example of an Early Christian Book of Daniel. According to Neuss, this archetype is best reflected, both textually and stylistically, by the Commentary copied in the 11th century at St.-Sever in Gascony (Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 8878). Although he proceeds in a similar fashion, Klein revises this picture of events substantially. He begins by rejecting Neuss's history of the text in favor of that proposed by Sanders. Instead of an archetype from which all subsequent copies have descended in more or less faithful versions, there would have been successive, slightly emended editions, beginning in Beatus's lifetime, after an initial text in A.D. 776. With some minor changes, Klein accepts this more convincing position. Turning to the series of miniatures, Klein finds some correlation between the various textual editions and the development of the iconography. The most complete copies, including that of St.-Sever, would be the product of an iconographic expansion. In fact, he demonstrates the truth of a principle clearly enunciated but then not applied by Neuss, namely, that a given text and the set of pictures

adorning it may have separate histories. Unlike Neuss, who delineated a single stemma for texts and picture cycles, Klein finds it necessary to construct separate stemmata for the two. The St.-Sever Beatus would combine the primitive (probably unillustrated) text of 776 with a picture cycle that goes back to an adaptation of the series of miniatures created for the first illustrated edition of 784. This cycle would have been transformed, however, by substantial additions from a Commentary belonging to the second pictorial edition of the 9th or 10th century.

Since both authors chose the Angels Restraining the Winds (Apoc. 7:1–3) as one of several subjects to be analyzed in all its versions in order to establish iconographic groups, their approaches can be conveniently compared. Here, as elsewhere, Neuss ascribed a kind of priority to the St.-Sever Commentary by describing it first and in greatest detail. Ever shorter descriptions of the other manuscripts followed. He then constructed two logical branches, each subdivided into two families. St.-Sever was found to be the version from which the compositions of all the rest could be derived. Even the truly exceptional miniatures of the other members of Branch I (which omit dominant features such as the surrounding sea, the throng of God's servants and the Angel of the Sun) were held to be reduced, medieval interpretations of an original rich in narrative detail. Klein's own groupings are essentially the same, but for him the fact that the reduced versions are found in Branch I suggests that the original composition was a simpler and more schematic one, and was subsequently enriched in later reworkings of the iconography. He plots the change in a systematic way, noting as particularly revealing the gradual integration of the Angel of the Sun, who moves from a marginal position in Branch I manuscripts to an axial one within the scene in Branch II. The version in St.-Sever, with the sea, the row of God's servants, and a well-integrated Angel of the Sun, can represent, therefore, only an evolved state of the iconography. The sequence proposed by Neuss assumed implausibly that someone had reduced his elaborate Branch I model, not by a general simplification of the composition (as happens, for example, in some Branch II examples) but by a significant restructuring involving the elimination of major elements and even the removal of the Angel of the Sun. Similar results follow from Klein's analysis of the other miniatures selected to demonstrate the theme of evolution. His conclusions are reinforced by an unusual battery of statistical evidence derived from the application of techniques originally associated with linguistic studies. In this case he formulates a number of distinguishing features, such as the presence or absence of elements, the position and number of figures, the type of architectural decoration, etc., for each subject illustrated in Vit. 14-1. These controlling features number as few as 15 or as many as 94. The result is a mathematical statement of the degree of relationship between the pictures of all manuscripts. In these statistical tables one finds the St.-Sever Commentary consistently disassociated from the other members of Branch I.

Klein makes a convincing case for his theory of an iconographic evolution, and St.-Sever stands revealed as, at best, a modest contributor to the early history of the Beatus tradition. It would hold this position if Klein were right to claim that its scribes selectively retained some pictorial elements from the Branch I model that provided their text. The claim is much harder to verify from his demonstration than the one that the St.-Sever illuminators had access to a Branch II manuscript. Like Neuss, Klein can relate the St.-Sever Angels Restraining the Winds to Branch I iconography only through the fact that the angels are shown holding wind heads, whereas Branch II versions portray the angels themselves as the winds. No mention is made of the fact that in the St.-Sever version and in this one alone, the winds are directed away from the interior of the scene, which is just what the Apocalyptic text prescribes. An "improvement" of the iconography after a rereading of the text may explain some aspects of the St.-Sever compositions. The complicated and inconclusive unraveling of the relationship of the scene of the Two Witnesses in St.-Sever and Vit. 14-1 underscores the difficulty in finding a sure place for these two manuscripts within the scheme of development. One remains skeptical about the conclusion that in Vit. 14-1 the Beast from the Earth has been moved from the isolated marginal position that the creature occupied in the first stage of iconographic development, to an integrated position below the Ark in the Temple, because of the authority of some more "advanced" model. Looking at the miniatures of Vit. 14-1, one is constantly aware of the effects of compression, and, as Klein himself admits, that may well be the explanation here. One detects strain in the efforts to relate Vit. 14-1 and St.-Sever to each other and to characterize them as advanced versions of Branch I iconography.

Klein's revisions of Neuss imply profound changes in the conception of the first illustrated Beatus Commentary. According to Neuss, the latter must have preserved a good deal of the detailed narrative style of a Late Classical model. He never bothered to explain, however, how this might have come about in the artistic context of Visigothic and Asturian art, which are basically anti-classical and medieval in style. He was apparently led to postulate a pictorially rich archetype for two reasons. One was his seduction by the beauty of the St.-Sever Beatus, which appealed to a taste too classically oriented to embrace more schematic styles. The other was a faith in the strength of native traditions, so that the Beatus picture cycle had to be integrally based on an Early Christian model originating in the area of Spain and North Africa. Here Klein does not offer any counter-theory, and the problem of the sources of the Beatus cycle is touched on only incidentally. At one point (p. 464, n. 167), Klein suggests that the model may have been an illustrated Commentary rather than an illustrated Apocalypse, but the evidence is slight. The cycle continues to be seen as essentially independent of comparable European traditions, but there is an underlying assumption that it was not made up without some knowledge of Christian iconographic traditions. Despite Klein's conscientious analysis and his knowledge (he preceded his publication of Vit. 14-1 by one on the Trier Apocalypse), the ties to extra-Peninsular art do not turn out to be numerous or obvious. His most concerted effort to demonstrate such a tie, an attempt to find a connection between the image of the Woman Clothed in the Sun and the Byzantine Virgin and Child of the Blachernitissa-Platytera type, is not convincing. Presumably some changes will be introduced into Klein's stemma as other manuscripts are subjected to monographic treatment, but they will be analysed in emulation of Klein and, certainly, with the aid of this work, for it is a treasure house of information.

In his search for a birthplace for Vit. 14-1, Klein takes up an important topic outside the scope of Neuss's book, namely, the development of northern Spanish illumination in the late 9th and in the first half of the 10th century. Within

this context, Vit. 14-1 turns out to have a much greater importance than it has for Beatus studies, for it would be, if Klein's conclusions are correct, the first surviving manuscript to exhibit the figure style characteristic of the mature phase of northern Spanish illumination.

Vit. 14-1 has been almost unanimously held to be a product of the Castilian monastery of S. Millán de la Cogolla. As Klein shows, it may have been there as early as the 12th century. On the basis of a survey of the decoration of S. Millán's early manuscripts, however, he decides it was not written there. A consideration of the scriptoria of other regions also ends negatively, but in the process we are given a complete bibliography for the history of early Spanish manuscript decoration and reproductions of many manuscripts never before discussed in art-historical literature. On the basis of its decoration, he eventually assigns Vit. 14-1 to the southeast sector of the kingdom of León and to a date around 940. Neither of these conclusions can be regarded as proven, because Klein is exploring new territory with all the risks this necessarily entails. We still have a very incomplete idea of just when S. Millán began to function as a scriptorium and which manuscripts are its authentic products. The positive case for León is not much easier to make. It ultimately rests on a very precarious base, the similarity of the initial style of Vit. 14-1 to that of some initials in Biblioteca Nacional MS 1872, a Conciliar manuscript most often assigned to Andalusia. Klein is probably right in making it Leonese, but the relationship between its initials and those of Vit. 14-1 is of a general nature, and its miniatures are carried out in a manner sharply different from those of Vit. 14-1. In fact, the parallels for the latter are found by Klein in manuscripts from western Castile, more precisely, from Valeránica. Klein, however, gives Vit. 14-1 a date early enough, around 940, to avoid the issue of whether its figures are based on, or, on the contrary, inspire, the Castilian ones. As it is, we are left with the implication (for the unemphatic manner in which the conclusion is revealed makes that word apt) that the mature northern Spanish figure style was a Leonese creation first exhibited among surviving manuscripts in Vit. 14-1.

Although his demonstration that Vit. 14-1 was written in León rather than S. Millán is ultimately inconclusive, the date of 940 seems too early by a decade. The script and its decoration were carried out by a scribe working in a manner consistent with a date as early as 920. The date selected, however, must accommodate the work of the miniaturist. As Klein carefully documents, his is a hand other than that of the scribe responsible for the text and its decorated initials. The miniaturist also wrote the captions of the illustrations and some rubrics and from these one readily sees that he employs a script much more modern that that of the text. The elucidation of this distinction is very important, for it means that Neuss's date of around 925 is impossibly early. In fact, as Klein himself reveals, Sanders and Mundó felt the modern hand belonged to the 11th century. Klein suggests, yet with no more authority than Loew's primitive scheme for dating Visigothic script, a date not later than 950, but possibly earlier. This date is put in the scale with that of 920, yielding, after giving a slight edge to the miniaturist, a date of around 940. Both the procedure and the result are unsatisfactory. The significant term for the equation is the date when modern writing and figure styles such as those of the "progressive" scribe, were first employed in the region. The León Antiphonary is, for Klein, an important anchor for the early date of 940. It features a less fresh version of the same figure style that we find in Vit. 14-1, but it has initials of an interlace type that will be standard in Spanish manuscripts throughout the second half of the 10th and much of the 11th century. It is a thoroughly mature work, and by dating it to just before mid-century, Klein seems to make more plausible his earlier date for Vit. 14-1. The initials of the Antiphonary of León, however, especially in their incorporation of birds and bristles, resemble most closely those of the Beatus of Valladolid, of A.D. 970 (cf., the Antiphonary fol. 4v, e.g., and the Valladolid Beatus, fol. 3v). This would seem to be a likely approximate date for the León Antiphonary. Neither does the figure style of Vit. 14-1 accord well with a date as early as 940, at least not if it is a product of León. As we noted, Klein found it to be related to that of manuscripts from Valeránica in western Castile. Although the earliest surviving one of these is dated A.D. 945, we know that the S. Isidoro Bible of 960, where Klein finds his closest parallels for the figures of Vit. 14-1, was a replica of another densely illustrated Valeranican Bible completed in 943. Klein asks us to believe that the figure style of these illustrated manuscripts was taken from León. Yet the Leonese manuscripts of the 920's employ a very different type of figure, and the later manuscripts with which he supports his case, the Morgan Beatus (which he dates in the 950's) and the León Antiphonary, seem, on the face of it, to be based on the figure and initial style of Castile. Vit. 14-1 must represent an earlier influence of Castile, around mid-century.

It may even be argued that the initials of the conservative scribe of Vit. 14-1 are not compatible with a date as early as Klein proposes. Curiously, despite his scrupulous concern to analyze all formal elements, Klein does not pursue the sources and parallels for the contour ornaments of some initials and frames of Vit. 14-1. One of these, consisting of pairs of short, hair-like projections alternating with small arches, seems to reflect Carolingian prototypes and was used at mid-century as far east as Albelda, usually in association with the interlace initials that characterize the mature northern Spanish style. It is a type of decoration found in the León Antiphonary and the Leonese Beatus from Tábara, of the year 970. The latter also employs a sawtooth motif as a contour ornament, and this too appears on an initial in Vit. 14-1. Thus, the conservative scribe of Vit. 14-1 may have worked at a later date than Klein proposes.

Whether one remains faithful to a S. Millán attribution for Vit. 14-1, or is persuaded by Klein's counter-proposal, the mature phase of Spanish manuscript style in the 10th century should be accepted as a Leonese creation, for before Sancho el Mayor's expansion to the west, Castile was part of the Kingdom of León. Furthermore, it was in León as Klein defines it that the flowering of this style took place. With the exception of the remarkable frieze of Kufic inspiration in the illustration of the *Church of Pergamum*, Vit. 14-1 has very little that can be traced to Islamic sources. In the great Beatus manuscripts of the second half of the century, documented products of southeastern León, however, the incorporation of Islamic motifs was to be pervasive enough to give currency, at least since the publication of Gómez Moreno's *Iglesias Mozárabes*, to the designation "Mozarabic" for this whole school of illumination. The relatively sparse use of Islamic motifs in Vit. 14-1 may mean that it was not produced in this region of León. But this issue aside, we are obliged to recognize that the "Mozarabization" of Spanish illumination took place after its initial formation, in the second half of the 10th century. In Klein's reconstruction of the iconographic development of the Commentaries, the forma-

tion of Branch II is made to coincide with the introduction of Islamic elements in the illustrations. Since they first begin to appear in Spanish Christian art (although not in any surviving Beatus miniatures) at the end of the 9th century, this is the date Klein picks for the second pictorial recension (Branch II). One must wonder, however, whether it was not a phenomenon of the middle of the 10th century. Klein's study of Vit. 14-1 has the virtue of raising such fundamental questions and of putting at our disposal the essential facts for their discussion.

JOHN WILLIAMS
University of Pittsburgh

KENNETH M. SETTON, gen. ed., *A History of the Crusades*, IV: *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. Harry W. Hazard, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1977. Pp. xxviii + 416 + Addenda & Corrigenda to Vols. I-IV; 65 pls. $29.50

This is an odd, and let me say immediately, a good and useful book. Odd because of its structure, which was shaped by the fact that three of its authors died before its completion: U. T. Holmes, author of chapter 1, "Life Among the Europeans in Palestine and Syria in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries"; D. J. Wallace, co-author of chapter 6, "The Arts in Frankish Greece and Rhodes," and the author of the greater part of the book, T. S. R. Boase. It must have been an extremely difficult task for the editors to bring the various parts up to date (especially those of Boase which were in their bulk completed as early as 1950) and to fit in the other contributions: H. L. Savage, "Pilgrimages and Pilgrim Shrines in Palestine and Syria after 1095," and A. H. S. Megaw, "Military Architecture in Cyprus." The highest praise is moreover, due, to Jaroslav Folda, who not only added important footnotes to Boase's text but took it upon himself to write a new, and very substantial chapter, "Painting and Sculpture in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem" (chap. 7, 251–288), and to enlarge "Crusader Art and Architecture: A Photographic Survey" in part prepared by Boase. A certain amount of repetition and even divergence between Boase's and Folda's contributions the reader will gladly put up with: it was the price that had to be paid for reverently preserving the late Boase's text and, at the same time, for offering a valid, up-to-date assessment of Crusader art or, rather, the art of the Crusader States. In fact, the authors and editors of the book are careful not to speak of "Crusader Art" (at least in their chapter headings, except in that of the "Photographic Survey"). It is, indeed, questionable whether this label should be used at all for the sum total of the art that originated in the Crusader territories. To be sure, some branches may be legitimately designated in this way, especially miniature and icon painting—although Hugo Buchthal called his monumental study simply "Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem"—but others do not seem to qualify for such a definition. There is, for instance, hardly such a thing as "Crusader Sculpture," the few surviving works being stylistically so heterogeneous that they cannot be brought under a common heading.

The first chapter of the book gives a brief account of "Life among the Europeans in Palestine and Syria," concentrating on Jerusalem and Tripoli. Without exhausting this difficult and complex subject, the chapter serves as an introduction to the study of art and architecture, which are considered as part of the "material culture." It should be kept in mind that the work under review is a part, Vol. IV, of *A History of the Crusades*, preceded by three volumes of "straight" history and to be followed by Vols. V, *The Impact of the Crusades on Islam and Christendom*, and VI, *An Atlas and Gazetteer of the Crusades, with Bibliography*. The Gazetteer in Vol. IV refers especially to places mentioned in the text of the volume under review and contained in ten maps inserted between pages 92 and 93. On these maps "may be found nearly every place occurring in the text, except a few whose exact locations are unknown . . . and some which occur only in Professor Folda's text which was received after the preparation of the text was far advanced." This is certainly a minor blemish, especially since it probably will be made up for in Vol. VI. More serious is the fact that for the Bibliography we shall also have to wait until Vol. VI.

Chapter 2 deals with "Pilgrimages and Pilgrim Shrines in Palestine and Syria after 1095"; it is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the background of art and architecture in the Crusader States. Pilgrimages of the preceding period were dealt with by S. Runciman in Vol. I.

Chapter 3 by Boase, on "Architecture, Sculpture, Mosaic, Painting and Minor Arts," is still the most important part of the book, although it is somewhat out of date and partially superseded by Folda's concluding chapter. The latter chapter is more than a summary and a supplement. Folda is not content with the presentation of the material: he transforms it into "art history," attempts interpretations, and explains the vagaries of the development with the help of historical facts. Altogether it is an admirable achievement.

The best known and most intensely studied monuments are, of course, those of architecture. In this field, Boase was able to rely largely on the work of French scholars; however, he has himself added considerably to our knowledge, especially of military architecture in the Holy Land (chap. 4). Less well studied has been the sculpture of the region. Here, much of our knowledge is still in flux. It would, therefore, be unfair to quarrel with some of Boase's statements or opinions, e.g., his dating of the upper cornice on the south façade of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, pl. I a, in the 12th century; Folda allows, rightly I think, that "it may in fact be reused Roman sculpture"). (Probably, the best advice to be given to the student is to read chap. 3 and immediately afterwards chap. 7 for additions and corrections, referring back and forth as the need may arise.) Regarding a group of decorative sculpture of very high quality (the carved slab and capitals of the Aqsa mosque, Jerusalem, formerly at Latrun, now in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul), which both authors date before 1187, Boase excludes categorically the possibility that it comes from the time of Frederick II's truce (p. 91), whereas Folda is of the opinion (p. 274) that "the last word on these sculptures is, however, far from written and a full scale study is needed." Such a full-scale study has been prepared by Helmut Buschhausen of Vienna and will appear in 1979; perhaps it will allow a final verdict. Generally speaking, so much has been destroyed and, consequently, so little has survived of "Crusader sculpture" that it is difficult to gain an overall picture of the production, let alone of the development. This state of affairs has led to an overrating of certain single works, as, e.g., the Holy Water basin from Acre (pl. XXIII b) in Moshe Barasch's book, *Crusader Figural Sculpture in the Holy Land* (Rutgers University Press, 1971). Some new mate-

rial may still be discovered that may make it possible to assess more correctly than up to now the share of French and Apulian artists in the production.

The destruction of art of the Crusader States was, of course, almost as thorough in the field of monumental painting. In addition, some of the remains have been disfigured and falsified by modern restoration, some as late as 1960 (e.g., the *Deesis* in the northern narthex chapel of the church of the Nativity, Bethlehem, pl. XXXVI, or the frescoes of the Pilgrims Chapel, Bethphage, pl. XXXVII). Other works still await detailed analysis, for instance, the most important paintings of the columns of the church of the Nativity in Bethlehem (such a study is being prepared at present). The frescoes of Abu Ghosh are fast disappearing, and the pictorial decoration of the castles and palaces has already vanished completely. The greatest desideratum in the field of monumental painting is a detailed photographic documentation and a critical survey of the surviving mosaics, in which Byzantine, local (Syrian), and Western elements have produced a synthesis that allows these mosaics to be characterized as "Crusader art" with more justification than any other class of monuments, with the exception, perhaps, of some of the miniature painting of the scriptoria of Jerusalem and Acre. In this latter field, both Boase and Folda lean heavily on Buchthal's great book, which will long remain the basic work. There are, of course, still some questions that remain open or are, at least, not yet fully decided: the nature of the relationship between the Crusader scriptoria and Cilician illumination; the distinction between the Jerusalem and Sicilian productions (e.g., where to place the Bible of S. Daniele), the role of Venice, the place of the so-called Conradin Bible—to name only a few of the problems, of which Folda is fully aware, as his footnote on page 130 shows. It is to be hoped that the publication of the hundreds of Crusader icons in the Monastery of Mt. Sinai by Kurt Weitzmann will help to bring some of these questions nearer to their solution—especially the question of the role of Cyprus in this field.

Cyprus is also the theme of chapter 5, divided between Boase ("Ecclesiastical Art") and A. H. S. Megaw ("Military Architecture"). "It is in Cyprus alone that the art history of the crusades works itself out over some three centuries." Much of the work on the ecclesiastic architecture of Cyprus has been done by French scholars, especially Camille Enlart, whose work still provides a firm basis; thus, little revision was needed—there are only a few footnotes by Folda to Boase's text. On the other hand, the paragraphs dealing with Cypriot wall and icon painting are a little too brief. The military architecture of Cyprus has been satisfactorily treated by Megaw. Rather cursory is chapter 6 (by D. T. Wallace and T. S. R. Boase), "The Arts in Frankish Greece and Rhodes." It is also somewhat out of date, since (as stated in a note on p. 208) "much of this section is based on the notes and the corpus of photographs made by David Wallace in the four years before the second world war." Since then, some important works have been, and continue to be, discovered that may substantially change our view of art (especially painting) in Greece during the Frankish period. From the point of view of art history (not from that of history), it is perhaps a little out of proportion that the art of Rhodes is treated at the same length as that of Greece.

As was already hinted above, the concluding chapter 7 by Folda is the most important for the art historian. Here, the reviewer finds little to quarrel or to disagree with. The Crusader date of the Franciscan frescoes in the south chapel of Kalender Hane has recently been challenged by W. Goez in an article ("Franziskus Fresken und Franziskaner in Konstantinopel") in the *Festschrift* for H. Siebenhüner (Würzburg, 1978, 31ff). In note 4, page 256, Folda seems to accept (or nearly so) the tentative dating in the 11th century of the two heads from the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, now in the Boston Museum; they are in fact much later.

The concluding chapter is followed by an album of 65 plates (most of them with two figures each) with the heading "Crusader Art and Architecture: A Photographic Survey." It is prefaced by an eight-page introduction that gives an excellent précis of modern scholarship on the history of the Crusades. It is written by Folda, who also added to the photographic material originally prepared by Boase. Neither the photographs nor the prints are of very high quality, nor is their number anything like sufficient. In fact, this part of the book is frankly disappointing, at least for art historians (or "picture boys," as my dear friend Milton Anastos calls us). We know well how difficult it is to get together a good photographic documentation of monuments in the regions with which the book is concerned; all the same, one might have done better. Otherwise, the volume is well produced. All in all, it is a worthy sequel to the already extant volumes of the monumental work.

OTTO DEMUS
University of Vienna

DEBRA PINCUS, *The Arco Foscari; The Building of a Triumphal Gateway in Fifteenth Century Venice (Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts)*, New York and London, Garland Publishing Inc., 1976. Pp. xii + 574; 184 figs. $35

The Arco Foscari is the monumental portal marking the interior face of the entrance to the courtyard of the Venetian Palazzo Ducale. Although its architecture and sculpture are among the foremost indexes of the taste of the Venetian Renaissance, the book at hand by Debra Pincus is the first to deal with the monument in its totality. Perhaps the difficulties presented by the Arco explain its former neglect by scholars. As Pincus points out, several documents can be brought to bear on an understanding of its development, but none can be connected with it directly and no single architect can be credited indisputably with its design. Of the Arco's numerous freestanding figures, only two from the original program, Antonio Rizzo's renowned *Adam* and *Eve*, are documented (by signature) and they are the only Renaissance pieces of the project universally attributed to an identifiable hand. Construction of the portal, moreover, came in several stages over a period of 40 to 50 years, with changes and additions made over three centuries. Finally, the stylistically mixed and iconographically rich monument has intimate and complex relationships to two other important adjacent structures: the so-called Porta della Carta and the Scala dei Giganti. These problems, and many more, are admirably handled in Pincus's thorough and well-documented study.

Unlike the Porta della Carta (the elaborate exterior face of the main entrance into the palace), the Arco Foscari does not immediately make an impression upon the visitor. In fact, only after walking through the portico that leads to it and then some distance away can one see the gateway clearly. Its main façade abuts on the exterior wall of S. Marco (to the north) and faces

toward the Scala dei Giganti. Its three distinct levels consist of a round-arched opening to the portico, a broad, shallow niche of similar design above, and a sculpturally decorated roof. The two lower stories are flanked by "pavillion" piers. In these, at the height of the springing of the lower arch, are niches containing Rizzo's *Adam* and *Eve* (replaced by copies today). Facing south, toward the courtyard of the Palace, is a second façade, similar to the main elevation in the design of its upper half but narrower and lacking an arched opening at pavement level (the present state of its lower half is a late modification). The two façades are capped by separate, slightly concave, pyramidal roofs, that of the main façade being somewhat higher. Both roofs are decorated with crocketed pinnacles, bearing freestanding figures. The latter, plus other statues at the roof lines, total 18 and depict Angels, Shield-Bearing Warriors, Liberal Arts and, at the respective peaks of the two roofs, Saint Mark and Caritas-Amor Dei. Although now missing, life-sized groups of the ruling Doge kneeling before the Lion of Saint Mark are known to have been placed on the second story of each façade.[1]

Pincus begins her discussion of the Arco with a detailed account of its present appearance, considerably changed from the original design, and different in several details from its "finished" state of the late 15th century. The development of the entrance system to the Palazzo is examined in chapter 2, with many acute observations on the conditions of the site (especially insofar as they were dictated by the adjacent church of S. Marco) and their influence on the design of the Arco. In chapter 3 Pincus takes up the problem of Doge Francesco Foscari's contribution to the work, that is, the ground-level arch that formed the original "Arco Foscari."[2] Chapter 4 is largely devoted to an analysis of the most ambitious and, ultimately, the most important stage of the structure, that built under Doge Cristoforo Moro. It is this stage (which includes the second story and, according to Pincus, the pavillion piers) that changed the construction "from arch to monument." Chapter 5 treats the development of the south, or side façade (called the courtyard façade by Pincus) and the sculptural program that, for the most part, was added under Doge Giovanni Mocenigo.[3] These additions are related by Pincus to the extensive restoration and renovation of the east wing of the Palazzo Ducale that were necessitated by the great fire of 1483, and that were carried on until the end of the century. (This renovation included the external ceremonial stairway later called the Scala dei Giganti, designed by Rizzo for Doge Agostino Barbarigo.) Pincus's chapter 6 continues with an analysis of the individual allegorical and symbolical sculptures of the Arco and a discussion of the meaning of the sculptural program *in toto*. Her concluding chapter deals with the identities of the architects and sculptors of the entire fabric. Attributions of the Arco's sculpture by earlier scholars and by the author are listed in tabular form in Appendix IV. Appendixes I–III present, respectively, Pincus's treatment of the history and meaning of the image of the Doge and the Lion of Saint Mark group, a detailed investigation into the origins and authorship of the Foscari Tomb in S. Maria dei Frari, and a comprehensive transcription and English summary of the documents that bear on the Arco Foscari and its construction.

Although the general appearance of the Arco Foscari is familiar territory to students of the Venetian Renaissance, Pincus offers a wealth of new information and observations on its development and symbolic importance. The Arco, first of all, is seen as a continuation of a building program begun with the Porta della Carta, a work commissioned from Giovanni and Bartolommeo Bon in 1438 and a design that, for the author, is the culmination of a decorative trend of the 1430's.[4] Pincus convincingly interprets the Porta as a new kind of secular portal, a gateway that can be considered a "specific kind of triumphal statement" analogous to that of the contemporary Castel Nuovo in Naples, built for Alfonso I. Considered as such, the Porta is a precursor of the Arco Foscari in its final form, at least in its basic function if not in exact detail. The alignment of the Porta with the later Arco and the Scala dei Giganti formed a passage that not only created a direct axis leading to the ducal apartments but, in Pincus's terms, produced a "ducal thoroughfare." This changed the Basilica-Palazzo connection literally, but, more important, it shifted the relationship symbolically to a specific glorification of ducal authority, an emphasis that was to be reflected eventually in the sculptural program. It is this theme, cogently supported by documentary and visual evidence, that forms a major thesis of Pincus's study.

The coats-of-arms on the Arco, as well as related documents, indicate that the monument was the product of three main building campaigns. These correspond to the *dogati* of the above-mentioned Doges Foscari, Moro, and Mocenigo, each stage being more elaborate than the last and each, for Pincus, "representing a new level of ducal glorification."[5] Pointing to revealing stylistic and technical parallels between the ground-level arch built under Foscari and several

[1] The group from the main façade was recorded in a watercolor by Jan van Grevembroeck (1754). The similar courtyard figures are visible, although less clearly, in Cesare Vecellio's woodcut of the *cortile* (1590) and an 18th-century engraving (Pincus, figs. 61, 26, 27).

[2] Pietro Paoletti was the first to call the entire structure by this name (*L'Architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, Venice, 1893, 42ff.).

[3] The Mocenigo arms carved on the Arco may pertain to either Pietro (Doge from 1474 to 1476) or his brother Giovanni (Doge in 1478–1485). Pincus, citing Paoletti, refers to a document of February 25, 1483, that connects Antonio Rizzo with work on "la porta del palazo." As Pincus tells us, the Arco entrance to the Palace is the only "porta del palazo" known to have been under construction at this time. The Mocenigo *stemme* are thus probably Giovanni's. I would add that the two-year *dogato* of Pietro would seem rather short for him to have added as much to the Arco as the "Mocenigo unit" apparently encompasses.

[4] Although the Porta was signed by Bartolommeo, and in most of its details is usually attributed to him, Anne M. Schulz, in her recent study of Bartolommeo and his father Giovanni, sees much of its sculpture as the work of the older artist ("The Sculpture of Giovanni and Bartolommeo Bon and Their Workshop," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, LXVIII, iii, 1978, 3f.).

[5] Nicolò Tron, Doge in 1471–73, also contributed to the Arco, but in a less public way. Reliefs of his coat-of-arms are found on a buttress arch that connects S. Marco to the west wing of the Palazzo Ducale (spanning the terrace formed by the roof shared by the Porta della Carta and the main façade of the Arco). Pincus described this as Tron's "personal triumphal arch," and suggests that it marks a ducal processional zone that could be used and seen at least by the nobility if not by the populace.

works from the shop of Bartolommeo Bon (particularly the distinctive use of Istrian and Veronese stone patterning), Pincus gives reasonable arguments for dating the former around 1450, and in her final chapter she confirms the frequent attribution of the arch design to that master. Moro's portion of the Arco is dated by Pincus to the early years of his reign, ca. 1462–64, on the basis of indirect but suggestive documentary evidence[6] and stylistic comparisons to other datable works. Details of the Moro unit are persuasively linked with details of the unfinished palace called the Ca'del Duca (begun by 1457), and of the doorways of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (1459-1461) and the Madonna dell'Orto (basically finished by 1461). These architectural works are, once again, all from the shop of Bartolommeo Bon. Given the obvious similarity between the Moro and Foscari levels of the Arco, and between both of these and the Porta della Carta, Pincus logically attributes the Moro stage to Bon. Furthermore, in her analysis of both stages, Pincus demonstrates a discernible break between the late Gothic style of the lower arch and the incipient Renaissance character of that above. In short, for Pincus "it seems abundantly clear that the principal figure of this 'first Renaissance' in Venice is Bartolommeo Bon."

In her consideration of the authorship of the lateral façade and uppermost sculpture of the Arco, Pincus recounts the past attributions of the whole structure. A tangled pattern emerges. The earliest name connected with the monument is that of Antonio Rizzo, who is first mentioned (as the author of *Adam* and *Eve*) by Sabellico in 1484/85. By the mid-1500's Rizzo had already been confused with Andrea Riccio, and in 1581 Sansovino gave the *Adam* and *Eve* to the latter and divided several other monuments, now usually recognized as Rizzo's, between the otherwise unknown sculptors "Antonio Bregno" and "Antonio Dentone." In 1893 Paoletti compared the sculpture of the Foscari Tomb to that of the Arco and, on the basis of the comparison, attributed the latter to another "Antonio Bregno." This was not Sansovino's "Bregno," however, but a homonym, a name that had appeared on a print of 1777 of the tomb. From these already complicated beginnings (and of the many earlier attributions only Sansovino's and Paoletti's have been mentioned here), the Rizzo-Bregno problem has grown in our century to labyrinthian confusion. The well-attested person of Rizzo and the putative Bregno have been seen as both the same individual and separate personalities. Scholars who treat them as independent figures have given them, now one, now another of the same body of works. Furthermore, the two have even been frequently described as having worked together, notably on the Arco Foscari, with "Bregno" usually perceived as the transitional artist who formed a bridge between the Gothic style of Bon and the Renaissance innovations of Rizzo.

Pincus tackles this problem and gives excellent reasons why Paoletti's "Bregno" (that is, the presumed author of the Foscari Tomb and the Arco sculpture) should be eliminated entirely from the discussion. She even concludes, plausibly, that the artist never existed. Among other points, we are reminded that the name associated with the Foscari Tomb goes back no further than an inscription on an 18th-century print and that "seventy years of archival research have failed to produce a single document that substantiates any of the Bregno attributions." Thus, whether or not Pincus is right in postulating that the Foscari monument is a stylistic pastiche of the 1480's that was not finished until the 16th century (a not entirely convincing, but nevertheless provocative theory), the tomb's value as a touchstone for the *oeuvre* of the putative Bregno is very doubtful.[7] And without this attribution the identity of the sculptor becomes hazy at best.

On the other hand, Pincus does point to parts of the Arco that can be attributed to the historical Rizzo. She credits him, first, with the introduction of the relatively pure, classical capitals beneath the platform that once supported the group of Doge Moro and the Lion of Saint Mark. More significantly, she also suggests that a head of a Doge preserved in the Palazzo Ducale is a fragment of the sculptor's original portrait of Moro kneeling, and one of his early works from about 1464. Although the condition of the head is poor, the proposal is not unreasonable and is supported by documents that place Rizzo in Venice during Moro's reign and that record commissions to him by Moro.[8] Moreover, Pincus sees the *Adam* and *Eve* as part of a sculptural program planned for the Arco around 1483.[9] This seems to have been a comprehensive program, embracing the sculptural decoration of both façades of the monument, and designed by a single sculptor-architect. On the basis of Rizzo's proposed authorship of the Moro platform and portrait, the resemblance between the classical details of the Mocenigo façade and Rizzo's tomb designs,[10] his clear stylistic influence in major statues of the pinnacle decoration and, of course, his signed *Adam* and *Eve*, Pincus argues that Antonio Rizzo succeeded Bartolommeo Bon as the master in charge of the Arco

[6] The documents in question date from September 10, 1462, and September 6, 1463 (Pincus, Docs. 6 and 7). The first refers to "new columns" that were then being worked somewhere near the church of S. Marco, and that are taken by Paoletti (and Pincus) to have formed part of the Arco project. The second, variously interpreted, speaks of a "master Pantaleone" and a "master Bartolommeo" (generally acknowledged to be Bon) in connection with "figures and much work done" for the palace, as well as "work still to be completed" (see Pincus, 107f.).

[7] An evaluation of Anne M. Schulz's recent attribution of the tomb to Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino (so reads the caption of its reproduction in her "Giovanni and Bartolommeo Bon," fig. 53) must await the appearance of her forthcoming monograph on that sculptor.

[8] A document of June 28, 1469 records Rizzo's receipt of 35 gold ducats from Moro for three altars in S. Marco.

[9] The specific year is suggested by the notice of February 25, 1483, (see note 3 above) and the date of the fire, September, 1483, that necessitated renovation of the Palace.

[10] I.e., the monuments to Vittore Cappello, Nicolò Tron, and Giovanni Emo.

Foscari, and was responsible for its last major phase.[11]

Pincus's discussion of the specific attributions of the roof and pinnacle sculpture of the Arco carry somewhat less weight in argument. It is not that she lacks suggestive ideas, or even probable solutions to the problems of authorship, but rather that the condition of the works is poor, that the circumstances of their creation are obscure, and that many answers are simply no longer ascertainable.[12] The sculptures seem well-preserved, but their surfaces have disappeared after some 500 years of weathering that even the durability of Istrian stone could not prevent. Moreover, the quality of many of these pieces reveals that they were workshop productions, and some, as Pincus indicates, seem to come from other projects. According to Pincus, fully half of these upper figures are archaizing works from the 17th century, several in the "gothic manner," other in the "classic manner," and still others after Renaissance examples. Although it is problematic that such a wide variety of models would have been used for these additions, Pincus's suggestion has merit. I would propose that the figures least likely to be of the Renaissance are the *Warrior* bearing a shield with the Medusa-head and the *Warrior* bearing a shield with the Mocenigo arms; in their cases Pincus's attribution to 17th-century hands seems most justified.

The author's attributions of sculpture related to, but not part of, the Arco Foscari are equally speculative and perhaps the least convincing. The figure of Temperance from the Porta della Carta, for instance, is a work variously assigned in the past to Bon, "Bregno," Rizzo, and Pietro di Niccolò Lamberti. Pincus believes the piece originated in the shop of Jacopo Sansovino, in the 1550's. This, I feel, is dubious, although I would leave the possibility open. The attribution, however, to Tullio Lombardo of Rizzo's *Caritas-Amor Dei* (from the lowest level of the Tron Tomb in the Frari) is less than likely. This magnificent figure departs from the style of its partner *(Caritas-Amor Proximi)*[13] only insofar as a great artist gives variety to his work, and it falls completely within Rizzo's manner. Finally, it is difficult to accept Pincus's idea that the "Master of the Giustiniani tomb"[14] is the author of the Arco's *Warrior* bearing a shield with the Moro arms, and the *Angel* from the Cornaro relief in the Frari. To be sure, there are connections between these works (which Pincus is apparently the first to recognize). But the Giustiniani figures (of which only five *Virtues* remain) are simply too high in quality to be by the hand that produced the other two works. Pincus does distinguish between the master and his shop and gives only the figure of Hope[15] to the former. But this leaves us with yet another unknown sculptor of high caliber (the author of the remaining *Virtues*), who is neither the "Master of the Giustiniani tomb" nor Rizzo. The traditional attribution of the Giustiniani Monument to Rizzo, ca. 1464-67 (versus Pincus's late date of the middle 1480's) should, I think, be retained.

These remarks having been made, it must be added that such uncertain attributions are relatively minor points in Pincus's work and do not detract in the least from her achievement. It is in the analysis of the meaning of the Arco that Pincus's most significant conclusions are to be found.

In Pincus's estimation, the combined effect of the Foscari and Moro sections of the Arco Foscari "set up associations with the Roman twin-tower gateway, that long established symbol of ruling power." This symbolism is amplified in the presentation of Doge Moro kneeling before the Lion of Saint Mark.[16] Pincus notes the near equality of the scale and status of the Doge and lion, an equality "conveying the idea that the doge not only gives homage to Mark but shares in his God-given power." Because of this, "the entire second story of the Arco thus becomes in a multiple sense a loggia of appearances."

Giovanni Mocenigo's sculptural program carried this idea considerably further and; although his plans were apparently not completely realized, enough remains of the original scheme for Pincus to give a specific and quite sensible interpretation of it. Pincus first distinguishes four main programmatic levels of sculpture: *Adam* and *Eve*, the *Liberal Arts*, the *Warrior* figures, and *Saint Mark* and *Caritas-Amor Dei*. These pieces are characterized as changing the effect of the Arco by turning it into a new category of "festival architecture." Referring to similar representations (manuscript illuminations; a *festaiuolo* pattern book by Nicoletto da Modena), Pincus suggests that the Arco was converted "into a

[11] Whereas Pincus's date for the *Adam* and *Eve* (between 1483 and Sabellico's reference to them of 1484/85) is persuasively inferred from the unity of the Arco's sculptural program, and from considerations of style, her further suggestion that the *Adam* and *Eve* were inspired directly by Florentine sculpture of the 1450's and 1460's does not seem convincing. Pincus sees Antonio Rossellino's *Saint Sebastian* in Empoli as the direct source for the *Adam*. Similarly, the *Eve* is related to Piero della Francesca's *Madonna del Parto* at Monterchi and to the *Bust of a Woman* in the Bargello, a figure usually attributed to Desiderio da Settignano but which, for Pincus, is possibly by Rossellino as well. The attitudes of the *Saint Sebastian* and of Piero's *Madonna*, however, are only generally similar to those of the *Adam* and *Eve*, and the relatively minor importance and obscure locations of the former do not support Pincus's theory. Rizzo may have traveled to Florence, but the supposed resemblances between his work and those of Rossellino and Piero are not sufficient to support such a hypothetical trip. Alternatively, I would suggest that Antonello da Messina's *Saint Sebastian* in Dresden was a more likely inspiration for Rizzo. Like Rossellino's statue, the figure is close in pose to the *Adam*, but it also shows rounded, nearly geometrically pure volumes that are paralleled in the head of *Eve*. Additionally, the painting has a Venetian provenance, is close in date to the Arco figures (ca. 1476), and probably enjoyed local fame at the very time Rizzo was at work on his own sculptures.

[12] It is symptomatic of the situation that Anne Schulz's recent study on Bartolommeo Bon (see note 4), which also deals with these figures, concludes with different attributions for every figure of the Arco apart from the signed *Adam* and *Eve* and the documented *Prudence* by Corridini!

[13] As identified by Pincus ("A Hand by Antonio Rizzo and The Double Caritas Scheme of the Tron Tomb," *Art Bulletin*, LI, 1969, 247f.).

[14] Named for the Giustiniani Monument formerly in S. Eufemia, a small church in the cloister of S. Andrea della Certosa. The surviving figures of Virtues from this work are now dispersed (see R. Munman, "Antonio Rizzo's Sarcophagus for Nicolò Tron: A Closer Look," *Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, 79, n. 2).

[15] Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[16] See note 1.

theatrical presentation—on a permanent basis." Although the evidence here is again indirect, the case made for the "festival" significance of the added sculpture (i.e., an elaborate program of ducal aggrandizement) greatly clarifies the meaning of that program. More specifically, Pincus demonstrates that Rizzo's *Adam* and *Eve* are shown as First Parents, representing man "in his quintessential state . . . in the instant of achieving awareness of [his] human nature." Moreover, the figures are seen as a "depiction of man in his separate aspects of sensuality (Eve) and reason (Adam)," in which, however, Eve additionally embodies fertility and abundance. Together the pair symbolizes humankind's ability to establish an ideal society.

In parallel manner, the upper sculpture of the Arco is seen by Pincus as representing "the glorification of Venice and the glorification of man in his exercise of ruling power." As Mark carries the devotion of the Doge (who kneels before the Saint's personification in the lion) to the divinity (through Mark's second manifestation at the apex of the monument), so the Doge acts as both representative and intermediary for his people, symbolized by Adam and Eve. Beyond this, Mark is representative of Venice, not only in an expected role of patron saint, but in a political sense as well. Because of Mark's mythical dream-prophecy of his posthumous translation to Venice, the so-called *praedestinatio*, his unique relationship with the city gives divine sanction, and thus political legitimacy, to its government and, particularly, to its Doge. Completing the symbolic program, the Liberal Arts stand both for the cultural atmosphere made possible by an ideal government and for the accomplishments of a particular individual, the Doge himself.[17]

Such a synopsis of Pincus's argument belies its amplitude. In fact, her analysis of the symbolic significance of the Arco, supported by copious documentation, shows the structure to have a previously unappreciated political and social importance as a reflection of ducal aspirations. Thus, although the Arco may appear to be a subject of interest only to Venetian specialists, Debra Pincus's treatment of it makes it meaningful to a larger audience. Indeed, the bibliographical completeness of *The Arco Foscari*, its clarity of organization and, above all, its astute historical perspective make it a study of value for any student of the Renaissance.

The Arco Foscari is published by Garland Press as part of their series of "Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts." From the titles already in print it is clear that much valuable scholarship that is difficult to obtain, or that is reproduced only in photocopy or microfilm, has been made available. Since some universities no longer lend their doctoral dissertations and/or do not allow them to be copied by University Microfilms International (and since the quality of the photocopy illustrations supplied by the latter is often abysmal), the Garland project certainly performs a needed service. But, conceding this, a few comments might be added.

First, although it is debatable whether or not all of the Garland dissertations are of "outstanding" quality, it is evident that a number of them are of marginal importance when compared to the numerous unpublished dissertations by now acknowledged scholars on subjects of wide interest. Moreover, it seems that the reputations of some institutions have produced an imbalance in Garland's selection process. The dissertations so far selected come from only 13 American universities. Of these, three—Harvard, Columbia, and the Institute of Fine Arts—account for over 65% of the total material. Even considering the size and excellence of the programs at these institutions, this seems rather an uneven distribution. More problematic is that of Garland's 142 titles, over 45% were written within the last five years (from 1973 on), and nearly 75% were produced since 1968. Indeed, only eight of the dissertations are earlier than 1960 and none date from before 1952. Aside from the passage of time often necessary to judge an "outstanding" dissertation, surely this is a great neglect of scholarship from some of the most productive decades of art-historical research in this century.

As dissertations, none of the texts published by Garland were originally meant to see print. They have been published without essential change from their authors' typescripts and are thus printed without the advantage of editorial aid. Moreover, because the actual typescripts have been reproduced, some tolerance is called for in the matters of corrections, typographical errors, and even in the occasionally overlong text; dissertations, after all, often do include more information than is strictly necessary.[18] Noteworthy, however, is that the dimensions of the copied volumes have been reduced to six by eight inches. In this the series resembles University Microfilms' dissertation publications, but the two should not be confused as the much more expensive Garland books are provided with hard covers (of "library-standard" quality and little attractiveness), good paper (printed on both sides of the page), and plates that are half-tone reproductions rather than photocopies.

Although the size reduction of the Garland volumes may afford some convenience in handling, frequently it has had harmful effects on the quality of the reproductions (some of which, of course, come from photographs not up to publishing standards to begin with). Perhaps because they are printed on the same matte paper as the text, the plates are frequently dark and show poor contrast. But worse, nearly all of the illustrations are too small and details are often illegible. Although the smaller format might be defended in economic terms, the buyer has not in fact reaped any significant benefit from the change. At $35, the Pincus book is about average in single-volume cost in the series. Other works, although at times with shorter texts and fewer plates, are higher in price and in some cases sell for as much as $100 for two volumes. At these prices, which are equal to or greater than many commerically published books of no

[17] The figure of Caritas-Amor Dei is considered by Pincus to be a 17th-century simulation of a 15th-century original and a work "signifying contact with God in an impersonal sense." As such, the figure acts as a contrast and complement to the pinnacle figure of Saint Mark which represents "direct involvement."

[18] Pincus's book is relatively free of such problems. Two errors in figure captions should be noted, however: the locations given for the angels in figs. 140 and 145 should be reversed (fig. 140 is at the northwest angle of the main roof, fig. 145 at the southwest); figs. 158 and 160 have been reversed (the captions, *vis-à-vis* the text, are correct).

greater sales potential, one would expect much more. Garland could at least have the volumes indexed. Although an index is not normally part of a dissertation, there is no technical obstacle to such an addition.[19] The value of an index would far outweigh the relatively moderate cost to both publisher and purchaser and would do much to compensate for other editorial shortcomings. As it is, the consultative value of the Garland series is greatly hampered by the absence of any quick method of locating specific material. Thus, in spite of their obvious utility, many of Garland's dissertations will, I suspect, be used but grudgingly, and rarely without a yearning for the book that might have been.

ROBERT MUNMAN
University of Illinois at Chicago Circle

The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci. Commentary, by Carlo Pedretti (National Gallery of Art: *Kress Foundation Studies in the History of Art,* V), 2 vols., University of California Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1977. Vol. I: pp. xxii + 402; 32 pls. Vol. II: pp. vi + 442; 18 pls. $65

The publication of J. P. Richter's great work in 1883 marked a very important date in the history of Leonardo studies and in the appreciation of Leonardo himself. The fame of the great painter had never died out during the course of almost three centuries, but that of the writer, based only on the *Trattato della pittura* (partially the work of its compiler and arranger, Francesco Melzi), had remained unsettled. A similar compilation by Arconati, *Del moto e misura dell'acqua,* was practically unknown. In the 18th century, the great historian and scholar, L. A. Muratori, examined Leonardo's manuscripts and remained deeply disappointed by them, calling them "un campo sterile." L. A. David's judgment and, later, that of a committee of professors from the University of Pavia was similar, when the proposal was made to publish Leonardo's works. We owe to G. B. Venturi a new way of looking at Leonardo's writings. He did not seek in them the painter and the art theorist, but rather the scientist, and he found in them the elements of various treatises on optics, mechanics, and hydraulics. Giuseppe Bossi also began to copy Leonardo's texts; he meant to hasten to Paris and copy the twelve autograph manuscripts there in order to have them published in Milan. In the middle of the 19th century, Guglielmo Libri extracted a few passages from those manuscripts and published them, emphasizing their originality and proposing to publish the entire corpus of codices at the Institut de France. These notes and contributions of Venturi and Libri attracted so much attention to the scientific aspects of Leonardo's writings that, in the second half of the century, the decision to make them publicly available through publication and photography became unavoidable. In 1872, the *Saggio delle opere di Leonardo da Vinci* only heightened anticipation for the recovery of these papers and definitively outlined the image of Leonardo as a "genio universale."

The weighty task of publishing Leonardo's writings was undertaken by two worthy scholars who were guided by two different, and in a certain sense opposing, conceptions: Charles Ravaisson-Mollien and Jean Paul Richter. The former proposed a work limited to the Paris codices. For each page, he gave a photographic reproduction facing a verbatim transcription and a translation into French, with simple notes and an indication of the subjects being treated. In this way, he intended to keep the role of the transcriber to a minimum, offering to the reader the means for a direct and objective control of the original texts. In fact, Ravaisson-Mollien's strict transcription, though it expanded all abbreviations, did not even separate words, which in Leonardo are so irregularly grouped or split into syllables that the reader, confronted with such great difficulties, was often compelled to consult the French translation and to ignore the original text. Moreover, it was impossible to trace and to reconstruct the outlines of Leonardo's thought through such a maze of disconnected and disordered fragments, because transcriptions of his other manuscripts, some of which still had to wait several decades for their publication, were not available.

Richter, on the other hand, aimed at an immediate and total synthesis of Leonardo's written *oeuvre,* which he studied in its entirety, transcribing those parts which he considered useful for reconstructing at least a few of the treatises that Leonardo had intended to write. Clearly, this method led not so much—or not only—to a transcription of the texts, as to the formation of an anthology that presented Leonardo as reflected in the mind of Richter and subordinated to the latter's personal ideas. On the other hand, this method, which had its precedents in the old compilations of Melzi and Arconati, answered the natural desire, and even the need, for extracting from the chaos of disordered fragments a few sequences of notes that were related to one another by an identity or affinity of content and, where possible, by the thread of a single discourse. Accordingly, the two methods, although different and opposed to one another, continued to be used by later scholars. The way opened by Ravaisson-Mollien was continued, with various innovations in the technique of transcription, until all of Leonardo's manuscripts had been published, while other scholars such as Giacomelli, Uccelli, and Marinoni sought to gather between two covers the writings on flight, or those on mechanics, or the notes on grammar and vocabulary.

Few words are needed to emphasize the importance of Richter's work and the enormous influence that it has had on those who read Leonardo and who, from then on—thanks also to the English version "mainly due to Mrs. R. C. Bell"—greatly increased in number, having been freed from the arduous difficulties involved in reading the original texts directly. But it is also only right and proper to note that not all the effects of such a worthy book were positive. Above all, in compiling his anthology, Richter let his choices be determined by his own tastes and abilities. In the preface to the first edition, he himself said that he had omitted "a great number of notes and dissertations on Mechanics, Physics, and some other subjects, many of which could only be dealt with by specialists." Richter's interests focused above all on Leonardo the artist and art theorist, and on his biography. He devoted the entire first volume to painting and the second to sculpture, architecture, Leonardo the writer, his moral reflections, and his letters, leaving only a little space for anatomy, zoology, and botany insofar as they were related to the needs of the artist. In short, the image of Leonardo that resulted was not complete, and it lacked precisely those scientific aspects which, through Venturi and Libri, had rekindled

[19] Minor corrections by the authors have, in fact, been allowed.

the interest of European culture in the artist's papers.

Richter also nourished several illusions and transmitted them to other scholars. It is certain that Leonardo intended to write not one but many books on various topics, and it was only natural that scholars would try to accomplish at least approximately what the writer had not succeeded in doing himself. But when Richter asserted that "The schemes which Leonardo himself proposed for the arrangement of the Book on Painting as well as of his other writings give us a clue—as we shall presently see—which enables us perfectly to construct the whole work on the basis of his own rules and with some pretension to logical sequence," it truly seems to me that he was the victim of an illusion. And when, commenting on Leonardo's preface ("So che molti diranno questa essere opera inutile"), he asserted, "By opera we must here understand libro di pittura and particularly the treatise on Perspective," I fail to see from where Richter derived so much certainty. Richter's paragraphs 9–11, placed by him in the "General Introduction to the Book on Painting," can be related equally well to the treatise on painting or other treatises. But they can be related above all, in a more general and significant way, to Leonardo's method as it contrasted with that of the official science of his day (which one should not limit, as Richter does, to "Neoplatonism"), that is, to a method based on the experience of natural events and not on the citation of earlier writers. The inclusion in the "General Introduction" of paragraph 13, which is simply a translation of a passage by Peckham, grew out of an error that was very widespread among scholars contemporary with Richter and that was very understandable besides, the failure to distinguish between Leonardo's original thoughts and those copied or derived from other books. Richter deceived himself when he thought that the plans of future treatises were well defined in Leonardo's mind. Consider, for example, paragraphs 920–24, which are a summary of the future treatise on water. Paragraph 920, drawn from Codex Leicester, fol. 15v, defines the subject of the 15 books of that treatise. These subjects, however, do not coincide exactly with those of the first three books indicated in 921, drawn from fol. 9r of the same codex, or with those of 922, drawn from Codex F. And although 923 (from Cod. F, fol. 88r) claims that book nine will treat "surgimenti accidentali dell' acqua," that same book, according to Codex Leicester, is supposed to treat things that move in water. But immediately afterward, in paragraphs 925–28 drawn from Codex Arundel, it is no longer a question of 15 books in this protean treatise but of 43, and we are not even certain that this was the final scheme. In regard to the treatise on light and shadow, Richter's arrangement of the material in six books is called into doubt by Pedretti's observation (*Commentary*, I, 152) that Leonardo's later work on this subject in 1506 and 1513 envisaged the addition of still another book.

The conclusion is clear. Leonardo, as he himself admitted ("questo fia un raccolto sanza ordine," Cod. Arundel, fol. 1r), always started again at the beginning whenever he took up his pen. Ideas were always flowing through his mind, and the structural outlines that should have given them order were always momentary and provisional. A significant detail confirms this. Several times in Leonardo's writings, at the beginning of a passage that lists various types of beings or phenomena, a blank space occurs where we should expect to find a number. Let us take a single example drawn from *Commentary*, I, 104: "sono le onde di [blank] nature," followed by a description of twelve types of waves.[1] The blank space indicates that when Leonardo began to write, he did not yet know what number would result, and that he would know this number only after he had completed his examination of the physical evidence. This is one of many examples of the immediate, provisional, and fleeting character of so many of Leonardo's assertions.

The illusion of being able to determine with certainty the structural outlines of Leonardo's treatises was passed on to other scholars, such as Uccelli, who wanted to reconstruct a "Trattato di Meccanica" in five books, followed by a "Libro degli Elementi Macchinali." Convinced that Leonardo wanted to start from a group of axioms, Uccelli placed right at the beginning of this "Trattato" a page of the Codex Atlanticus on which were aligned, under the titles *Petitioni* and *Conceptioni*, two little columns of small drawings that at the time were indecipherable. That page has nothing to do with mechanics. It is one of the many little sheets on which Leonardo sought to record Euclid's text, which Luca Pacioli was explaining to him and translating into the vernacular, and which Leonardo himself then retranslated into the language most familiar to him, drawing. The page is, thus, a personal note by a student of Euclid and of Pacioli, which Uccelli arbitrarily designated as a solemn and original introduction to a grand treatise on mechanics which never existed.[2]

One of the most difficult problems that Richter had to solve was determining the principles to be used in transcribing the texts. Justly and properly, he did not want to follow Ravaisson-Mollien's method of a rigorous, verbatim transcription, which would make reading the texts extremely difficult for the majority of those to whom the book was addressed. He decided, therefore, to introduce a series of interpolations which led to a compromise that was readily open to criticism. In the first place, he expanded the abbreviations that involve the letters *p*, *b*, *d*, *v* and *s*, stating that "these occur so constantly and are so unimportant that it has not been thought necessary to point them out." But his real reason must have been that these abbreviations considerably hinder the reading and require special typographic characters. Their meaning is not always constant. A few, in fact, admit of more than one interpretation: *sep(ar)are —sep(er)are, op(er)a —op(r)a, op(er)are —op(r)are, b(racci) —b(raccia)*, to which one could add *c(erchio) —c(ircolo) —c(etera)*, and others. On the other hand, Richter kept the abbreviations *ā, ē, ī, ō, ū* which are (this time truly) "unimportant," even when they precede *p* or *b*, because words like "inposta" or "imposta" have the same pronunciation. Another decision of a conservative nature concerned the punctuation. Before 1500 (to give an approximate date), Leonardo made greatest use of the period between one word and another, whereas during the succeeding years the period became increasingly rare. Knowing this is useful to anyone who wants to establish the chronology of Leonardo's writings, but such a person must use a photograph of the

[1] Likewise, *Commentary*, I, 111: "I moti sono di [blank] nature."

[2] By contrast, my own collection of *Gli appunti grammaticali e lessicali di Leonardo*, Milan, 1944–1952, refuting the existence of putative plans by Leonardo for creating grammars and dictionaries, aims simply to gather together the documents that reveal the efforts exerted by this self-taught man to become a writer.

original text and not a published transcription. Retaining the period was, therefore, a useless and bothersome detail that became only more so when Richter felt constrained to add other punctuation marks of his own, thereby forming an unjustifiable hybrid.

In his text Richter abandoned Leonardo's spelling in the following cases (although he cited in a note the forms in the manuscript): (a) he standardized the two *i*'s (short and long); (b) he divided words according to modern usage; (c) he doubled the consonants that Leonardo sometimes wrote as double and at other times as single *(ochio —occhio)*; (d) he dropped the phonosyntactical doubling ("e questo," "e sia," instead of "ecquesto," "essia"); (e) he dropped the letter *h* in words such as "chosa" and "chapo" but inserted it into "c(h)e," "c(h)i" and the like, just as he introduced *i* into "c(i)oe," "g(i)oco," etc.; and he deleted one *s* in words such as "assta" and "questo,"; (f) he substituted for many old forms the corresponding modern ones. Here, since the list would be too long, I shall give only a few examples: "udito" and "lode" instead of "auldito" and "lalde"; "gloria" and "comprendere" instead of "groria" and "complendere"; "saliva" instead of "sciliva"; the verbal endings "-amo" and "-emo" instead of "ano" and "-eno"; the endings of the feminine plurals "parti," etc., instead of "parte," etc. Some of these interventions changed only the *usus scribendi*, one writing convention that can legitimately be replaced by another. But those in category (f) changed the phonic substance of Leonardo's language and are therefore entirely inadmissible. Confronted with so many more or less legitimate interventions, one wonders what sense there was in keeping the abbreviations *ā, ē, ī, ō, ū* and in writing "mōti" instead of "monti," in keeping the letters *u* and *v* as in the manuscript despite their phonetic value, in writing "vō" instead of "uno," all of which seem useless pedantry. Referring in notes to the altered forms only divided the strict transcription into two parts that formed a rather hybrid and inconsistent whole.

Concerning the faithfulness of the transcription, I must confess my admiration for the skill with which Richter overcame so many difficulties without the aid of prior experience. The presence of a certain number of mistakes, even notable ones, is very understandable in such a vast and pioneering work. I shall not fasten here on these mistakes, not least because one of the *Commentary*'s many merits consists precisely in having largely corrected them.[3] Neither do I mean to pass over Richter's great contribution to clarifying the texts by means of an apparatus of notes and comments that has been most useful to succeeding scholars. The foregoing critical observations on the planning and limitations of his work have been necessary, simply, in order to establish the base from which Pedretti's commentary proceeded.

The task that Pedretti set himself was to emend, enlarge, and update Richter. In his first edition, Richter had excluded the *Trattato della pittura* as not an original work of Leonardo's. But in the second, since the faithful correspondence between the pages of the *Trattato* and the autograph ones that have reached us had been ascertained, he devoted the first 100 pages to a brief history of the *Trattato* and to its opening section, called "Il Paragone." Pedretti now adds another 75 pages with a full history of the *Trattato*, which include a few studies previously published by him and focus in particular on the genealogy of the manuscript copies of the abridged version. Obviously, all this does not help to establish the text, but it does throw light on the fate of the work. These pages also include an interesting chapter on the Codex Huygens, the vicissitudes of which they reconstruct. It is said to have been compiled at the same time as the Codex Urbinas copy of the *Trattato della pittura* and with the intervention of Francesco Melzi. In fact, its author is supposed to have been none other than a pupil of Melzi, the painter Gerolamo Figino, whose signature on a self-portrait is judged to be similar to the writing in the Codex Huygens and to the third hand in Codex Urbinas.

The *Commentary* necessarily follows the internal divisions that Richter established. Every one of Pedretti's introductions to the various chapters, with up-to-date information and probing insights that are very valuable, especially when they concern the artist and art theorist, corresponds to one of Richter's. There follows the commentary on individual paragraphs, commentary which always begins by suggesting the date of the original folio from which the text is drawn, an undertaking of great importance, difficulty, and merit. For at least 25 years, Pedretti has devoted intense thought to the challenging problem of chronology. His point of departure, naturally, is the masterly book by Calvi, who established the particular characteristics of Leonardo's handwriting and distinguished its various periods: before Codex B, in Codex B, and thence to the writing of Leonardo's old age, with more precise datings for particular cases. I imagine that the scholar's collaboration with Lord Clark on the Windsor drawings was useful to Pedretti in this connection, but he owes his special knowledge above all to the possibility of examining directly the various manuscripts, the availability of a complete photographic archive of Leonardo's papers, and the work of many decades with these papers. Pedretti arrives at his datings by taking into account all the possible factors, but mostly by considering the relationship between the contents and the character of the handwriting. Several times he repeats that the form of Leonardo's writing is not a sure index by itself, but countless dates are nevertheless assigned on this basis alone. Some handwriting characteristics limited to certain years of Leonardo's life are shown in Vol. I, p. 91. One of these concerns the letter *q*, represented by a circle and a tail. In Pedretti's scheme, until 1495 the letter's tail tends to hang down; from 1497 to 1500 it forms a curve, reascending to the height of its point of departure; and from 1508 onwards the curve ends high above that point. This is true in a general way, but I fear that a close examination of the papers reveals several exceptions. Let us look, for example, at Codex B, prior to 1490. There the first type of *q* predominates, but it seems to me that the second type is clearly present on fol.

[3] It should be said that perfection is practically unattainable in this field. I know of no transcriptions of Leonardo's manuscripts that are free of errors or mistakes, my own included. If it seems impossible to avoid printing errors completely, reconsideration and modification of the most problematic points is, on the other hand, always admissible.

89v (cf. also fol. 74v). In Madrid I, prior to 1500,[4] all three types are evident. In Madrid II, there are clear examples of the third type on pages dated 1504 (fols. 100r, 122v, etc.). In Codex G (of the years 1510-11 and 1515), the second and third types appear about equally. It is a case, therefore, of a criterion that should be used very cautiously. Indeed, Lord Clark has admitted his inclination to advance by at least four years a few dates that Pedretti proposed, and Pedretti himself reexamines quite a few dates that he himself put forward at an earlier time. All things considered, it is necessary to say that in the absence of secure points of reference of another kind, one must have long familiarity with Leonardo's manuscripts and devote keen attention to the chronological problem in order to base judgment only on the appearance of the handwriting. In my opinion, Pedretti can in fact claim such long experience, and he has, therefore, the most authority to pronounce such judgments, at least as credible hypotheses. One might add that in various cases, the *Commentary* also seeks to date material on the basis of similarities in literary style. This is a method, however, that will remain uncertain until the specific characteristics of the various periods of Leonardo's literary activity have been established. I myself have indicated a few stylistic forms that can be added to the orthographic and lexicographical forms previously indicated by Calvi in order to characterize different periods in Leonardo's literary activity.[5] But I believe that the subject can be pursued further. (The stylistic similarities with Galileo asserted by Pedretti, II, 52, can only have been passing and superficial, since the distance between Leonardo and Galileo on a stylistic level is enormous.)

Pedretti has expended noteworthy effort, not only on the problem of chronology, but also on translating each text into English and on linking it with related passages that are scattered through Leonardo's papers. Mastery of the two languages, Italian and English, and thorough knowledge of all of Leonardo's manuscripts allows Pedretti to correct the versions of Richter and of MacCurdy, to translate other passages *ex novo*, and to clarify the meaning of a passage by comparing it with related ones. Obviously, in such a vast undertaking some matters are bound to remain a question of opinion, and it would be out of place to list the many points of agreement next to the few points of disagreement. I shall cite only two passages that concern my own work directly. In regard to Leonardo's statement (Anat. MS B, fol. 4v) that there is required "alli buoni grammatici la dirivazione de' vocavoli latini," Pedretti (I, 371) changes MacCurdy's translation, "derivation from Latin words," into "origin of vocabula" and cites one of my studies in support of this change. I do not think that this was a wise decision, and I must once again explain that sentence, given its importance for understanding the problems that faced Leonardo the writer. During the Middle Ages, there existed next to Latin, the written language of high culture, a number of spoken but not written dialects whose geographic extension was restricted to small areas and whose cultural bounds were limited by the inability of these dialects to satisfy the needs of scientific and philosophic thought. When it was felt necessary to replace Latin by a spoken language that would surmount these geographic and cultural limitations, the new writers (Dante, Boccaccio, etc.) had to transform their dialect by transferring to it a mass of Latin words suited to the morphophonemic structure of the Tuscan or other dialects. It was not a question of knowing the etymology of the words but of using the knowledge of the two languages, inserting the riches of the old into the new. "Derivare" signifies, therefore, to transfer.

A second passage comes from Madrid II: "La notte di Santo Andre[a] trovai il fine della quadratura del cerchio," etc. Pedretti (II, 371) does not accept L. Reti's version, "I finally found the quadrature of the circle," but translates more literally, "I came to the end with the squaring of the circle." He explains that "there is no reason to believe that Leonardo ever believed that he had solved the problem." I think that the cause of his refusal to accept Reti's translation and the basis of his own, which is anything but clear since it requires an explanation, lie in the fear of attributing a gross blunder to Leonardo. On the contrary, Leonardo was quite convinced of having found the solution to the problem with a method that anticipated calculus, as I shall show below.

The *Commentary* brings together many brilliant results from the studies that Pedretti has devoted to the detailed comparison of pages in the Codex Atlanticus with those at Windsor. It is known that in the 16th century, in order to save from dispersal the approximately 2,000 loose sheets by Leonardo that he had collected, Pompeo Leoni thought of putting them into two large albums, gathering into one the drawings of machines and "arti segrete" and into the other,

[4] According to Pedretti, I, 94, Madrid I should be dated "about 1499–1500, with earlier sections, e.g. 1493, 1497." Elsewhere, however, Pedretti speaks of dates after 1500, and in his *Lettura Vinciana*, XV, Vinci, 1975, 31, n. 50, the notes and drawings concerning flints, added at the bottom of fol. 18v, are attributed to the years 1513–15. But among the early writings, which are also characterized by a heavy use of punctuation marks, the *q* of the third type appears precisely on this page and the next (it also occurs on fol. 16r), whereas on the verso there is an added note with a *q* of the first type.

Consider also the lists of words grouped alphabetically and added at a later time to the margins of fols. 1v and 3v. These folios are dated "primo di gienaro 1493," and this means that the rest of these and the succeeding pages go back to at least 1492 (Leonardo was in Milan and was dating his papers *stilo Circumcisionis*). It is clear that many additions were made to this codex in succeeding years, but it is not so clear that its composition, begun in 1492, lasted so long and that the principal nucleus of the codex is later by seven or eight years.

How difficult and risky it is to order Leonardo's papers chronologically is shown by fol. 77 of the Codex Atlanticus (now 211), the recto of which was once dated 1503 by Calvi, shifted to ca. 1505 by Pedretti in 1957 (*Studi Vinciani*, 268), and shifted by him again to 1507 in 1968 (*Drawings of Leonardo . . . at Windsor Castle*, 2nd ed., I, 166). But then, the restoration of the Codex Atlanticus uncovered the margin of the verso, which had been pasted down, and there appeared the date "5 di marzo 1503." A dating to the years 1508–1510 is frequently based on the presence of geometrical drawings, which Calvi placed in those years. But Madrid II has revealed the presence of similar drawings in 1504; it is just such a discrepancy of four years by which Clark's and Pedretti's opinions sometimes differ.

[5] A. Marinoni, "Leonardo as a Writer," in D. D. O'Malley, ed., *Leonardo's Legacy*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1969, 57f.

artistic drawings. In order to do this, he cut up many of the sheets and distributed the pieces here and there among the available spaces. Pedretti, continuing the work already begun by E. Moeller, succeeded with great insight in restoring the original appearance of many of these sheets. The results, already known in large part through his other publications,[6] enrich the *Commentary* as well.

A decision of extreme importance that Pedretti had to confront concerned the criteria to be used in transcribing the texts. Conscious of Richter's inconsistencies, Pedretti chose a strict, verbatim transcription, which permits expansion of only those abbreviations regarding the letters *p, b, d, v,* and *s* of which I have already spoken, and the separation of only some of the words that are written together (groups of words such as "ecquessto," "masse," and the like, for instance, are not broken up). He criticizes and rejects the method adopted by the Commissione Vinciana for the Forster Codices and for Codices A and B in Paris, maintaining that the transcription "should include the passages and words which are crossed out." It is only proper to point out that those editions do report (in notes rather than between parentheses) all of Leonardo's changes and cancellations, going even so far as to indicate where one letter has been superimposed upon another, something that is impossible in a verbatim transcription. Apart from this, giving only a strict transcription is a serious and unacceptable limitation. A transcriber must not only decipher the handwriting of the author; he must make the author's ideas understandable. Pedretti meets this need by supplying an adjoining translation into English (as Ravaisson-Mollien had done by means of a translation into French), but this is a makeshift and imperfect solution since it requires the mediation of a language that is not Leonardo's. A transcription must serve not just a very restricted number of specialists but all those who want to know and to quote directly the author's words. How could an ordinary reader understand or quote sentences such as, "sono duna medesima attio conco sia che llo spignere sessolo e vna asstensione" (*Commentary*, I, 281)?[7] And what is he to think when faced with such words as "tralgano," "tocera," "enitrino," "vegino," "omomo," "rissciara," etc.? Only now and then does Pedretti indicate, by parentheses, Leonardo's mistakes or the need to add a letter in order to come closer to the actual pronunciation of the word. The author does not do this systematically, however, thus leaving the reader in the greatest difficulties.

In connection with Leonardo's mistakes, I find it necessary to return to a typical case that explains the mechanism by which many of his errors were unconsciously made. I am referring to the famous passage of the Codex Trivulzio, "Muovesi l'amante," etc., which ends with the fragmentary and elliptic sentence: "La cososa chognivssciuta col nostro intelletto." Beltrami, followed by all the anthologists and by Pedretti (II, 248), thought that it was necessary to correct "cososa" with "cosa sta" in order to provide a verb for the sentence which otherwise only implies one. But "cososa" for plain "cosa" is a mistake to be found on other of Leonardo's pages as well, while "coso" instead of "cosa" is another, even more frequent one. They fall into a category of mechanical errors that philologists know well and explain either by the persistence due to inertia of a letter or of a syllable just written (in the same Codex Trivulzio appear, for instance, "esercitare," "isfrenanato," and "adiraratione"), or by the anticipation of a succeeding letter or syllable due to a contrary phenomenon resulting from haste (such as "adacadere," "pleniditudine," etc.). When Leonardo noticed that he had made a mistake, sometimes he crossed out the superfluous syllable or wrote anew the one that was wrong. Sometimes he wrote it anew but neglected to cross out the mistaken first version, which is what happened in "capapitale," "strememire," "prochuochurare," etc., and also in "cososa." The word should be read as "cosa," that is: "La cosa cognusciuta col nostro intelletto."[8] Similarly, "melto" instead of "mento" (*ibid.*, I, 388) in the phrase, "col mento lungo," is a mistake owed to the influence of the two *l*'s, the one preceding and the other following. It is not necessary to postulate, as Pedretti does, an alternation in Leonardo's language of *l* and *n*, since this (unlike the alternation *l/r*) would not have any phonetic basis. Indeed, the example cited in support ("lonlo" for "non lo") is itself a mistake of the artist's that resulted from anticipating the following *l*. "Ombrasti scuri" instead of

[6] E.g., *Windsor Fragments*, London, 1957, and *A Chronology of Leonardo da Vinci's Architectural Studies after 1500*, Geneva, 1962, with the beautiful reconstruction of the sheet of drawings of the harbor of Civitavecchia. Many of these reconstructions are as good as self-evident. But in less certain cases, one should examine the paper against the light. It will be apparent that the weave of the paper (chain marks and lines) does not confirm the unity, for example, of Cod. Atl. fols. 231v.a-271r.e.

[7] Much is lost in the translation as well, and "sessolo" is not rendered at all. The text poses additional problems of decipherment and interpretation a little farther on. Pedretti transcribes: "el tirare po essere facto per djuerse linje intera al centro della potentia del motore il quale centro in quāto alle•braccia•fia nellogho dove il neruo delomero," etc. A note states that Codex Urbinas reads "intorno" whereas Madrid II, fol. 78v., reads "intera," *scil.*, "in terra." But Codex Urbinas is quite right, for Madrid II also has "intoro." The first *o* is open above, like thousands of other examples in Leonardo's script that we do not read as *e*. The second *o* is written with two strokes of the pen, but absolutely does not resemble an *a*; all doubt is dispelled, moreover, if one considers the meaning of the sentence. Pedretti, I, 55, himself reproduces a drawing from the Codex Huygens that illustrates no fewer than eleven "centri del moto," the seventh of which is precisely that of the arms to which Leonardo refers in the passage in question. It is not on the ground ("in terra"), but at the shoulders; and when the arms are extended, their axes form so many radii centering on this point and not on the ground.

[8] An analysis of these phenomena with many examples can be found in my *Appunti grammaticali*, cited n. 2 above, II, 33f.

"ombrati" (*ibid.*, I, 287)[9] is not a mystery but another clear example of anticipation.

The writings of other hands than Leonardo's, which are quite frequent in the sheets at Windsor and the Codex Atlanticus, have often created considerable difficulties for transcribers. Piumati preferred to omit them, thereby arousing the protests of Beltrami, who was inclined to attribute them for the most part to Leonardo. Richter reproduced only a few of them, and even those not very well. Among them are three texts in Greek which reveal simply a lack of knowledge of Greek paleography; another, in French, is an unsuccessful attempt to use that language. For these texts, Pedretti (II, 386) sends the reader to Galbiati's *Dizionario Leonardesco*, but the reader would be led astray if he were not warned about the many mistakes contained in that book. As proof, I shall give only one striking example, the passage in French that reads as follows in the *Dizionario* (p. 159): "A monsieur le Ventie tollez des chevauz de l'escuyerie du Roy en cont XV frs. Caissez payment ou envoyez à Monsieur Lyonard Florentin paintre du Roy XV frs. dudi Seigneur à franchisment dudi frais." The text is, instead, very different: "A monsieur le Contre-rolleur des chevaucheurs de l'escuyerie du Roy en court pour les bailler faytment [= faitement] ou envoyer a M.r Lyonard Flerentin [*sic*] paintre du Roy pour les affers du di seigneur." Pedretti introduces other texts in another hand, generally well transcribed (one cannot say the same about the letter to "Vicario Valente"; II, 388). Concerning the three lines on fol. 192r.a of the Codex Atlanticus (*Commentary*, II, 377), I propose to replace "dato soliere groliere" with "da tosoliere Groliere," because "tosoliere" is an old Tuscan form for "tesoriere" and "Groliere" is the French surname "Grolier." The words "sanasin chinberi ivr (followed by a stroke that should be the beginning of the *v* started again on the following line) v mane daldi char chalinde giusia asi" are, on the contrary, in Leonardo's hand. They presented a mystery that was finally resolved in the new edition of the Codex Atlanticus, thanks to the contribution of Sergio Noia. He identified in them a Turkish text, which he translated. The words go back, even if the page on which they were written was much later (the words could have been recopied or recorded at a later moment), to the time when Leonardo was thinking about the bridge to Pera. Or they may go back to an even earlier time when "caro Benedetto Dei" was still alive and gave Leonardo information on the Middle East, perhaps even linguistic details, about which Dei was very curious. The two Latin couplets: "Fingere nam simillen vive [=vivae] quam vivere plus est.—Nec sunt facta Dei mira sed artificis.—Qui struit in calle, multos habet ille magistros.—Quis sic non sui alieni esse videtur?" are not by Leonardo. The translation given in *Commentary*, II, 387, is very odd: "To create the likeness of life is higher than living itself.—The creations of God are best appreciated by other creators.—Though he orders many men into line, the sergeant, too, has superiors.—Who does not sometimes feel like a stranger to himself?" I would translate: "To create the perfect likeness of a living [woman], is more difficult even than living. They are not miracles performed by God, but by an artist. He who works in the street has many masters."[10] The metrical irregularity of the fourth line raises doubts about its accuracy. The meaning, in any case, could be: "In this way, who would not seem another being to himself?"

The Lombard dialect presented another difficulty encountered and not always overcome by modern transcribers. Leonardo often wrote place names as they sounded, and therefore they ought to be written with accents and capitals: "Marco da Cesa" (Cod. Atl., fol. 303r. b) should be "da Cesà" (Cesate). "Francesco da Dugnàn," for Dugnano (Cod. Atl., fol. 112v. a), seemed indecipherable to Piumati, whereas others read "Diggente." "Val uerze" (*Commentary*, II, 381) means "va al Verzé" and refers to the vegetable market near the Duomo of Milan. Pedretti (II, 183) rightly senses that a dialect term hides in the expression: "nelle bocche che son presso abbia" (Cod. Atl., fol. 124r. a). But his interpretation, that "abbia" means "Adda" (from the Latin "Abdua"), is linguistically out of the question and, besides, such a form of the name "Adda" never existed in the Lombard dialect. The place is "Abbià," i.e., "Abbiate" (Abbiategrasso) where the Naviglio of Milan indeed has its "bocche." On the same page there is a list of things to remember with "2 sciugamàn, 1 sciugacò, 4 mantìn," which are three dialectal terms for "asciugamani," "asciugatesta," and "tovaglioli." Correcting "bolate" in paragraph 1547 with "holate" (*Commentary*, II, 383) is not acceptable, both because the first letter is unequivocally *b* and because the word refers to Bollate near Milan. "Moncia" (*Commentary*, II, 328) must not be the name of a person but of the city Monza ("Monscia" in dialect). The identification of "Giulian da Marian medico" with "Maestro Giuliano da Marliano" (*ibid.*, II, 329) is problematic since it is doubtful that a doctor would be called *maestro*. The surname, on the other hand, is not a contraction, as thought by Pedretti, but the dialect name of a place called "burgo-" or "loco Marliano" in medieval documents (Mariano in present-day Italian).

Richter's annotations and notes brought together a mass of information that was useful to all scholars for understanding Leonardo's texts and biography. Pedretti has considerably increased this mass and not without valuable revelations. It is impossible to list them all, but I wish to recall in particular Pedretti's solution (II, 275) to the mystery of the "3 verità"

[9] The text is transcribed by Pedretti as follows: "varieta nelle storie i pannj sottili grossi I novi vechi dj pieg[h]e rotte o salde cride dolcj ōbrasti scuri e meno scuri refressi spedjti e cōfusi," etc., and translated: "Variety in the *istorie*. Thin cloths, thick, new and old ones, with broken or solid plaits; soft accents [?], dark areas [?] obscure and less obscure; with or without reflections; defined or confused," etc. This translation can be freed of the question marks and corrected, together with the text. Leonardo, in fact, meant to write "crude" and forgot one riser in the letter *u*. The entire passage is based on a succession of pairs of opposite terms referring to the "panni" or their "pieghe": "sottili-grossi, novi-vecchi, rotte o salde, crude-dolci, scuri e meno scuri, spediti-confusi, lunghi e corti, volanti e fermi," etc. There are no "accents" thus, and the opposition, "crude-dolci" refers to folds, *viz.* folds with a sharp or gentle bend. I believe that "ombrati" would correspond better to the English word "shadings," i.e., "shaded areas," and "scuri" with "dark" ("shadings more or less dark"). The words, "with or without" and the semicolon should be eliminated, making "reflections defined or confused."

[10] The direct imitation of nature is a concept typical of Leonardo.

in the witty remark on Windsor 12351. Pedretti explains it by reference to a collection of *piacevolezze* by Toscanella, published in Venice in 1561. The explanation is important, not so much because it clarifies the obscure meaning of a sentence, as because it reveals the personal character of Leonardo's note, compressed and allusive, but allusive in a way that can be grasped only by its author. The case of the famous remark: "Orazio: Idio ci vende tutti li beni per prezo di faticha" (*Commentary,* II, 232) is different. Some time ago Solmi noted that Leonardo's quotation was closer to a Greek text, which Xenophon attributes to Epicharmus rather than to Horace. As Pedretti shows, Leonardo did not draw from either the one or the other, but from Giovanni Dassaminiato's translation into the vernacular of Petrarch's *De Remediis:* "Or non hai tu letto come dice Orazio: che questa presente vita non dà agli uomini alcuna cosa sanza grande fatica? Or non odi tu quello che quello altro poeta [. . .] disse? [. . .] gli dei ci vendono tutti i beni per prezzo di fatica." Recently, G. Ponte[11] revealed another link in the *Praeexercitamina* of Priscianus who, translating from the Greek of Hermogenes, wrote: "Alius poeta dixit: laboribus vendunt dei nobis omnia bona." The succession of events now seems complete: the Greek text, translated into Latin by Priscianus, was collected by Petrarch, translated into the vernacular by Dassaminiato, collected again and altered by Leonardo who, ignoring the other poet, attributed the text to Horace.

The bibliography that Pedretti used was copious but had some seemingly voluntary omissions. His appendix on the history of the manuscripts ends (*Commentary,* II, 401) with a list of six scholars, who are guilty of not having mentioned De Marinis's request to the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid for information on its Leonardo manuscripts. This negligence so solemnly pointed out pales in front of the author's silence on the much more intense work carried on by A. Corbeau in looking for these manuscripts, reported in the latter's *Les Manuscripts de Léonard de Vinci* (Caen, 1968), and in other of his writings. Pedretti's volumes are dated 1977, but some parts must have been written rather earlier. In the index of manuscripts (I, 93), the Codex Atlanticus is still described as a single volume of 401 folios, whereas it was replaced a decade ago by a series of twelve volumes. The chapter "The book-list in Madrid Ms. II" takes account of Reti's commentary of 1974 but not of the second edition of my *Scritti letterari di Leonardo da Vinci* (Milan, 1974), which offers new identifications for books not previously identified on the list.

There remains for me to add to this series of praises and particular observations, made in a spirit of collaboration, a remark of a general nature that I consider necessary. Having to comment methodically on each paragraph of Richter "as a mirror image," Pedretti was constrained to respect the former's structure and to give the greatest importance to Leonardo as an art theorist, leaving entire sections of his work and genius in the shadows.

Now, the vicissitudes of the *Trattato,* individual moments in Leonardo's life, and the most minute relationships between this and that fragment of Leonardo's papers are all of interest, but not as ends in themselves. Rather, they are of interest insofar as they can help us arrive at a complete evaluation of the work and thought of this artist-scientist-inventor. Richter modestly recognized that the vast sections ("a great number of notes") that he omitted "could only be satisfactorily dealt with by specialists." Pedretti accepts Richter's position completely, without, however, sharing his modesty. In fact, in the fifteenth *Lettura Vinciana,* though noting his own contributions to the study of Leonardo's technology, Pedretti made a point of hoping for a return to the study of Leonardo the artist and even went so far as to present (prefaced by the disclaimer, "sarebbe diabolico") the obscene drawings that accompany the *bicicletta* on fol. 113v of the new Codex Atlanticus as a "possibile satira sui due aspetti dello studio di Leonardo che continuano a ossessionare i moderni interpreti—la tecnologia e il sesso" (p. 34). I would not place technology on the same level as sex, but be that as it may, whoever turns to this *Commentary,* which is proffered to us as a true *Summa Vinciana,* for a complete and up-to-date picture of Leonardo studies, will find himself confronting what is still Richter's Leonardo, albeit augmented, enriched, corrected, and perfected. And that reader would end up not knowing the profound changes in our picture of Leonardo that have taken place in the last decades and that have, at least in part, destroyed the old cliché.[12]

In 1938, Richter wrote that "the universality of [Leonardo's] genius, his completeness, stand out in contrast to the specialization pursued by scientists to-day." This judgment can be reversed. The era of the *Summae* of universal knowledge entrusted to men of letters ended with Leonardo. Leonardo, "omo sanza lettere" but heir to the rich technological tradition of Tuscan artists, a man without Latin and therefore unable to receive and transmit the universal knowledge of the past, presents himself as a promoter of a completely new method. Renouncing vast sectors of traditional culture—the philosophic, theological, historical, literary, poetic, and philological learning of his contemporaries—and rejecting their method of investigation and exposition, he focused on the direct study of nature through experimentation, held by him to be the new and only source of certainty. His rejection of the old learning, his desire to begin anew, his use of a criterion of truth other than agreement with the venerated texts of the Greco-Latin tradition, represents a revolution that was to lead to Galileo and Descartes. But this approach also represents a rupture between two methods and two places of work: on the one hand, the humanist study, and on the other, the artisan workshop which, when it succeeded in placing the learning proper to it on a secure theoretical base (this was Leonardo's dream and attempt), was to become the modern polytechnic institute. This position alone would suffice to assure Leonardo an illustrious place in the history not only of art but of thought and of modern civilization.

The notion, now become rhetorical, of the "universal genius" has nourished and continues to nourish a eulogistic literature that attributes to Leonardo every kind of thought, knowledge and discovery without any need of proof. How

[11] G. Ponte, *Leonardo prosatore,* Genoa, 1976, 80. Cf. also my review in *Italianistica,* VI, 1977, n. 3.

[12] There is scarcely a trace in the *Commentary* of the many studies devoted to Leonardo by writers in the philosophical sciences. For example, Pedretti cites only the anthology by Brizio to illustrate the term, "spirituale" (respecting "potenza" or "forza"), and he passes over in silence the hundreds of pages devoted to this idea by various authors.

many are still unaware that, among other things, Leonardo did not know Latin except in a superficial and empirical way? This fact is not vague conjecture but demonstrated by solid and irrefutable proofs, beginning with Leonardo's confession and his preoccupation with "non potere bene dire quello di che voglio trattare," with not being able to read and cite ("allegare") the proper authors. And yet, scholars continue to attribute to him the reading of inaccessible texts, pointing, for instance, to the book of G. Valla (written in such obscure Latin that it was condemned by Giovio) as the source of much of his knowledge of geometry, even though the only provable connection lies in a passage of the Codex Arundel that Leonardo had had translated. The translation (which, among other things, is incorrect) would have been unnecessary if he had been able to read the text directly. Leonardo certainly looked for and acquired the main books of Euclid, Valla, and Archimedes, and the treatises *De Ponderibus*, but he could not know what they contained without the help of learned friends. According to some scholars, his not knowing Latin saved him from repeating traditional errors and from fruitlessly concentrating on rhetorical studies. Nonetheless, the results were not all positive; some were broadly and seriously negative. When, a little before his 40th year, he decided to write his treatises in hundreds of *libri*, he came to recognize that his native tongue was only a dialect, unable to satisfy the requirements of scientific thought. It had to be enriched, in the first place, with those words that every day bilingual men of letters were transferring from Latin into the vernacular. From them, Leonardo borrowed thousands of latinisms that are recorded in the Codex Trivulzio. In the years that followed he filled his library with Latin grammars without, however, his writings showing any great benefit from them. His very way of writing remained conditioned by the literary models he had encountered in the artisan's workshop: recipes, formulas, maxims, and concise, apodictic definitions, proved most of the time through experiment and physical example without any process of reasoning and discourse. All of Leonardo's writings show traces of these models. His discussions never surpass the limits of a page, and often they run out in the course of a few lines. How could he have written "libri" with that method? Those "books" that he (or Pacioli for him) claimed to have written must be the same as those which have come down to us, such as Madrid I or Codex Fo², accurately written and splendidly illustrated but hopelessly fragmentary and incoherent. The structure of the *Trattato della pittura* was devised by Melzi, a gentleman and more learned than Leonardo, that is, skilled in Latin and even a little in Greek.

Those who see Leonardo as a universal genius, not wanting to place limits on the artist's learning, attribute his failure to carry out his treatises either to an insatiable curiosity that prevented him from sticking to a single subject, or to a need for perfection that always left him dissatisfied. But whoever reads the entire Codex Atlanticus will have to recognise the persistence with which Leonardo again takes up subjects that he had already dealt with, always beginning anew. There he will find pages that present a single thought in a single sentence sometimes repeated twenty times, with formal variants that do not so much reveal progress toward perfection as a sense of discouraging uncertainty.

For Richter and his contemporaries, it was a fixed habit to sense in almost all of Leonardo's notes a specific purpose leading to some "trattato,"or to some work of Leonardo the master. Today, we have learned to recognize pages in which he worked not as a master but as a pupil: notes on grammar and vocabulary, rules for operating on fractions, the theory of proportions abstracted from the pages of Pacioli, the first books of Euclid, the *suppositiones* of G. Nemorario, etc. Empty rhetoric has even attributed to Leonardo the discovery of the Copernican system and of the satellites of Jupiter, in the conviction that he was a great mathematician and that he invented the telescope. The study of the artist's mathematical texts has revealed, instead, baffling and challenging aspects. Leonardo's mathematical abilities when he was nearing 40 were very slight, not only in the practice of computation[13] but also in the mastery of elementary notions. The geometry in his oldest manuscripts is limited to the practice of the drawing school, to the construction of regular polygons. His encounter with Luca Pacioli, who commissioned from Leonardo a group of drawings for his own treatise that could be done only by an expert in Euclidean geometry, brought a decisive turn-about. Leonardo had to know Euclid, a Latin text inaccessible to anyone who was still struggling with declensions and conjugations. In Codex M and Codex I, we can follow the simultaneous acquisition by the artist of the elementary structures of Latin and the first books of Euclid's *Elements*, translated into a series of drawings (almost without words) which follow step by step, theorem after theorem, the Euclidean discourse. The presence both of the Latix text (in a few rare words, such as "conclusio," "propositum") and of a translator who revealed its contents to the *omo sanza lettere* is evident. Here was born Leonard's passion for geometry, deplored by his patrons, but which was to continue until almost the end of his life. The primary aim of this study was to square the circle. It is known how he criticized the solution given by Archimedes, but Marshal Clagett has already shown that Leonardo did not know the most important part of Archimedes's text. I might add that he was unable to read it. He knew only that the formula 22/7 arose from a relationship between the circumference of a circle and an inscribed polygon of 96 sides, but he did not know that the circumference was described by Archimedes as the division between contiguous and respectively inscribed and circumscribed polygons. Leonardo was not satisfied to divide the circumference into 96 parts. He went further and proposed to divide it into one, three, six, and nine thousand and, finally, into a million

[13] In MS B, fol. 72r, one finds the multiplication $108 \times 27 = 4266$, where the correct answer is 2916. The error of computation involved is not a momentary slip but is repeated systematically on other pages as well of the Codex Atlanticus, such as on fol. 30v.a (now 83v). When two factors in the multiplication of large numbers yield a product larger than ten, and the next two factors yield zero, the carry-over is applied not to the position of the zero, but to the following position in the multiplication (e.g., $4096 \times 2 = 9092$ [8 + 1, 0, 9, 2] instead of 8192 [8, 0 + 1, 9, 2]). For fractions, see my "Teoria dei numeri frazionari nei mss. vinciani," *Raccolta Vinciana*, XX, 1964, 111f; for geometry, my "Leonardo, Luca Pacioli e il De ludo geomtrico," Arezzo, Accademia Petrarca di Lettere, Arti e Scienze, *Atti e Memorie*, XL, 1970–72.

parts. But in saying a million, practically he was saying an infinite number. Thus he understood a circumference to be composed of an infinite number of arcs, to each one of which corresponds an isosceles triangle that has its vertex at the center of the circle and its base in the side of a polygon composed of an infinite number of sides. Now, said Leonardo, the difference between each arc and corresponding base of a triangle in this case is a "quantità insensibile, di grandezza vicino al punto matematico" (Cod. Atl., fol. 118v.a), that is, to nothing. In other words, it tends toward zero; or as Leibnitz was to say, a point added to a line does not change its length; or as Newton was to say, the boundaries of something infinitesimal may be considered as nothing with respect to others. The method of exhaustion had been practiced by Greek mathematicians from Eudoxus to Archimedes. But what is surprising is to see how Leonardo, who had only recently learned to multiply two fractions and had just finished having Pacioli explain but one part of the *Elements*, suddenly grasped this principle and expressed concepts that were to be set forth almost two centuries later by the creators of calculus. I would say that these scarce and scanty notes of Leonardo, practically unknown until today, have a much greater value that the famous and excessively cited "Paragone," along with the entire Codex Huygens and many other pages.

Determination of the cultural limitations imposed on Leonardo by his early education, far from diminishing his genius, enhances it. Neither should we fear taking from him what has been falsely attributed, because the balance remains splendidly in his favor. Even less can his greatness in the technological field be diminished. The recent discovery of the Madrid Codices has considerably increased it, and, also, the new edition of the Codex Atlanticus has revealed surprising new details, such as the drawings of an automobile, much more convincing than the well-known self-propelled wagon, and of a bicycle awkwardly drawn by a youthful hand (but one within Leonardo's workshop) and unquestionably related to other autograph drawings.[14] Together with the famous plans for machines that fly or that allow men to move over and under water, these drawings underline Leonardo's desire to offer humanity means of locomotion constantly more audacious and powerful. Their actual feasibility was nil, but understood as harbingers, these machines show how much Leonardo's mind looked toward the future. His image, even if modified, turns out to be enlarged not in rhetorical or gratuitous but in real terms.

Pedretti takes leave of his reader (II, 325) with the comic phrase by Leonardo that also furnished the theme of the author's brilliant, fifteenth *Lettura Vinciana:* "eccetera: perché la minestra si fredda." According to the author, this expression offers—and indeed it is—a most human glimpse: "It is with this image of Leonardo leaving his studies to join his friends that this commentary must end." Pedretti's interpretation is, however, an hypothesis that is not necessarily certain, and since it is easy to pass from one hypothesis to the next, the uncertainty can grow. A line is drawn through the words that follow "eccetera"; it could have been drawn first, to fill out the rest of the line (a common procedure with Leonardo), or afterward in order to suppress that most human glimpse when in a subsequent reading it was thought to be out of tune with the geometrical studies on the page. According to the first hypothesis—the more probable one—the phrase would have been added after an indeterminate period of time, entailing further cooling of the supper. It is true, as Pedretti observed in his lecture, that Leonardo used "eccetera" more frequently after 1500, and especially in his writings on geometry. In fact, Leonardo's pages on geometry multiplied after that date and are characterized by an insistent return of the same themes and stereotyped sentences. The "eccetera" in these cases is an escape: it saves the writer and reader the trouble of many repetitions, which are thus opportunely eliminated. It is obvious that "eccetera" also abounds in the drafts for letters, reflecting the provisional nature of such writings. In both cases, the formula is a time-saving device, lacking ulterior meaning. Pedretti fittingly quoted Tommaseo respecting "cotesti eccetera venuti in uggia per lo sfoggio fattone da notai" and pointed to the jesting tone that the word assumes in Machiavelli. I should like to insist on just this tone, recalling the "eccetera, eccetarone" of San Bernardino of Siena's sermons, and the contrasting phrases that medieval copyists added at the end of the serious texts over which they had labored: "Finitur totum, pro pena da michi potum." Like the copyist's glass, Leonardo's soup might not have existed at all and might have been born of an amusing saying perhaps current at that time. This, too, is an hypothesis that is no more certain than the other—still another product of the ambiguity of these fragmentary writings. But the "eccetera" with which Pedretti says good-bye to his readers can be taken as a promise and hope for other books of his, destined like this one to offer a sumptuous banquet of valuable information. And we at least should be certain of this: that for similar banquets we will let many soups grow cold.

AUGUSTO MARINONI
Catholic University, Milan

[14] I do not intend to discuss again here the problem of the bicycle and to refute once more the few objections based on unprovable hypotheses and on altogether false arguments. But I must admit that, contrary to what I said previously, Leonardo wrote on this sheet before it was divided. The unit of Cod. Atlanticus, fols. 48r.a and r.b (now 132 and 133) had already been pointed out by Pedretti who, however, placed the fold on the opposite side. It was Pompeo Leoni who separated the two halves in order to arrange them better in the codex, sacrificing about 7mm of the paper and of the drawings on the back. It is certain, in any case, that Leonardo used this sheet after the drawings had already been done by his pupils. On fol. 88v.a (now 239v), Leonardo blithely wrote across similar, obscene drawings by his pupils. It is altogether unlikely that these pupils could have sketched such drawings on pages already written on by the master.

MATIAS DIAZ PADRON, *Museo del Prado. Catalogo de Pinturas. I. Escuela Flamenca. Siglo XVII*, 2 vols., Madrid, Museo del Prado, Patronato Nacional de Museos, 1975, Text vol., 502 pp.; plate vol., 336 pp. Ptas. 600

Over the past few years, scholarly *catalogues raisonnés* have brought to light in an exemplary manner the contents of Europe's important art museums. Thus we now have a detailed report of the total stock of paintings of London's National Gallery: more than ten learned catalogues cover the various schools of European painting represented in that fabulous museum. The Alte Pinakothek at Munich is also proceeding well with the cataloguing of its rich collections. And now the Prado has started the publication of a series of similar catalogues, each of them intended fully to describe the various European schools that are so impressively represented in Spain's leading art museum. Simultaneously this series of catalogues will be supplemented very usefully by the systematic publication, in the same size and layout as the catalogues themselves, of the former Spanish Royal Collections, the bulk of which have been in the Prado ever since the beginning of the 19th century. Of this series, a first volume, dedicated to the collection of King Charles II, came out recently.

The first volume of the Prado's series of *catalogues raisonnés* is devoted entirely to the museum's collection of Flemish 17th-century painting, and, as such, it was an important contribution to the Rubens Year. The Prado possesses the world's largest collection of Rubens's paintings: thus an important part of Diaz Padron's catalogue, covering no fewer than 119 pages, is devoted to that leading Flemish painter of the Baroque era.

In my view, this catalogue's greatest merit lies in the fact that each of the pictures is reproduced, and because of this the book will have lasting importance. In this respect, it is a model worth following. As to Diaz Padron's text, however, I find it difficult to use the same unrestrictedly eulogizing words. It was doubtless the author's aim to draw up a *status quaestionis* for each of the paintings. It was not an easy job to collect this enormous amount of information, and the author greatly deserves our praise for the abundance of useful and hitherto unknown documentary evidence that he presents. In quite a number of cases, traditional attributions are corrected and new historical evidence has been unearthed. For instance, Diaz Padron's additional information regarding the provenance of Rubens's *Apostolado Lerma* is revealing. Unfortunately, the usefulness of the content of this rich source of information is limited and sometimes even negated by the extremely sloppy compilation of the bibliographic material that has been the base of Diaz Padron's research. It looks as if the writer were allergic to names of authors and titles in languages other than his native Spanish. In many cases, these names have been so corrupted in translation that only after a painstaking reconstruction does it become clear to the reader what or who is quoted.

It is not my intention to discredit a meritorious art historian. Nevertheless, it should be remarked that the book is a rather striking manifestation of a typical Latin-European difficulty with, or even indifference to the proper understanding of a language other than the native tongue. This strange attitude, also evident in certain publications by French and Italian art historians, is detrimental to a science whose basic literature is written in English and German. Neither should one forget the numerous publications in Dutch, which are indispensable reference tools for any serious student of the art of the Low Countries.

So much for my few objections of principle. Following are a number of remarks regarding certain catalogue entries. It is especially my aim here to make clear why I have other opinions regarding certain attributions sustained by Diaz Padron. A few of my remarks also bear upon problems of topography. For convenience's sake, I shall give my objections in the same alphabetical sequence as the catalogue.

Denijs van Alsloot, *The Brussels Ommegang* (Nos. 1347, 1348; pls. 4, 5).

The figures appear to me to be painted by Antoon Sallaert. They have the easily recognizable and strikingly expressive and nervous features that are a hallmark of this master's style in his altarpieces and other compositions. Van Alsloot was essentially a painter of topographic subjects and thus it seems very likely that he would have asked his fellow townsman, Sallaert, who was a trained Brussels painter of historical subjects and, to a lesser degree, also of group portraits, to paint the human figures in the *Ommegang* representations. It should also be emphasized that Sallaert's well-known drawings of trumpeters and standard-bearers (e.g., Paris, Fondation Custodia; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale) look as if they had been conceived as sketches for the actors in the *Ommegang* series.

Paul Bril and P. P. Rubens, *Landscape with Psyche and Jupiter* (No. 1849; pl. 27).

As I have explained elsewhere (see *Burlington Magazine*, cxx, 1978, 471, 473), I cannot accept Jaffé's attribution to Rubens of the figure representing Psyche. The inventory of 1640 of Rubens's estate, which lists this work, mentions only Paul Bril as the author of the picture. Furthermore, it is not very convincing that after his return to Antwerp (the painting bears the date 1610), Rubens would have collaborated with a master still residing in Italy.

Jan Bruegel I and P. P. Rubens, *The Five Senses* (Nos. 1394–98; pls. 28–30).

Rubens's personal involvement in this series seems very limited. Only the female personification of Sight may reflect his hand. Nevertheless, I will not deny there is a clear Rubensian vein in the way in which the other personifications are conceived. I believe that they were painted by an assistant in Rubens's workshop. The castle in the background of No. 1394 is not Mariemont, but the residence in Brussels on the Coudenberg.

Jan Bruegel I, Hendrik van Balen, and others, *The Five Senses* (Nos. 1403, 1404; pls. 45, 46).

These are somewhat condensed variants of Nos. 1394–98. In fact, the compositions and separate motives clearly refer to the Bruegel version as a prototype. I cannot, however, recognize the latter's hand; neither can I detect in these two panels the styles of Van Balen or Francken, to whom Diaz Padron has ascribed the paintings represented in the background. That some of the pictures represented are Francken compositions is not sufficient evidence to attribute the entire background to that master. I am inclined to ascribe the figural part to Willem van Herp. The lute-playing woman who, in No. 1404, symbolizes Hearing, has the same typical oval face, wreathed by curls, that appears over and

over again in Van Herp's *oeuvre*. Besides, Van Herp painted other similar works, such as the so-called *Gabinetto di Rubens* in the Pitti Palace at Florence, which is traditionally attributed to Cornelis de Baeillieur (see D. Bodart, *Rubens e la pittura fiamminga del seicento*, repr., Florence, 1977, 50, No. 1), but which should also be given to Willem van Herp. On the other hand, the flowers and the animals in Nos. 1403 and 1404 may well have been done by Jan van Kessel, a master who collaborated with Van Herp on other occasions, e.g., in 1664, when both made designs for tapestries (see A. Wauters, *Histoire de la tapisserie à Bruxelles*, Brussels, 1878, 261).

Jan Bruegel I and P. P. Rubens, *Landscape with the Miracle of Saint Hubert* (No. 1411; pl. 48).

Rubens's hand is not recognizable in this copy. Judging from a photograph, it seems to me that the version formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, was of higher quality.

Anthony van Dyck and Workshop, *Pietà* (No. 1475; pl. 83), and *Portrait of King Charles I on Horseback* (No. 1484; pl. 83).

Both are reduced copies of well-known masterpieces by Van Dyck, respectively in the Antwerp Museum and the British Royal Collections, Buckingham Palace, London. Neither Van Dyck nor his workshop can in any way have been responsible for these paintings.

Pieter van Lint, *Christ among the Doctors* (No. 1721; pl. 123), *Christ in the House of Simon* (No. 1723; pl. 123).

These two paintings are part of a series of representations from the Life of Christ, which includes four other panels. Diaz Padron has rightly ascribed the latter to Willem van Herp (Nos. 1720, 1722, 1724, 2291; pls. 109–111). It is not clear why the author has attributed Nos. 1721 and 1723 to Van Lint. It seems clear that they, too, are by Van Herp.

Hendrik van Minderhout, *Procession in Antwerp* (No. 308–T; pl. 136).

This "procession" can be identified as the construction at the Meir, Antwerp's main street, of a pompous memorial altar to celebrate the centenary of the recapture of the town by the troops of Alessandro Farnese in 1585. This important historical event was commemorated on August 27, 1685, as we are told by the inscription on the painting. There are other representations of the festive decoration which was a late testimony to Antwerp's rich tradition of pageantry. There is a replica of this scene that was hitherto attributed, in my opinion without sound arguments, to Alexander van Bredael (actually in the Vleeshuis, Antwerp; see *Leven langs de Schelde*, exh. cat., repr. Antwerp, 1976, No. 201).

Pieter van Mol, *The Four Evangelists* (Nos. 1937-39, *Saint Matthew* is numberless; pl. 38).

Elsewhere I have tried to show that this set was painted in the workshop of Artus Wolffort (1581-1644); see H. Vlieghe, "Zwischen Van Veen and Rubens: Artus Wolffort (1581-1644), ein vergessener Antwerpener Maler," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XXXIX, 1977, 93f).

Pieter Neeffs and Frans Francken II, *Interior of a Church* (No. 1524; pl. 148).

Though simplified, this can be recognized as an interpretation of the interior of the former church of St. Walburga, in Antwerp. The elevated choir with the typical double flight of stairs is especially revealing. Comparison should be made with the later, but topographically more correct, *Interior of St. Walburga's*, painted by Antoon Gheeringh in 1661, which is preserved in St. Paul's Church, Antwerp (see the repro. in J. R. Martin, *Rubens: The Antwerp Altarpieces*, London, 1969, pl. 2).

P. P. Rubens, *The Holy Family* (No. 1641; pl. 164).

This cannot be an authentic work. It looks more like a *pasticcio* of similar compositions from the 1630's such as the *Holy Family with Saint Willibrord* in St. Willibrord's Church, Antwerp, or the *Holy Family Under the Apple Tree*, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

P. P. Rubens, *The Supper at Emmaus* (No. 1643; pl. 165).

In his discussion of this painting, Diaz Padron does not mention its close relationship to a similar composition in the Bode Museum, East Berlin (see the repro. in *Staatliche Museen Berlin, Die Gemäldegalerie. Die vlämischen, französischen, englischen und spanischen Meister*, Berlin, 1933, 14, fig. 863), a work that traditionally, although without reason, has been attributed to Gaspar de Crayer. The figure of Christ in the Berlin version is a literal repetition of the one in the Madrid painting; the other figures have a frankly Rubensian look. The Berlin *Supper at Emmaus* may possibly have been painted in, or by someone familiar with, Rubens's workshop.

P. P. Rubens, *Mythological Compositions for the Torre de la Parada* (Nos. 1658–1660, 1667, 1668, 1671, 1673, 1674, 1676–1682; pls. 169–175).

These are the 15 preserved compositions of Rubens's Torre de la Parada series that lack the signatures of such contemporaries as Quellinus, Van Thulden, De Vos, etc., to whom the master had contracted out a very important part of this commission. These works were in fact painted in Rubens's own workshop. This, however, does not mean that they were painted entirely by Rubens, as Diaz Padron suggests. On the contrary, I believe that Rubens's share in the execution of these paintings should have been described more critically. There is no doubt that he was involved personally in the completion of the 15 pictures, unlike the other scenes for the Torre de la Parada series, which for lack of time were painted from his designs by independent artists. Nevertheless, a comparison with other nearly contemporary mythological paintings by Rubens in the Prado, such as the *Judgment of Paris* (No. 1669; pl. 179) and the *Three Graces* (No. 1670; pl. 180), does not help Diaz Padron's argument that these 15 Torre paintings are by the master. In a few cases, I can see the hand of some of the independent collaborators to whom the other compositions had been contracted. The draftmanship and pictorial treatment of the Centaur's head in the upper-right side of the *Rape of Deidamia* (No. 1658; pl. 169) seem comparable to Erasmus Quellinus's manner, as seen, e.g., in the latter's *Bacchus and Ariadne* from the same series (No. 1629; pl. 157). As to the matronly face of the enthroned Proserpina, at the extreme right in *Orpheus and Eurydice* (No. 1667; pl. 170), I wonder whether Jordaens could not have painted or, at least, retouched it. Here I see a strong resemblance to the pictorial treatment of Juno in Jordaens's *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, another of the Torre paintings (No. 1634; pl. 112).

P. P. Rubens, *The Holy Virgin Adored by Saints* (No. 1703; pl. 190).

This is a copy of the large altarpiece in the church of St. Augustine, Antwerp. There is no reason to see Rubens's

hand in it. It cannot, as Diaz Padron assumes, be considered an autograph and literal reduction of Rubens's famous masterwork; Diaz Padron's attempt to link it with an entry in the inventory of 1640 of Rubens's estate is not convincing.

P. P. Rubens and Jan Bruegel, *Portraits of Albert and Isabella* (Nos. 1683, 1684; pl. 200).

These portraits were made by the workshop.

P. P. Rubens and Workshop, *The Death of Seneca* (No. 3048; pl. 215).

This painting is a studio replica without the slightest touch of Rubens's brush.

School of P. P. Rubens, *The Judgment of Solomon* (No. 1543; pl. 215).

It cannot be doubted that Rubens invented this composition. The execution of the painting, however, is, to a large extent, due to the collaboration of the studio.

Daniel Seghers and Cornelis Schut, *Madonna in a Garland of Flowers* (No. 1907; pl. 220).

This is a copy of No. 2729 (pl. 223), which is clearly the original. Diaz Padron, inverting the relationship between the two paintings, erroneously considered the latter work a copy of No. 1907.

Daniel Seghers and Cornelis Schut, *Saint Francis Xavier in a Garland of Flowers* (No. 1908; pl. 220).

The figure of the Saint cannot have been painted by Schut.

Gerard Seghers, *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary* (No. 1914; pl. 224).

The name of Erasmus Quellinus should be substituted for that of Seghers. The former's somewhat pedantic, dry, and metallic-looking draftmanship, as well as his cool coloring and evenly laid on, less inspired brushwork seem to me clearly recognizable here (I gave a detailed definition of Quellinus's style in my article "Erasmus Quellinus and Rubens's Studio Practice," *Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, 636f.). Comparison can be made with a work such as the signed variant of the same subject in the Museum at Valenciennes (see, e.g., *Le Siècle de Rubens*, exh. cat., repr., Brussels, 1965, No. 175; an attribution of the Prado painting to Quellinus was also suggested by J. P. De Bruyn, in *La Peinture flamande au temps de Rubens*, exh. cat., Lille-Calais-Arras, 1977, under No. 45). In particular, the treatment of the sitting Mary is strikingly similar. The face of the Lord reveals the idealized "bel homme" type, so typical in Quellinus's other representations of Christ.

Adriaan van Stalbemt, *The Arts and the Sciences* (Nos. 1405, 1437; pl. 251).

In the light of recent findings on Van Stalbemt presented in the illuminating study by Keith Andrews (*Burlington Magazine*, CXVI, 1973, 301f.), the old attribution of these two paintings cannot be maintained.

David Teniers III, *The Triumph of the Eucharist* (Nos. 2292–95; pl. 285).

These copies of the famous set of tapestries, designed by Rubens around 1626–27, may have been made from the original cartoons in Brussels. They may well have been intended for a second set of cartoons ordered by the Brussels weavers. It is known that David Teniers III, the son of the famous David II, was a specialist in this type of cartoon painting. We know of other instances of his activity as a painter of tapestry cartoons (see H. Vlieghe, "David Teniers II en David Teniers II als patroonschilders voor de tapijtweverijen," *Artes Textiles*, V, 1959-1960, 70f.).

Cornelis de Vos, *Portrait of an Unknown Lady* (No. 1623; pl. 294).

I cannot recognize the style of de Vos in this painting.

Monogrammist AW, *Flight into Egypt, Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (Nos. 1900, 1901; pl. 308).

It is to Diaz Padron's credit that he has seen that these two small panels can in no way be linked to the known work of Artus Wolffort, to whom they had been attributed. As Diaz Padron briefly mentions, there are in Spain various other paintings bearing the same monogram and clearly reflecting the same style as Nos. 1900 and 1901. Further, the master's monogram and style can also be recognized in a *Landscape with Saints Francis and Clare Adoring the Christ Child* (copper, 60 x 78cm; sold at Vienna, Galerie Dobiaschofsky, May 7–8, 1965, lot 388), a *Landscape with the Ecstasy of Saint Francis* (copper, 60 x 78.5cm; same sale, lot 389), and a *Landscape with Saint Cecilia Playing the Harpsichord* (copper, 59 x 77cm; sold at Stockholm, Galerie Rapp, October 10, 1962, lot 100). Similar pictures are also listed as being preserved in the Museum at Riom, France (notably a *Flight into Egypt* and a *Holy Family*; see [J. Foucart], *Le Siècle de Rubens dans les collections publiques françaises*, Paris, 1977/78, 290). I would suggest that these pictures are by Abraham Willemsen (d. 1672). He is recorded as having specialized in small-scale religious scenes of this kind, usually painted on copper and destined for the export trade of such dealers as, e.g., Matthijs Musson and the Forchont family (see J. Denucé, *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche kunst*, I-V, Antwerp, 1930-49, *passim*, as well as P. Rombouts and T. van Lerius, *De Liggeren en andere historische archieven betreffende het Antwerpsch St-Lucasgilde*, II, The Hague, n.d., 229, 426). It is well known that these miniature-like compositions were held in high esteem in Roman Catholic countries, and great numbers of them still can be found, notably in Spain. Van Lint's and Van Herp's compositions, which I have discussed above, enjoyed a similar popularity.

Anonymous, *Roman Charity* (No. 127; pl. 310).

I am inclined to consider this work an early painting by Gaspar de Crayer, dating from ca. 1620–1630. Elements like the striking local colors of Caravaggist origin, the accentuated contrast between light and shade, and the stress upon the plasticity of the figures seem to favor such an attribution. Furthermore, Pero, with her loose hair and profile view, compares very well with the figure of the Virgin in de Crayer's *Lamentation* of ca. 1627, in the Brussels Museum (see H. Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer. Sa Vie et ses oeuvres*, II, Brussels, 1972, pl. 20). In addition, the naturalistic rendering of Cimon reflects a type of graybeard that is rather common in de Crayer's earlier *oeuvre*.*

HANS VLIEGHE
Nationaal Fonds voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek, Rubenianum, Antwerp

* I am very grateful to Richard J. Judson for having read through this text.

J. G. LINKS, *Canaletto and His Patrons*, New York, New York University Press, 1977. Pp. xvi + 112; 141 pls. $20

J. G. Links's *Canaletto* makes an immediate impact as a remarkably well-designed and well-organized book. The painter's skill in topography greets the reader on the end paper before he has reached the title page. We are reminded of Canaletto's ability by Ludovico Ughi's map of the city of Venice of 1729. We have only to compare it with a modern map of the town to see how little in many ways the city has changed since the 18th century. Links's detailed knowledge of these changes and his appreciation of the light and atmosphere that give Venice its particular attraction at all times of the year, fit him admirably to discuss Canaletto's *oeuvre*. Were this not the case, one might well ask whether another book on Canaletto were necessary so soon after Constable's exhaustive work on the subject, brought up to date by Links himself. Moreover, Terisio Pignatti produced an interesting book, *Antonio Canal, detto il Canaletto*, as recently as 1976. But Links provides a concise account in one small, well-illustrated volume, suitable both to specialists and the general public. The arrangement of the bibliography by chapter averts the necessity for a forest of notes, always irritating to the reader. But the captions of the plates would be more helpful if they indicated the whereabouts of each picture.

No great discoveries or startling pieces of new information are put forward by the author. Probably all the surviving archival material concerning Canaletto's career both at home and abroad has already been brought to light. Originality in dealing with this artist's work and life must be a matter of interpretation and analysis. Links has chosen the subject of patrons, which is more important, perhaps, to Canaletto than to a successful painter of altarpieces or of fresco decoration who could be more certain of obtaining regular commissions. A "view painter" was not taken very seriously by his fellow artists and his clientele consisted largely of tourists. Many of these, as is well known, were English. Links has brought together all the information and contemporary gossip available and has related it to Canaletto's development as an artist, from his first appearance as a *vedutista* in ca. 1725 until his death in 1768. One may not perhaps agree with all that Links says, but he has sound reasons for his every assertion.

The author begins by setting out the background of the subject with a brief discussion of Canaletto's predecessors in Venetian townscape painting. He harks back to Gentile Bellini and Carpaccio in the 15th century and points out the former's skill in selecting an imaginary viewpoint (or, indeed, a combination of viewpoints) to achieve the most effective representation of a scene. This was a skill that Canaletto, 300 years later, understood perfectly and was to use to create illusions that appeared more real than reality.

Among Canaletto's more immediate predecessors, Links selects Vanvitelli and Carlevaris as important. Vanvitelli was in Venice briefly in 1694 or 1695 and, so far as we know, he only made sketches there. But Canaletto could have seen some finished *vedute* by Vanvitelli, which strangely forecast his own work of the 1730's, while he was in Rome in 1719-20. As for Carlevaris, he was the very founder of Venetian view painting and had published a volume of 104 etchings of the Venetian scene in 1703 when Canaletto was a child. Then he had taken to painting, and his set pieces showing the reception of a foreign ambassador at the Doge's palace, or a regatta on the Grand Canal in honor of a foreign king, formed the basis of the repertoire of all Venetian view painters down to Guardi.

The author introduces Canaletto's early career as a scene painter with his father, Bernardo Cesare Canal, and describes the young man's trip to Rome in 1719-1720. Recognition is given of Canaletto's obvious debt to Marco Ricci for paintings of *capricci*, or imaginary romantic scenes, which were vastly popular in the 18th century. They had their origin in 17th-century Roman views of picturesque ruins. They were avidly collected by Joseph Smith, the man who became Canaletto's most important patron and was also the patron and friend of both Ricci, Marco and his uncle Sebastiano.

Returning to the outset of Canaletto's reputation as a *vedutista* in Venice, Links makes good use of Francis Haskell's account of Stefano Conti's commissions of *vedute* from Canaletto in 1725-26. Conti's agent in Venice, Alessandro Marchesini, wrote that Canaletto already excelled in this type of work, superseding Carlevaris, and that he was even sought after by the Venetian nobleman, Zaccaria Sagredo, one of the most famous connoisseurs of the age. The Conti commission is of special interest to art historians in that it gives an exact date for *vedute* painted in the mid-1720's and was the occasion of letters about Canaletto's work written by the artist himself. Prices are also discussed. All this happened long before the English Grand Tourists "discovered" Canaletto in the subsequent decade.

Canaletto's first link with the English was, it is generally accepted, through the opera impresario, Owen McSwiney, who had fled his London creditors to Venice, but who enjoyed the patronage of Lord March (shortly to become the Duke of Richmond). It was McSwiney's idea in 1721-22 to commission a series of allegorical tomb paintings of famous Englishmen. Among the artists engaged were the two Ricci and Canaletto. While in Venice, McSwiney lived in the house of the merchant banker, Joseph Smith, and was on excellent terms with him. Links gives a valuable account of early commissions to Canaletto for views and *capricci*, some on copper, for English patrons, the Duke of Richmond, John Conduitt (son-in-law of Sir Isaac Newton) and the mysterious Mr. Southwell. Concerning these commissions, Links adds one further letter by McSwiney to the correspondence published by Constable. But Links does not mention McSwiney's will, which shows that when the latter died in London in 1754, he was in debt to Smith and to Rosalba Carriera. Peg Woffington, the actress, who was McSwiney's principal legatee, was instructed to pay back this money. Whether she did so is doubtful, but it is interesting to note that McSwiney was indebted to Smith for more than lessons in accounting and that Smith was not always so miserly as he is made out to be.

Canaletto was probably introduced to Smith by McSwiney or, possibly, by Marco Ricci. Smith was the most important patron in Canaletto's life and the principal cause of his overwhelming success with English customers. If there is a fault in Links's excellent book, it lies in his description of Smith's character and influence. There are even a few errors of fact. Links implies that Smith did not really begin dealing in works of art much before 1730, whereas he was involved, together with his senior partner, Thomas Williams, in obtaining Old Masters for Lord Raby as early as 1709-1710. Thomas Williams was not only an "all purpose merchant" but a banker of international reputation with assets in most of the countries of Europe. When Williams retired in ca. 1720 (having returned to London in 1711), Smith carried on the firm; it was the failure of a bank in Hamburg that brought him to the edge of bankruptcy and led to the sale of a large part of his collection to George III. Smith stood in as "Resident," not as Consul, from May to September, 1766. Finally Links's most serious error concerning Smith is the repetition of the old jibe about the Consul's superficial pretense to erudition: in fact, he was a most accomplished scholar. Smith's handling of the

famous Pasquali Press, which he owned and directed, plainly demonstrates his knowledge even of the most abstruse subjects.

In my opinion, it is important to stress how close were the ties that bound Smith to the Venetian community and his friendship with such men as Poleni and the Zanetti cousins. His bookshop in Campo S. Bartolomeo, the *Felicità delle Lettere*, was the meeting place of scholars from all parts of Italy and, indeed, of Europe. Smith's life-long interest in graphic work and his detailed planning of illustrated books for publication have, I am sure, a direct bearing on those superb etchings (dedicated to Smith) which Canaletto produced so suddenly, coming newly to the medium when he was over 40. Links does credit Smith with collecting drawings by Canaletto on a large scale, but he does not suggest that it may have been Smith's idea in the first place that Canaletto should try his hand at etching. Smith had collected Marco Ricci's etchings avidly; Visentini was virtually on his staff as an engraver as well as an architect and draftsman. When Smith, at the outset of his publishing enterprise, asked Visentini in 1735 to etch a series of 14 paintings by Canaletto, the *Prospectus Magni Canalis Venetiarum*, instead of engaging Canaletto to do the job himself, it was probably because the painter was still untried in the medium, and Smith could not risk a failure. The skilled Angela Baroni was brought in to do the lettering.

As to Smith's influence on Canaletto's style, Links is probably justified in supposing it was adverse, since the pictures on a pale ground that the artist painted in quantity for his English patrons in the 1730's were mannered and to some extent "mechanical," in contrast with his earlier work, which was close to Marco Ricci's in technique. Critics have preferred the early style which was freer and more spontaneous, with darker undertones (although this opinion has been countered recently by Italian scholars); Canaletto seems to have surrendered spontaneity and lyrical quality as his technical mastery of topographical problems increased. But one wonders whether Smith should be blamed for this development. It is hard to forget the Royal Collection's six great views of the Piazza and Piazzetta painted for Smith in ca. 1727, which are among Canaletto's finest works. Moreover, the mannered style that emerged in the 1730's became so exaggerated in Canaletto's late works of the 1750's and 1760's as to acquire a merit and fascination of its own, different indeed from the style shown in the lovely *vedute* painted for Stefano Conti, but with undeniable charm.

The author relates concisely and accurately all that is known concerning Canaletto's English patrons of the 1730's (he does not mention the Fitzwilliam series), most of whom were introduced to the artist by Smith. Considerable space is devoted to Samuel Hill of Staffordshire. Smith's letter to Hill of July 17, 1730 provides the first reference to the merchant's connection with Canaletto; Hill's nephew, Samuel Egerton, was apprenticed to Smith in Venice for upwards of a year where he attended more to the social life of Mogliano than he did to business.

It would be tedious to review the list of all these English patrons. Suffice it to say that Smith's views of the Grand Canal, the *Prospectus Magni Canalis*, acted as an advertisement of Canaletto's virtuosity and that Grand Tourists chose to order similar pieces for themselves. To mention a few of the most important who congregated in Venice in 1731-34: the fourth Duke of Leeds, the Earl and Countess of Essex, Lord John Russell (shortly to become the fourth Duke of Bedford). Twenty-four Canalettos are now in the dining room at Woburn Alley, seen every day by crowds of visitors to that great house. They were certainly not all painted in 1731 and probably range in date over four or five years. Two of the pictures were included in the 1742 and 1751 editions of the *Prospectus Magni Canalis*.

I thoroughly agree with Links that Smith did not exploit Canaletto's talent, but that the association was one of mutual benefit: Smith advertised Canaletto's painting and doubtless received a commission in return. That Smith imposed upon Canaletto or bound him to work for no other patron seems incredible, in spite of the remarks of Count Tessin and Horace Walpole. Smith bargained with the best and Canaletto was equally aware of the price he could command.

Canaletto, it is known, made an eventful journey down the Brenta in the early 1740's. Links says that no paintings resulted directly from this expedition, which produced the famous etchings and various drawings. But he changed his mind when he saw a painting by Canaletto of *Dolo on the Brenta*, No. 28 in the Colnaghi exhibition, *Pictures from the Grand Tour*, November/December, 1978 (cf. *Apollo*, CVIII, 1978, 434f.). Links prefers the date 1741 for this view; and he relegates to the late 1740's the Ashmolean version of the scene, which was hitherto thought by most scholars to date from ca. 1727. I confess that I have difficulty in accepting this contention. If it is true, Canaletto was certainly capable of varying his style at will to an astonishing extent.

I concur with Links, however, that Canaletto probably made no second journey to Rome in 1741-42. His paintings of Roman antiquities made for Smith and dated 1742-43 do not prove that he had recently traveled to the eternal city. Smith was a great enthusiast of classical architecture and Canaletto was glad to receive the commission in rather difficult times. For the purpose, he had not only his own early drawings as an *aide-memoire*, but also those of his nephew, Bernardo Bellotto, who had recently been in Rome. He had the use of Smith's incomparable library, which was especially rich in illustrated architectural treatises. Some scholars have attributed these paintings of Roman subjects to Bellotto, or to a collaboration between uncle and nephew. Canaletto's own signature disclaims this theory. The painter was not in the habit of signing his works, and it has been suggested that he did this to deceive Smith, who presumably did not like Bellotto. But the hypothesis is most unlikely. It is inconceivable that Smith could have been deceived in such a manner. But I agree that it is extremely odd that he never collected any works by the talented Bellotto, unless the five etchings of Dresden that were in Smith's possession at his death were part of the magnificent series that Bellotto produced of that city.

Smith never gave commissions to another prominent if mysterious figure on the Venetian scene: Michele Marieschi. Links suggests that the appearance in 1741 of a book of etchings by Marieschi, entitled *Magnificientores Selectioresque Urbis Venetiarum Prospectus*, prompted Smith to reply with a second enlarged edition of his *Prospectus Magni Canalis*. This may well be so. Moreover, Smith may have wanted to help Canaletto, who was feeling the pinch of the War of the Austrian Succession, which interrupted the flow of Grand Tourists into Venice. It was at this time that Smith commissioned from Canaletto a series of architectural *capricci* (one is dated 1744) as part of his program celebrating Palladio's works, comparing the genuine article with English Palladian buildings as represented in the *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The latter compositions were painted by Visentini, who took more kindly to this activity than Canaletto. Indeed, Canaletto's contribution was stiff and self-conscious. None could paint a *capriccio*, even at this stage of his career, better than Canaletto, but he had to allow his imagination free rein and not be tied down to a formula. Nine of these works are now in the Royal Collection and two more have been identified. Another such Palladian *capriccio*, certainly by Canaletto, has recently

come to light which does not belong to the series but was surely painted for Smith (also exhibited by Colnaghi, *Pictures from the Grand Tour*, No. 29).

Smith probably ran out of ideas to assist Canaletto further in Venice during these difficult years and he encouraged the artist to try his luck in London. He wrote to his old friend, McSwiney, asking for introductions to launch Canaletto's career in England. As is the case with much of the artist's life, his journeys to and from England (arduous ventures in the 18th century when undertaken in a hurry and without much money) are not recorded in a clear fashion for posterity. They have been much discussed by scholars. Hilda F. Finberg, in "Canaletto in England" (*Walpole Society*, IX, 1920/21, 21 and X, 1921/22, 75), collected considerable material and Constable added more. Links has taken and revised all this information and given an interesting account of Canaletto's successes and failures and his life in Silver Street, off Golden Square in London. He sifts the evidence and produces a narrative more convincing and lucid than any hitherto written on the subject: Canaletto came to London in 1746 and was recorded there by George Vertue, whose notebooks are a principal source for the Venetian artist's activities in England. Canaletto remained until the autumn of 1750, when he certainly returned to Venice according to irrefutable legal documents concerning his property. He had evidently not made much money abroad, but he was surely once again in London by July 1751, which is recorded by Vertue and confirmed by an advertisement that Canaletto himself inserted in the daily press. To my mind, a detailed examination of the London newspapers during the years that Canaletto was in England might well prove instructive. The task would be laborious but worth the effort. To resume: in July, 1753, Pietro Gradenigo wrote in his diary that Canaletto was in Venice. Gradenigo's testimony is unsupported and he could have been mistaken. Dated pictures again establish Canaletto in England in 1754-55; it is not known when he finally settled in Venice, where he died in 1768. Probably he came home in late 1755 or early 1756.

Links proposes convincingly that Smith brought out his third edition of the *Prospectus Magni Canalis* in 1751 to try to help Canaletto, whose first journey to England had not been altogether successful. But Smith's efforts were of no avail; commissions did not materialize and Canaletto retraced his steps to London.

While in England, Canaletto painted a number of pictures. The best known and probably his finest were those executed for the Duke of Richmond, his early patron and McSwiney's friend, the *Thames and the City of London from Richmond House* and *Whitehall and the Privy Garden looking North from Richmond House*. Links describes all Canaletto's known patrons in England at this period and he provides additional information about some of them, especially Sir Hugh Smithson (later Duke of Northumberland). Canaletto was, of course, required to paint the Thames many times, and he appears to have been rather fascinated by Westminster Bridge, then under construction. He both drew and painted it for Smith. The artist's two pictures, the only English views undertaken for the Consul, the *Thames from the Terrace of Somerset House, the City in the Distance* and the *Thames from the Terrace of Somerset House, Westminster Bridge in the Distance*, are of very high quality. In my opinion, these splendid works were not painted from sketches in Venice in 1751 but on the spot in England, the light and atmosphere being quite different from the brilliant sun of Canaletto's Venetian views. Perhaps the artist's facility in capturing the northern light in his pictures contributed to the rumor spread around London that he was an impostor, not Canaletto. More probable is Links's hypothesis that hack imitators of the Italian employed by dealers were coming on the market. Nothing is known about these people, the only one of any talent being Samuel Scott, and his career is so obscure that it is impossible to say when he began his skilled imitations of Canaletto's style. Besides carrying out specific commissions for patrons such as the Dukes of Richmond, Beaufort, and Buccleuch, and the Earl of Warwick, Canaletto seems to have painted various views for sale to the public; and he certainly worked for engravers, which would indicate that patronage was thin. He took active steps to prove that he was not an impostor, but the response was not all that he could have wished. During Canaletto's last years in England, the Duke of Northumberland remained faithful and two new patrons were added to his list: Thomas Hollis, a rich recluse who was a friend of Smith and was remembered in the latter's will, and Samuel Dicker, a prosperous Member of Parliament. The most striking piece that resulted was painted twice by Canaletto, once for each patron, and depicts Old Walton Bridge. Finally, Canaletto produced six pictures for a member of the King family, which descended to the Earls of Lovelace. Two of these, both *capricci*, are remarkable. Canaletto drew on his experience of Venice, Rome, and England and blended these divergent elements into an engaging whole.

Perhaps the most original and valuable chapter of Links's book is that which deals with Canaletto's use of the *camera ottica* or *obscura* (a device that operates like a modern camera, but without film) in the composition of his views. That he made extensive use of it, especially in his "wide-angle" *vedute*, has been repeated from book to book since the 18th century. Links is the first writer to explain in lucid detail the limitations of the instrument and how and when Canaletto may have used it. The wide-angle distortion was not Canaletto's invention. It had been part of the repertoire of artists before him, notably Carlevaris and Marieschi, but Canaletto was especially skilled in blending several sketches taken from different viewpoints into one painting. He may also have used a convex mirror, an instrument popular with Italian Mannerist artists of the 16th century. And perhaps Canaletto transcribed complicated sky lines of *campanili* and roof tops from the image shown in the *camera ottica*. But his profound understanding of the science of illusion and his virtuosity in painting a scene in color which had the appearance of reality astounded his contemporaries. They did not check such things as multiple viewpoints (impossible in a single camera image) and exclaimed that Canaletto's masterpieces must be faithful reproductions of such images. And so the story came down to the present day.

Links's contention that Canaletto did not paint out-of-doors, (in spite of Marchesini's evidence) agrees with the conclusion of Pignatti (1976). It was not the practice in the 18th century to paint outside the studio, and the practical difficulties were considerable. Marchesini's remarks must refer to the sketches that Canaletto made frequently and copiously on the spot, although it is possible if improbable that the artist went to the trouble occasionally of setting up his ponderous easel beside a canal to record effects of sunlight.

Canaletto's last years in Venice are not well documented. Links notes the artist's belated election to the Venetian Academy in 1763 and his presentation piece, not a *veduta* but a *capriccio*, of 1765, still in the Accademia gallery in Venice. But commissions continued to be thin and there was work for engravers, notably the twelve ceremonies and festivals of the Doge published by Furlinetto and engraved by G. B. Brustoloni in 1766. Links assembles every scrap of information available from contemporaries for this last decade of Canaletto's life and work. Space prohibits a detailed analysis, but the English reader may be par-

ticularly interested in drawings that concern Robert Adam. The Scottish architect, after his voyage down the Dalmatian coast, left the drawings for his forthcoming volume on Spalato in charge of Clérisseau in Venice. Canaletto undoubtedly saw them and copied at least one of them (which may have been by Clérisseau rather than Adam), the *Mausoleum of Diocletian* (plate 122) (Links does not disclose the present whereabouts of this drawing). Canaletto also produced sketches of Pola in Istria which he never visited.

Links is as informative and concise in his account of Canaletto's followers as he is in describing his predecessors. The author analyses the artist's reputation, which has remained remarkably constant over two centuries; he discusses his English imitators from Samuel Scott onwards. But he is above all excellent in his description of the life and career of Francesco Guardi. A vast amount of scholarship has been applied of recent years to the work of the Guardi brothers: Gianantonio and Francesco, little of it entirely convincing. Links sums up the findings and extracts the few definite facts. He has made a brilliant short analysis of Francesco's debt to Canaletto: that Francesco did not start painting views until he was almost 50, that he was probably never in Canaletto's studio (although Gradenigo said that he was a "buon Scolaro" of the elder artist), and that his first views dramatically resemble those by Canaletto of 40 years earlier. In this respect, Guardi was a follower of Canaletto and learned a great deal from him. And he carried on the tradition almost to the brink of the Napoleonic invasion of 1797 when a whole era of art and architecture in Venice came to an end.

FRANCES VIVIAN
London

ANDRÉ FERMIGIER, *Jean-Francois Millet*, trans. Dinah Harrison, Geneva, Skira, New York, Rizzoli, 1977. Pp. 158; 98 figs., 54 color pls. $40.

The greatest revelation to the viewers of the Millet exhibition of 1975 in the Grand Palais, Paris, was undoubtedly the artist's achievement as a colorist. The selection of his oil paintings and pastels, made by Robert Herbert for that occasion, took into account a full range of Millet's work in these media, and made possible the final stage of his reevaluation as a major artist of the 19th century. (At this point he had already been reestablished as a great draftsman.)

During the first three decades of this century, Millet's reputation was almost totally eclipsed among the fashionable avant-garde[1] (except perhaps as a surrogate father-figure for Van Gogh), and his rehabilitation began through exhibitions of his drawings, such as that at the Galerie Brame in Paris in 1938, and at the Arts Council, London, in 1956 (the latter organized by Kenneth Clark). Exhibitions of or including Millet's work proliferated in the 1960's, when Robert Herbert was beginning to publish his researches after "revisiting" Barbizon in general and Millet in particular. The great collection of Millet's drawings in the Louvre became increasingly well known, culminating in Rosaline Bacou's publication of a large selection also in 1975. Before this date, most of the paintings had remained rather dirty and obscure (even the big collection at Boston), although two London exhibitions organized by Wildenstein's in 1969, devoted to the Mesdag Museum collections and J. F. Millet respectively, had revealed some unexpected masterpieces to those who visited them. Then, at the Grand Palais, a number of major paintings, recently cleaned or generally in good condition, were seen together for the first time in nearly 90 years. Accompanying that exhibition was Herbert's catalogue, so thorough and wide-ranging in its commentary that it has become the standard work on this artist, as André Fermigier freely acknowledges in the bibliography of his new book. (The English version of the exhibition catalogue, written for the London exhibition in 1976, contains a slightly different range of material, so that both versions are essential to Millet scholars.) Another outcome of the 1975 celebration of the centenary of Millet's death was the photography in color of many of the most important works. The excellent color plates resulting from this enterprise form the backbone of this new publication and the complement to Fermigier's essay on Millet's art. The plates are interspersed with the text in such a way that the reader is induced to "read" the essay and Millet's works themselves in alternation, as the argument unfolds.

Fermigier is one of those lucid writers of French prose who are concerned both to express themselves with style and to get to the point quickly. In his opening chapter (which is perhaps the best), he immediately grasps the problem of Millet as a painter "persistently misunderstood." During his life, he received support from the critics only intermittently, indeed he was more often the target of attacks than praise. His posthumous success toward the end of the 19th century was incongruous, being based upon a superficial view of the *Angelus*, whose sale to the American Art Association in 1889, at a grossly inflated price, became the subject of misplaced patriotic fervor.

Fermigier sums up Millet's character in an admirable paragraph (it reads better in French), which includes the following: "Judging from his letters, he was a highly intelligent if rather ponderous man, an earnest, thoughtful person whose lack of glibness was due not to any intrinsic weakness but to his restrictive, strongly held beliefs and his aversion to the fashionable and the sophisticated (que l'on appellerait aujourd'hui le parisianisme)." I think that "Parisianism" would have been understood by Millet as a derogatory term. The translation of Fermigier's prose generally has a good sense of the original and is fairly free, although sometimes the effort not to translate too literally is carried too far. For example, the author of the *Man with the Hoe* really was "bien incapable" of making profitable concessions to the bourgeois public in his subject matter, whereas Courbet did "have that knack." And if the landscape of the Cotentin gives Fermigier "l'impression d'une sorte de Finistère," it should be perfectly clear what he means. To translate it as "a sort of Land's End" is an unnecessary concession to Anglophones. The translator has given a very readable rewriting of Fermigier's concluding pages, in which the author tends to add on clause after clause with that increasing momentum which only French can bear. The translator breaks this down into shorter sentences, and even slips in "as Robert Herbert has noted" to one of the observations on Millet's visual sources.

Dealing with Millet's 19th-century critics, Fermigier singles out Philippe Burty, one of the obituarists in 1875, as the writer of a most discriminating essay on Millet's work. But the latter also tried to give Millet the posthumous role of a lost leader of modern art, someone whom the Impressionists

[1] It is perhaps ironic that during this very period (1921) appeared the first standard work on Millet by an art historian, E. Moreau-Nélaton.

sorely needed (it was implied). This view of Millet as "completely modern in spirit" in 1875 is perhaps puzzling, notwithstanding certain affinities in color and design between his late Normandy landscapes and the vertiginous coastal scenes painted by Monet in the early eighties. Burty's is a view that needs a little more explanation today, and I would suggest a further quotation from the same essay to show what Burty was driving at: "Plus nettement encore que Rousseau, [Millet] a formulé cette loi de la largeur sommaire et solide des premier plans, qui marque d'un cachet reconnaissable le paysage moderne."[2]

I think that it is this aspect of Millet that interested Cézanne, among others, together with the fact that all modeling in Millet's paintings tends to be rendered in full color, however low-keyed. That seems, in retrospect, to be more important than the obvious differences between Millet's work and Courbet's brand of realism, which Cézanne had admired at an earlier stage of his development, and which some critics (such as Barbey d'Aurevilly) thought of as coarse and materialistic, a tactile kind of reality that made Millet "a profoundly spiritual painter" in contrast. Such a simple opposition was not accepted by everyone when the big Millet retrospective exhibition was held at the École des Beaux-Arts in 1887. Camille Pissarro, witheringly perceptive as usual, wrote to Lucien that the paintings had "really dated" and that Millet's drawings were by far his best work. Even the sneering Huysmans ("his peasants are as conventional and wooden as fairies and foundlings and all the other comic-opera stand-bys invented by George Sand, that old show-girl and spinner of idiotic fantasies . . . ") excepted "certain drawings" from his censure. Denigration followed by overpraise had once more brought about reaction. A century later, we are at last in a position to propose a balanced view.

The remaining four chapters in Fermigier's book treat Millet's life and work chronologically. The brief summary of Millet's early biography is admirably done, but the author has to admit that "it is still difficult to find one's bearings among Millet's early works, and will continue to be so until the publication of the catalogue which Professor Robert Herbert is compiling." Fermigier rightly picks out *Monsieur Ouitre* (private collection, U.S.A.) as an outstanding example of Millet's *manière fleurie*, here unsatisfactorily translated as "ornate style." (It would have been better not to have attempted to render into English the unique phrase that Sensier coined.) It is a great pity, therefore, that this splendid painting could not have been reproduced in the book, particularly as it dominated that section of the exhibition and will be remembered by everyone who saw it. The same may be said of two other portraits that Fermigier mentions: the austere, early one of *Madame Marescot* (private collection, France), and the fascinating double portrait of *Madame Simon de Vaudiville and Her Mother, Madame Deslongchamp* (Musée Thomas Henry, Cherbourg), which has a Goya-like psychological penetration. The reader who cannot be shown these images will be at a disadvantage. The very unusual painting of *Antoinette Hébert Looking in the Mirror*, recalling the vision of Velázquez's *Infanta Margarita*, is fortunately illustrated, but should surely have merited a color plate. It is impossible to describe it adequately without an account of the range of yellows, pinks, and Antwerp blue mixtures, both high-keyed and low-keyed, that Millet deployed with incredible verve and freedom at this point in his career. No wonder that commentators refer to Correggio, the Venetians, and the French 18th century in this context (Herbert made the point that Millet's color is here closer to de Troy than to Velázquez), and how curious that two such classically minded painters as Millet and Cézanne should each, in his formative years, have made some spontaneous outbursts of this kind, and that each would discipline himself to a more severe style later on.

Fermigier uses the phrase "social romanticism" for the approach of paintings such as *Les Errants* (Denver Art Museum), which Herbert described as "romantic naturalism." The two phrases laid side by side boggle the mind, and Herbert's catalogue entry is more to the point when he refers to the "homeless people" that abounded both in fact and in popular imagery during the era of 1847–49.[3] Paintings like the ragged *Quarriers* (Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio) are executed in the same *manière fleurie* as *Antoinette Hébert*, and this feverish touch was indeed applied simultaneously by Millet to subject matter both fanciful and socially conscious. Daumier was to develop the same facility in his paintings, in which scenes of realism and fantasy are executed with identical force.

Oedipus Taken Down from the Tree (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa) was regarded as a kind of demonstration piece to show Millet's powers in painting the nude, as he later told Sensier. (In fact the larger *Temptation of Saint Jerome*, rejected by the Salon jury in 1846, was more in that line of work, and recognized as such by Millet's more popular contemporary, Thomas Couture.) To go on to say that the *Hagar and Ishmael* (Mesdag Museum, The Hague) is on a higher and more personal plane than the *Oedipus* is true enough, although Fermigier does not explain why. His analogy with the "unadorned" sobriety of the rural scenes to come holds good only up to a point: the despair and pessimism expressed by this stark image of abandonment from grace is almost unique in Millet's *oeuvre*, and was never repeated in that form.

The magnificent color plate of *Woman Knitting by Her Sleeping Child* (Chrysler Museum, Norfolk, Va.) of 1854–56, which happens to be placed opposite the discussion of *Hagar* in the text, is a perfect antithesis to that bleak image. Within the space of five years, at Barbizon, Millet had created a new pictorial language, or at least a vocabulary of unsentimental images of rural life. Every detail in this small canvas has a function as part of the whole, and it illustrates equally well the quotation from the article in *Le Temps* of 1875 which referred to Millet's capacity for "eliminating details and accidents" and which Fermigier quotes in reference to the *Hagar*. Most important to this composition (of the *Woman Knitting*) is the figure of the man at work in the garden, seen through the open window. He completes a kind of psychological triangle of stability, signifying an outer guardian to the mother-child relationship in the foreground. It is precisely the man's presence that is lacking in the *Hagar*, where the only element associated with humanity besides the woman and child is an empty water jar. Millet's messages are expressed so simply, in pictorial terms, that one may wonder, at one moment, whether he was ever aware of any symbolic content, and, at the next moment, how the viewer could possibly have been so blind as to have overlooked it. That vermillion pin-cushion on the table above the baby's cradle, for example: does it resemble a pomegranate, or some kind of prickly fruit? Placed at a nodal point that links the three figures compositionally, it introduces an element of solemn humor, perhaps, in which

[2] From the essay as reprinted in Philippe Burty, *Maîtres et petits-maîtres*, Paris, 1877, 309.

[3] Paris, Grand Palais, *J. F. Millet*, exh. cat. R. L. Herbert, Paris, 1975, 78.

(to use Millet's own phrase) the trivial is used to express the sublime. So much for the effect of the full-page color plates on the reader of this book.

When Fermigier discusses Millet's peasant subjects, he stresses his originality, which contemporary critics failed to see. Peasants and country life had been the fashion since the time of the July Monarchy (even Daumier had tried his hand at representing them in the 1830's), and they became still more popular during the Second Empire, when they were wooed for electoral support for Napoleon III (a fact that Daumier also recorded in lithographs, with greater irony than before). But Millet did not give popular renditions of the peasantry, as did Jules Breton, Émile Lévy, Léon Lhermitte, and Bastien-Lepage. Equally, Millet's "realism" can in no way be equated with Courbet's dispassionate view. One of the most interesting parts of Fermigier's text is his analysis of the social and economic classes of the regions around Fontainebleau based on Louis Chevalier's book on this subject, and his search for them in Millet's paintings. Millet's peasants appear to have belonged to two classes, the *bricoliers* or "small-holders," and the *manouvriers* or "cottagers" (the line between these is not a very distinct one, depending only upon the size of the plot of land they owned: small, or very small). The poorer of these two groups were really day-laborers who barely owned a place to live and a backyard to cultivate, but were distinct from itinerant laborers who were rare around Fontainebleau. The barrenness of the fields immediately skirting the forest was recorded in writing by the painter Gassies in his memoirs of Barbizon (1907). It required unremitting toil to keep these fields cultivated, wrote Gassies, and it was in these tillers that Millet found his best models (*Two Men Digging, Man with the Hoe,* etc.).[4] Such an interpretation makes sense of Millet's own description of the *Man with the Hoe* toiling all day "in a rocky place," in his letter to Sensier of May 30, 1863. When we look carefully at the stony, weed-filled earth in the foreground, which this laborer is breaking up with his heavy mattock, and contrast it with the flatter, cultivated fields in the distance, where horses are ploughing and a peasant woman is burning piles of stubble after what has presumably been a rich harvest, it becomes clear that the laborer is standing at the edge of the forest which extends in front of him, beyond the picure space.

Fermigier notes that although Millet distinguishes between different classes of peasant (the *Man with the Hoe* is less prosperous than the family in the *First Steps*), he adheres strictly to a code of decorum among all of them. He depicts no drunkards, loose women, cripples, or idiots (unlike his admired exemplar, Breughel the Elder). All his peasants have a solemn purposefulness about them, which was given different interpretations by different critics. Baudelaire saw them as having a sententious air; others thought them yet more boorish than nature, rendered with a coarse simplicity.[5] Fermigier's view is that Millet painted nature and peasant life much as George Sand wrote about it in her *romans champêtres,* but he did so more forcefully. In his French text, the author adds that George Sand's theory of the virtues of simple peasant life is expounded in the preface of her novel *François le Champi* (which was part of her reply, although not specified as such, to Balzac's challenge of realism implied in his novel *Les Paysans*). That preface (with its foreword) involves a rather complex argument concerning literary style—local dialect versus Parisian French—which seems to me a rather farfetched parallel to Millet's stylistic problem in painting. *François le Champi* (written in 1847) is a rather lightweight tale of a country orphan, quaintly observed in the appropriate language but with a plot full of Christian overtones that is certainly too good to be true. Fermigier thinks that Millet's *Man Grafting a Tree* (1855) could have been a perfect illustration for a pastoral novel. This painting can be admired on a number of levels, however, apart from being like "a modern Holy Family," as Fermigier puts it, and visually it presents the spectator with a monumental plasticity and a range of color balances that seem more characteristic of the scale of a fresco than that of a book illustration. Although Millet certainly read George Sand (and she had been a friend of his friend Théodore Rousseau), I do not believe that we can find any analogy between them beyond a general sympathy with rural life and the natural philosophy that it could reveal.

The last two chapters of the text deal with Millet in the 1860's and in his final years. Although some excellent drawings are reproduced among the plates, this side of his art is not discussed at length. There is a curious confusion presented by Charles Frémine's statement, reported via Millet's son, that the artist always drew from memory, "and in twenty five years he only drew two trees from nature." That has all the sound of idle conversation, and is contradicted by the number of very precise landscape drawings made as "documents" of the Bourbonnais region during Millet's visits to Vichy in 1866, 1867, and 1868. In the same way, he had made on-the-spot records of his native landscape at Gruchy during his visit there is 1854, which he used for years afterwards as reference material for paintings and pastels. Wyatt Eaton, who took drawing lessons from Millet in 1873, mentions a pocket sketchbook about 2½ × 3½" in size, which the artist carried with him.[6] The whole question of "drawing from memory" is complex, because Millet tended to develop a given theme in series of drawings, and the amount of observation and memory upon which these depend cannot easily be separated in each case. His methodology and design processes are in some ways akin to those of his friend Daumier, another artist who supposedly never drew after nature. The core of the processes involved is memory training, in which Millet certainly believed.

Some interesting observations on the changing relationship between figures and landscape in the paintings of Millet's last years are, unfortunately, not accompanied by the necessary illustrations. One needs to refer to the exhibition catalogue of 1975 (particularly Nos. 226 and 227) to understand Fermigier's points about the "unease," or even "near-panic," suggested by the animals in *Shepherdess Guarding Her Flock Among the Rocks* (1871; Art Institute of Chicago) and *Donkey on a Heath* (1871–74; Coll. the Hon. Vere Harmsworth). Both of these scenes are set on the rocky coastline of the Cotentin, to which Millet retreated during the Franco-Prussian war and its aftermath. In such late works, together with the *Storm* (or *Le Coup de Vent,* National Museum of Wales, Cardiff) and *Autumn Landscape with Turkeys* (Metro-

[4] J. G. Gassies, *'Le vieux Barbizon', Souvenirs de jeunesse d'un paysagiste, 1852–1875,* Paris, 1907, 108 and *passim.*

[5] Cf. Gassies, 111. "Ils trouvérent qu'ainsi que les héros de Victor-Hugo qui semblent plus grands que nature, les paysans de Millet étaient plus grossiers que nature."

[6] Wyatt Eaton, "Recollections of Jean-François Millet," *Century Magazine,* XXXVIII, 1889, 97.

politan Museum of Art), both of 1871–73 (the last two illustrated), the landscape itself seems to take over the expression of human emotions, in a way that reminds Fermigier of Victor Hugo, who was of nearly the same generation as Millet. But when the author comes to the last, apocalyptic vision of *Bird Hunting by Torchlight* of 1874 (Philadelphia Museum of Art), a picture not easy to see clearly in the original because of its intense contrasts of light and dark, but here excellently reproduced in color, he is compelled to quote from Herbert's exemplary commentary in the exhibition catalogue. In this, Millet's last completed oil painting, the artist recreated from memory a "murderous" incident that he had experienced during his youth, as a kind of cathartic expression of guilt both personal and universal.

Millet's capacity to assimilate visual sources from classical, medieval, and Renaissance art, and to incorporate them into a vocabulary based upon direct observation of the real world of his time, makes the issue of how modern an artist he really was a complex one. The sense of anarchy and doom hanging over the civilization of 1871 that he implied in his work must have been felt by many French people. Thus, Philippe Burty's attempt to make Millet a "modern in spirit" in 1875 (he "will number among the true painters of history") seems in retrospect to be too narrow in its terms. Both as a draftsman and as a colorist, in the basic language of the craft, Millet left a legacy "modern in spirit" to the generation after him.

There are two minor editorial errors in this book that need correction: (p. 14) the *Angelus* was on exhibition at the Galerie Petit in 1889 for two days, not two years; (p. 142) Zola did not publish *La Débacle* in 1871 (the year from which the subject matter of the novel was drawn), but in 1892.

BRUCE LAUGHTON
Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario

VINCENT F. KUBLY, *The Louisiana Capitol: Its Art and Architecture*, Gretna, La., Pelican Publishing Company, 1977. Pp. 152; 7 col. pls., many black and white ills. $20

Readers who are interested in American architectural sculpture in the years around 1930 will be interested in this book, which is devoted largely to photographs of the sculpture on the skyscraper capitol of Louisiana, a building dedicated in 1932. Much of the text describes the narrative and symbolic sculptural program, which was conceived by the firm of Weiss, Dreyfous, and Seiferth of New Orleans, architects of the building. The author interviewed two of the architects (the third had died earlier); his other sources, as listed in the bibliography, were eight newspaper articles, an article in *Architectural Forum*, the unpublished outline of the sculptural program, and two books on sculpture. The volume at hand, then, is not a scholarly work, nor is it remarkable for analysis or criticism; it is an illustrative and descriptive publication.

Scholars who want examples of literary programs for American building decoration will find useful source material in this book, for seven of the 13 chapters describe the state's sculptured and painted representations of its history, important local citizens, state flora and fauna, and related allegorical and moralizing subjects. Kubly delimits most of his chapters by referring to the location on the capitol of the works of art, as this is apparently the way in which the program was conceived. The index guides the reader to all the achievements of individual artists. The leading artists are identified in a few sentences, and minor artists' names are mentioned. Although the captions to the numerous illustrations do not carry the artists' names, it is easy to find the names in the text.

As much of the sculpture is so high up as to be almost invisible from ground level, it could have been photographed *in situ* only if expensive scaffolding had been erected; moreover, some of the carving is now discolored. When the architects offered Kubly photographs made during the construction years, showing the sculptures as they were in the artists' studios, the author wisely decided to illustrate much of the sculpture from the models in clay and plaster. Unfortunately, the photograph captions do not indicate the materials, nor does the text tell us about any of the variations (to which Kubly alludes in passing) between the models and the finished sculptures.

The photographs vary in quality, and they have not all been equally well printed. The author or publisher made some questionable decisions: large views are offered of Lorado Taft's sculptures, seen from the side or back, but only small, foreshortened views are presented of these works as they are normally seen, from the front; we are given an image (very slightly blurred) of a plaque marking the site of Huey Long's assassination; an illustration is provided of an unattributed plaque bearing Long's portrait, a gift of the United Confederate Veterans and thus not part of the building's design; we see a portrait bust of former Governor P. B. S. Pinchback, but it is not dated and no artist is named; etc.

The weakest parts of the book are those dealing with the architecture and painted decoration. The murals, many of which are now gone but which can be studied through preliminary designs and old photographs, are described with respect to content alone. The author gives no evaluation of their style or merits and no hint as to whether this sort of work was characteristic of mural painting at the time. We learn virtually nothing about the life and other work of the artist, Conrad Albrizio. The author's account of such matters as architectural design, decision-making in architecture, and the message of a building apart from its programmatic decoration, is hardly more than a list of events. He includes no plan of the building; no explanation of the reasons behind the choice of this silhouette, this mass, this height, this design rather than earlier proposed designs; and no substantive information as to how Governor Long got a majority of legislators to agree to pay for a monument to Long himself, or, at the very least, to pay for a building containing a great deal of inefficiently planned space. We hear nothing whatever about the architects or how they were chosen, nothing about their other buildings or their skill, and nothing about the ways in which they dealt with the Governor or state officials. There is no map or site plan, and we are given no idea of the way in which the capitol fits into the city on any but the south side. Even in a brief text, an author must find room for fundamental information. Henry-Russell Hitchcock and William Seale managed to say much more of significance about this building, and in even less space, in their book *Temples of Democracy: The State Capitols of the U S A* (New York/London, 1976).

Readers will miss comparative remarks about the Louisiana, Nebraska, and North Dakota capitols, which are all high-rise structures of the same years; some artists worked on more than one of these buildings. It would have been good to hear about comparable individual features in these and other contemporary public structures. "Memorial Halls" and other solemn public spaces are known elsewhere at this period — in St. Paul, for example. In short, it would have been better if Kubly had omitted some pictures of uninteresting or inferior art and had devoted more space to an analytical text. All the same, some specialists and local antiquarians may be glad to have this book because of its abundant photographic documentation.

CAROL HERSELLE KRINSKY
New York University

Letters to the Editor

Madam:

In his recent note, "Reflections in a Mirror: Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Depiction of the Trinity," *Art Bulletin*, March, 1979, 101-02, Norman E. Muller observes that the figure of *Fides* in Ambrogio's Massa Marittima *Maestà* holds an attribute with a representation of not just two members of the Trinity, as had previously been thought, but the complete threesome, including the dove of the Holy Spirit. Muller refers to this observation as "a new discovery." In fact, I had already made the same point in my article "Piero della Francesca's Fresco of Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta before St. Sigismund ...," *Art Bulletin*, LVI, 1974, 368, n. 109.

MARILYN ARONBERG LAVIN
Princeton University

Madam:

May I request the courtesy of space in your columns to correct an inadvertent omission?

In my article "*Mensurare temporalia facit Geometria spiritualis*, Some Fifteenth-Century Italian Notions About When and Where the Annunciation Happened," *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss*, New York, 1977, 115-130, it would have been appropriate to mention the research of Frederick Hartt on the relation of the doctrines of Saint Antonine of Florence to 15th-century Italian art. Hartt's findings, first announced in his lecture given at Yale in 1958, "An Ascetic in the Midst of the Renaissance," concerned passages in Antonine's *Summa Theologica*, *Opus Chronicorum*, *Opera di ben vivere*, and *Lettere*, which Hartt applied to the interpretation of works by a number of leading quattrocento artists. His conclusions were embodied in his teaching over a period of twenty years, and in such publications as his *Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal* (with Corti and Kennedy, 1964), *History of Italian Renaissance Art* (1969), and *Donatello, Prophet of Modern Vision* (1973), as well as his lecture, "The Meaning of Ghiberti's Gates of Paradise," first given at Columbia in 1960 and repeated in later years at Louisiana State and at Brandeis, and most recently at the Convegno Internazionale di Studi, "Lorenzo Ghiberti nel suo tempo," in Florence in 1978, in whose *Atti* it will be published.

Specifically, Hartt pointed out the importance of Saint Antonine for the numerous appearances of the mystical Porta Clausa in Renaissance art, and cited in his lecture "Order and Meaning in Piero's True Cross Cycle," delivered before the annual meeting of the College Art Association in Boston in 1969, a chapter from Saint Antonine's *Summa* which I ran upon independently several years later and used for different purposes and with different conclusions in my own article.

I hope this letter will forestall any possible misunderstandings.

SAMUEL Y. EDGERTON, JR.
Boston University

Madam:

Nicholas Adams ("Baldassare Peruzzi and the Siege of Florence: Archival Notes and Undated Drawings," *Art Bulletin*, Sept. 1978, 475-482) incorrectly identifies the subjects of a Peruzzi drawing in the Uffizi (UA362v) as "plan of the Campanile, façade of the Duomo, Pisa." In fact, the left half of the drawing concerns the Baptistery of Pisa, not the Campanile, and includes the first measured drawing of that building. The inscription that Adams read as "Sancto (?) anni di Pisa" misled him because the word "Joanj" (=Giovanni) is divided on two lines. The inscription should read "Scō Jo/anj di/Pisa." Thus identified, the other inscriptions on the drawing now make sense. "Due intagliate" refers to the two scroll columns flanking the east portal, "baptismo" refers to the font, and "corintia" describes the capitals of the lowest level of the exterior of which a rough sketch appears at upper right in the drawing.

Peruzzi seems to have been particularly interested in some of the architectural novelties of the Baptistery. Having first drawn the piers as essentially cruciform, he corrected the sides facing the ambulatory to form an obtuse angle and noted the length of each half. He also singled out the interior portal and lunette arrangement for a separate sketch (at bottom left), cross-referencing the detail to the plan with A (in the portal at left).

What puzzles me is why Peruzzi, having recorded the Campanile (UA362r) and Baptistery in detailed plans and in elevation, devoted only a rough sketch to the façade of the Duomo and included no full plan of it.[1] It seems that centralized structures — the Baptistery of Florence (UA361v), the east end of the Duomo of Florence (UA361r), the Campanile and Baptistery of Pisa, and, one might even say, S. Spirito (UA361r) — were on his mind. I wonder whether these drawings, if made within a few days of each other as Adams thinks,[2] would not fit most appropriately in some moment of Peruzzi's career when he was working on a project for a centralized building. St. Peter's and S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini come to mind as possible candidates, although they would imply a dating for the drawings different from that proposed by Adams.

CHRISTINE SMITH
The Villa Schifanoia, Florence

Madam:

Helen S. Ettlinger's extremely useful article on the iconography of Titian's Pesaro Altarpiece (*Art Bulletin*, March, 1979, 59-67) may mislead your readers on one point, admittedly outside the actual scope of the article, but important nonetheless. The Office for the Immaculate Conception associated with Sixtus IV is noted (on p. 63) as "the standard text until the Council of Trent." Footnote 47 informs that at the Council, "all Offices that were not two hundred years old were discarded." A source in E. O'Connor's volume on the Immaculate Conception is given. In fact, though images of the Immaculate Conception may have changed after the Council of Trent, Sixtus's constitutions pertaining to the doctrine were specifically renewed by the Council in Session Five: "This holy council declares ... that it is not the intention to include in this decree [on Original Sin] ... the blessed and immaculate Virgin Mary, Mother of God, but that the constitutions of Pope Sixtus,

[1] He did sketch the westernmost portion of the plan of the Duomo of Pisa on UA362r. The inscription above this detail is not "laugo del donno de papa cioe el corpo di pisa" as Adams read, but "largo el domo da pisa cioe el corpo" written in ink over another inscription in chalk of which only "... mo di pisa" is still legible.

[2] UA362 is on thicker paper than UA361 and has a different watermark. Consequently, this part of Adam's argument for considering them together should be discounted.

of happy memory, are to be observed under the penalties contained in those constitutions, which it renews." (English and Latin texts are given in H. J. Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, St. Louis, 1941, 23 and 302.)

My thanks for Ettlinger's contribution.

MICHAEL A. JACOBSEN
University of Georgia

Reply

Madam:

I was very interested by Michael Jacobsen's informative letter. However, I am afraid there is a misunderstanding. I did not mean to imply that the Feast of the Immaculate Conception or the constitutions thereof were dropped, but that the liturgical Office which had been introduced in 1477 was officially replaced with the "older" formula of the liturgy for the Nativity of the Virgin, with the word "conception" substituted for the word "nativity." According to Cornelius A. Bouman (O'Connor, p. 151, n. 100), "All the varieties of the local liturgies [i.e., those in use before 1477] continued to be used side by side with the Sixtine proper until the end of the sixteenth century, when they were gradually replaced by the formulas of the Roman books of Pius V."

HELEN S. ETTLINGER
Berkeley, California

Madam:

Robert Simon's article on Poussin and Marino (*Art Bulletin*, March, 1978, 56ff.) raises problems of interpretation that merit extensive discussion, more than would seem to be appropriate in this section of the *Bulletin*. He may be right that Poussin drew upon no *single* poem by Marino for *The Realm of Flora* in Dresden (in any case, it would not be Simon's favored candidate, "Europa," since unanswered questions as crucial as why Ajax should be so prominent in the painting if uncited in that poem, undermine such a possibility). However, one unequivocal point needs clarification. Simon misrepresents both me and Marino by asserting that I "capitalized the names of the flowers in the Italian text [of "La Rosa"] as well as in ... translation," and hence gave "the false impression that the flowers are cognitive or kinetic entities" (Simon, p. 62, n. 40, and by extension on p. 63, where he argues for the uniqueness of "humanoid" flowers in "Europa"). The interested reader need only refer to Marino's *Rime* of 1602 to see that it is Simon who inexplicably altered both my argument and the text of "La Rosa."

RICHARD E. SPEAR
Oberlin College

Reply

Madam:

My apologies are due to Richard Spear, for his basic complaint is justified. A. A. Rosa's edition of Marino's *Opere* (Milan, 1967, 314f.), from which I quoted "La Rosa," features a modernized typography that serves to eliminate the capitalizations found in the original edition: Spear's transcription of the poem is correct.

However, if I have unintentionally altered Marino's text, I have not done likewise to Spear's argument. Marino's capitalizations are conventional; all proper nouns, such as "giovinetto Aprile" and the names of flowers and plants, are treated in kind. Otherwise, no special interpretive significance should be attached to the presence of these capitalizations. If we are to accept Spear's identification of "La Rosa" as the literary source for *The Realm of Flora*, then ought not there be somewhat more iconographic correspondence between Marino's catalogue of flowers and the protagonists of Poussin's painting? Where in *The Realm of Flora* are "Ligustro," "Giglio," and "Fiordaliso" (capitalized in Marino's text, but not in Spear's translation)? And, from the preceding third stanza of the poem (not cited by Spear), where are "Il flessuoso Aconto?/L'immortale Amaranto?/O pur la bionda Calta ..."? Should the presence of "Croco" several stanzas later actually be considered noteworthy when it is found in series with "Serpillo," "Amello," and "Amorno" — all absent in Poussin's painting?

In short, it would not seem that "La Rosa" (with or without capitals) can be sustained as the literary source for the painting — nor, might it be added, have I suggested that Marino's "Europa" should carry that title. For the reasons given in my article, I maintain that the subject of Poussin's painting is the result of the painter's own interpretation of myth — an interpretation paralleling and in many ways colored by Marino's.

ROBERT B. SIMON
[Columbia University]

Madam:

In view of the fact that Elizabeth Johns's article on the genesis of Washington Allston's *Dead Man Revived* (*Art Bulletin*, March, 1979) emphasizes both the role of the Parthenon *Illyssus* as a source for the pose of the Dead Man and the iconographic importance of resuscitation, I should like to mention another source for this painting.

In Louis François Roubiliac's Monument to General Hargrave of 1757 (illustrated in Margaret Whinney's *Sculpture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*, Harmondsworth, 1964, pls. 82, 83), the General is shown rising from the grave, a beatific expression upon his face as he removes the shroud from his body. One is immediately struck by the resemblance between the gesture of the Dead Man and that of General Hargrave whose extended right arm holds the drapery away from his body.

There can be no doubt that this famous tomb with its great rocks, toppling architecture, and pyramidal form was central to the evolution of Allston's "sublime" painting.

ALISON WEST
The Frick Collection

Reply

Madam:

I certainly agree with Alison West's suggestion that Louis Francois Roubiliac's Monument to General Hargrave of 1757 must have influenced Allston's conception for his *Dead Man Revived*. Despite this monument's poor visibility high in Westminster Abbey, the unwinding of the shroud and the position of the right arm in both works are too similar to be coincidental. Indeed, the unwinding of the shroud is an aspect of Allston's evolution of the design that cannot be specifically accounted for by elements in either the *Illyssus* or Raphael's *Ananias*. As West has called my attention to an aspect of the figure I did not earlier consider, I might suggest further that Allston may also have identified his inspiration for the casting off of the shroud as one of the figures rising from the dead in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*; this fresco so impressed him when he saw it in 1806 that he wrote a sonnet about one of the falling groups of the damned.

Thus West's point adds fundamentally important information to the topic of my essay; in addition, it emphasizes the importance of studying the influence of contemporary or near-contemporary works on Allston's creative process, for although he worked carefully to give his works a classical and/or Renaissance heritage, he was apparently highly receptive to re-

cent works, even those not necessarily in the "grand tradition."

ELIZABETH JOHNS
University of Maryland

Madam:

In regard to the interesting article by Madlyn Millner Kahr, "Danaë: Virtuous, Voluptuous, Venal Woman," *Art Bulletin*, March, 1978, 46, where the subject of the *Danaë* of the Galerie François I at the Chateau of Fountainebleau is interpreted as a "Danaë corrupted by money," I would like to note that I proposed a related interpretation of this theme in *La Galerie François I au château de Fountainebleau*, numéro spécial, *Revue de l'art*, 1972 (Le "Programme mythologique," 166). The Danaë is shown here as a symbol of venal love as opposed to the pure love of Semele who was formerly represented across from the Danaë in the same ensemble. The secondary motifs visible in the fresco and the tapestry corroborate this interpretation. It was, moreover, perfectly well understood in the 18th century, as is proved by the commentary of the Abbé Guilbert (*Description historique des châteaux bourg et forêt de Fountainebleau*, I, Paris, 166; cited in note 32, *Revue de l'art*, p. 169): "C'est bien une image de la puissance de l'or sur le coeur humain."

The date "about 1540" given by Kahr for Primaticcio's *Danaë* should naturally be explained on the basis of the print by the Master L. D. after a motif and not in connection with the drawing by Primaticcio (Chantilly) or the fresco. For the numerous and delicate problems raised by the *Danaë* in the Galerie François I, the reader may consult the *Revue de l'art*, in particular the articles by S. Pressouyre (pp. 16-18) and S. Béguin (pp. 166-67).

SYLVIE BÉGUIN
Musée du Louvre

Correction

In William Loerke's review of Ernst Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making...*, in the September *Art Bulletin*, the last sentence on p. 478, right column, should read: "The interpretation would find its internal logic in the true context of these capitals, that is, in the history of architecture."

List of Books Received

(January through March, June through September, 1979)

ABBOT, SUGER, *On the Abbey Church of St. Denis and Its Art Treasures*, ed., trans. and annotated Erwin Panofsky, 2nd ed. Gerda Panofsky-Soergel, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979. Pp. xix + 285 + pl. pp.; 31 ills. $22.50 cloth, $9.95 paper

AGEE, WILLIAM C., AND BARBARA ROSE, *Patrick Henry Bruce: American Modernist*, New York, Museum of Modern Art, 1979. Pp. vii + 225; many ills. $30 cloth, $14.95 paper

AGOSTINI, GRAZIA, *et al.*, *Tiziano nelle gallerie fiorentine*, Florence, Centro Di, 1978. Pp. 390; 103 ills.

ANTON, FERDINAND, *et al.*, *Primitive Art: Pre-Columbian, North American Indian, African, Oceanic*, New York, Abrams, 1979, Pp. 526; 564 ills. $28.50

ANTON, FERDINAND, *Art of the Maya* (reissue), New York, Thames and Hudson, 1979. Pp. 344; 365 ills. $29.95

ARWAS, VICTOR, *Alastair: Illustrator of Decadence*, New York, Thames and Hudson, 1979. Pp. 100; 105 ills. $8.95

BACKHOUSE, JANET, *The Illuminated Manuscript*, Oxford, Phaidon, 1979. Pp. 80; 70 ills. $17.50

BARROW, TERENCE, *The Art of Tahiti and the Neighbouring Society, Austral and Cook Islands*, New York, Thames and Hudson, 1979. Pp. 93; 103 ills. $6.95

BERGMAN, MADELINE, *Hieronymus Bosch: A Study on the St. Anthony Triptych (Stockholm Studies in the History of Art, XXXI)*, Stockholm, Almquist & Wiksell International, 1979. Pp. 139; many ills. S.Kr. 62.50

BEUTLER, CHRISTIAN, *Die Entstehung des Altaraufsatzes: Studien zum Grab Willibrords in Echternach*, Munich, Prestel Verlag, 1979. Pp. 107; 109 ills. DM. 78

BLANKERT, ALBERT, *Amsterdams Historisch Museum: Schilderijen Daterend van voor 1850*, Amsterdam, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 1975/1979. Pp. 451; no ills.

BLASER, WERNER, *Courtyard House in China: Tradition and Present*, Basel, Boston, Stuttgart, Birkhäuser Verlag, 1979. Pp. 111; many ills.

BLUNT, ANTHONY, *Borromini*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1979. Pp. 240; 150 ills. $15

BLUNT, ANTHONY, *The Drawings of Poussin*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1979. Pp. xiii + 209; 203 ills. $40

BOARDMAN, JOHN, AND MARIE-LOUISE VOLLENWEIDER, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger Rings in the Ashmolean Museum, I, Greek and Etruscan*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1978. Pp. 122; 385 figs. $65

DI BONA, SALA, *et al.*, *Curiosità di una reggia Vincende della guardaroba di Palazzo Pitti*, Florence, Centro Di, 1979. Pp. 279; many ills.

BONY, JEAN, *The English Decorated Style: Gothic Architecture Transformed 1250-1350 (The Wrightsman Lectures)*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1979. Pp. 315; 398 ills. $32.50

BRECCIA, EVARISTO, *Le Musée Greco-Romain d'Alexandrie II...*, Rome, Giorgio Bretschneider, 1978. Pp. 52 + unnumbered pl. pp.; 151 ills.

BRESC-BAUTIER, GENEVIÈVE, *Artistes, patriciens et confréries: Production et consommation de l'oeuvre d'art à Palerme et en Sicile Occidentale, 1348-1460 (Collection de l'École Française de Rome, XL)*, Rome, École Française de Rome, Palais Farnèse, 1979. Pp. xviii + 315; some ills.

BROMMER, FRANK, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon: Metopes, Frieze, Pediments, Cult Statue*, New York, Thames and Hudson, 1979. Pp. 74 + 144 pl. pp.; 32 figs. in text. $65

BROWN, JONATHAN, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth Century Spanish Painting*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1978. Pp. xi + 168 + unnumbered pl. pp.; 55 ills. $20 cloth; $6.95 paper

BROWN, MILTON W., *et al.*, *American Art: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Decorative Arts, Photography*, New York, Abrams, 1979. Pp. 616; 752 ills. $40

BUCHTHAL, HUGO, AND HANS BELTING, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople: An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XVI)*, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, 1978. Pp. xxiv + 121 + unnumbered pl. pp.; 92 ills. + detail pls.

BUCKLE, RICHARD, *Diaghilev*, New York, Atheneum, 1979. Pp. xxiv + 616; some ills. $22.50

BUSCOMBE, EVE, *Artists in Early Australia and Their Portraits: A Guide to the Portrait Painters of Early Australia with Special Reference to Colonial New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land to 1850*, Sydney, Eureka Research Publishers, 1978. Pp. vi + 176 + cat. pp.; many ills.

BUSSAGLI, MARIO, *Central Asian Painting*, New York, Rizzoli, 1979. Pp. 138; 68 color pls., 6 black-and-white ills. $14.95

CAHN, WALTER, *Masterpieces: Chapters on the History of an Idea (Princeton Essays on the Arts)*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979. Pp. xix + 159, index; 158 ills. $14.50 cloth, $6.95 paper

CALKINS, ROBERT G., *Monuments of Medieval Art*, New York, Dutton, 1979. Pp. xx + 299; 234 ills. $11.95

CALKINS, ROBERT G., *Distribution of Labor: The Illuminators of the Hours of Catherine of Cleves and Their Workshop (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, LXIX, Pt. 5)*, Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1979. Pp. 83; 58 ills. $10

CAMFIELD, WILLIAM A., *Francis Picabia: His Art, Life, and Times*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979. Pp. xviii + 367; 409 ills. $35

COLTON, JUDITH, *The Parnasse François: Titon du Tillet and the Origins of the Monument to Genius (Yale Publications in the History of Art, XXVII)*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1979. Pp. xx + 252 + ill. pp.; 104 ills. $25

COSMAN, MADELEINE PELNER, AND BRUCE CHANDLER, eds., *Machaut's World: Science and Art in the Fourteenth Century*, New York, New York Academy of Science, 1978. Pp. xii + 348; few ills. $30 paper

DAVIDSON, ABRAHAM A., *The Eccentrics and Other American Visionary Painters*, New York, Dutton, 1978. Pp. xxii + 202; many ills. $9.95 paper

DELL'ACQUA, GIAN ALBERTO, intro., *L'Opera Completa di Bramantino e Bramante Pittore*, Milan, Rizzoli Editore, 1978. Pp. 104; 64 + ills. L. 3,000

DE LISLE, GENEVIÈVE BARBÉ-COQUELIN, *El Tratado de Arquitectura de Alonso de Vandelvira*, 2 vols., Albacete, Caja de Ahorros Provincial de Albacete, 1977. Vol. I: xiv + 209 pp.; Vol. II: 127 ills.

DEWHURST, C. KURT, AND BETTY AND MARSHA MACDOWELL, *Artists in Aprons: Folk Art by American Women*, New York, Dutton in assoc. with Museum of American Folk Art, New York, 1979. Pp. xviii + 202; 152 ills. $16.95 cloth; $9.95 paper

DUFRENNE, MIKEL, *et al.*, *Main Trends in Aesthetics and the Sciences of Art (Main Trends in the Social and Human Sciences)*, New York, Holmes & Meier, 1979. Pp. xix + 418; no ills. $14.95

DUNBABIN, KATHERINE M. D., *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa; Studies in Iconography and Patronage*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 1978. Pp. xx + 303 + unnumbered pl. pp.; 220 ills. $69

DUNLOP, IAN, *Degas*, New York, Harper & Row, 1979. Pp. 240; 207 ills. $37.50

DÜRER, ALBRECHT, *The Painter's Manual 1525*, trans. Walter L. Strauss, New York, Abaris Books, 1978. Pp. 472; many ills.

EINEM, HERBERT VON, *Deutsche Malerei des Klassizismus und der Romantik; 1760-1840*, Munich, Verlag C. H. Beck, 1978. Pp. 253; 197 ills. DM. 118

EISLER, COLIN, *The Master of the Unicorn: The Life and Work of Jean Duvet*, New York, Abaris, 1979. Pp. xiv + 370; 87 ills. + 73 cat. ills. $69.50

ELSEN, ALBERT, *Modern European Sculpture 1918-1945: Unknown Beings and Other Realities*, New York, Braziller, in assoc. with Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, New York, 1979. Pp. 192; 150 ills. $10.95 paper

ERLANDE-BRANDENBURG, ALAIN, *La Dame à la Licorne*, Paris, Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1978. Unpaged; many ills.

ESSICK, ROBERT N., AND DONALD PEARCE, eds., *Blake in His Time*, Bloomington, Ind., and London, Indiana University Press, 1978. Pp. xx + 253; 144 ills. $17.50

EVENSON, NORMA, *Paris: A Century of Change, 1878-1978*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1979. Pp. xvii + 382; 254 ills. $30

FAISON, S. LANE, JR., *Handbook of the Collection: Williams College Museum of Art*, Williamstown, Williams College, 1979. Pp. xiii + unnumbered pp.; 72 ills.

FARR, DENNIS, *English Art: 1870-1940*; Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press, 1979. Pp. xxxi + 525; many ills. $39.50

FOERST, GABRIELE, *Die Gravierungen der Pränestinischen Cisten*, Rome, Giorgio Bretschneider, 1978. Pp. vii + 217 + unnumbered pl. pp.; 115+ ills.

GARLICK, KENNETH, AND ANGUS MACINTYRE, *The Diary of Joseph Farrington*, 2 vols., New Haven and London, Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1978. Vol. I: xxxix + 284 pp.; Vol. II: 369 pp.; 14 ills. $45

GAVEL, JONAS, *Colour: A Study of Its Position in the Art Theory of the Quattro- and Cinquecento*, Stockholm, Almquist & Wiskell International, distrib. Humanities Press, 1979. Pp. 178; few ills. $22.50 paper

GERHAEDUS, MARY AND DIETFRIED, *Symbolism and Art Nouveau: Sense of Impending Crisis, Refinement of Sensibility and Life Reborn in Art (Phaidon 20th Century Art Series)*, Oxford, Phaidon, 1979. Pp. 104; 73 ills. $17.50

GIBSON, ELSA, trans. and commentary, *The "Christians for Christians" Inscriptions of Phrygia (Harvard Theological Review*, XXXII), Cambridge, Harvard Divinity School, 1978. Pp. xiii + 162 + xxxiii pl. pp.; some ills. $7.50

GILLINGHAM, MICHAEL, *Chinese Painted Enamels*, exh. cat., Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1978. Pp. 96; 131 ills. £ 3.75

GIROUARD, MARK, *The Victorian Country House*, rev. and enlarged ed., New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1979. Pp. vii + 467; many ills. $35

GÓMEZ DE LA SERNA, RAMÓN, *Dalí*, New York, Morrow, 1979. Pp. 240; many ills. $35

GRABURN, NELSON H. H., ed., *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1979. Pp. xv + 422; 122 ills. $10.95

GRODECKI, LOUIS, *et al.*, *Les Vitraux de Paris de la Région Parisienne de la Picardie et du Nord-Pas-de-Calais. Recensement des vitraux anciens de France*, I *(Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi)*, Paris, Éditions du Centre National de la Récherche Scientifique, 1978. Pp. 275; 141 ills.

HERNMARK, CARL, *The Art of the European Silversmith 1430-1830*, 2 vols., New York and London, Sotheby Parke-Bernet, 1978. Vol. I: 411 pp.; some ills.; Vol. II: 386 pp.; 1000 + ills. $160

HINES, THOMAS B., *Burnham of Chicago: Architect and Planner* (1974, Oxford University Press), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1979. Pp. xxiii + 445; some ills. $6.95 paper

HOHLFELDER, ROBERT L., *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth*, III, *The Coins*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1978. Pp. x + 117; 6 ills., 1 map. G. 68

HUNTER, SAM, *Isamu Noguchi*, New York, Abbeville Press, 1979. Pp. 334; many ills. $65

HUTTER, IRMGARD, *Corpus der Byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, II, *Oxford, Bodleian Library*, Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 1978. Pp. xvii + 310; 647 ills. DM. 460

IENAGA, SABURO, *Japanese Art: A Cultural Appreciation*, trans. Richard L. Gage, New York and Tokyo, Weatherhill, 1979. Pp. 177; 105 ills. $17.50

IMPERATO, PASCAL JAMES, *Dogon Cliff Dwellers: The Art of Mali's Mountain People*, New York, L. Kahan Gallery/African Arts, 1978. Pp. 104; 119 ills. $10 paper

INAN, JALE, AND ELISABETH ALFÖLDI-ROSENBLUM, *Römische and Frühbyzantinische Porträtplastik aus der Türkei: Neue Funde, Tafeln, Text*, 2 vols., Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1979. Text vol., pp. xviii + 368; pl. vol., 275 pl. pp. DM. 110

JERVIS, SIMON, AND GERHARD HOJER, *Designs for the Dream King: The Castles and Palaces of Ludwig II of Bavaria*, London, Debrett's Peerage for the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, 1978. Pp. 79; 57 ills. $17.50

KING, J. C. H., *Portrait Masks from the Northwest Coast of America*, New York, Thames and Hudson, 1979. Pp. 96; 95 ills. $6.95 paper

KIST, J. R., *Daumier: Eyewitness of an Epoch*, Woodbury, N.Y., Barron's, 1979. Pp. 26; 96 ills. $1.95

KLEIN, ROBERT, *Form and Meaning: Writings on the Renaissance and Modern Art*, New York, Viking Press, 1979. Pp. xi + 263; no ills. $19.95

KLEINER, DIANA E. E., *Roman Group Portraiture: The Funerary Reliefs of the Late Republic and Early Empire (Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts)*, New York and London, Garland Publishing, 1977. Pp. 270; 96+ ills. $45

KOENIGSBERGER, DOROTHY, *Renaissance Man and Creative Thinking: A History of Concepts of Harmony, 1400-1700*, Atlantic Highlands, N.J., Humanities Press, 1979. Pp. xiii + 282; no ills. $25

KOPCKE, GÜNTER, AND MARY B. MOORE, eds., *Studies in Classical Art and Archaeology: A Tribute to Peter Heinrich von Blanckenhagen*, Locust Valley, N.Y., J. J. Augustin, 1979. Pp. xiv + 434; many ills. $35

KRAIRIKSH, PIRIYA, *The Sacred Image: Sculptures from Thailand*, Cologne, Museum for East-Asian Art of City of Cologne, in collab. with Dept. of Fine Arts and National Museum, Bangkok, 1979. Pp. 247; many ills., 71 cat. ills.

LADD, FREDERICK J., *Architects at Corsham Court; A Study in Revival Architecture and Landscaping, 1749-1849*, Bradford-on-Avon, Moonraker Press, 1978. Pp. xv + 184 + unnumbered pl. pp.; 90 ills. $34.50

LARSSON, LARS OLAF, *Die Neugestaltung der Reichshauptstadt (Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis)*, Uppsala, University of Stockholm, 1978. Pp. 196; 188 ills. S.Kr. 87

LLOYD, CHRISTOPHER, *A Picture History of Art: Western Art Through the Ages*, Oxford, Phaidon, 1979. Pp. 323; many ills. $19.95

LOGAN, ANNE-MARIE S., *The 'Cabinet' of the Brothers Gerard and Jan Reynst*, Amsterdam, Oxford, New York, North-Holland Publishing Company, 1979. Pp. 293; many ills. $87.75

LOWRY, MARTIN, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1979. Pp. 350; 8 pls. $32.50

MCCANN, ANNA MARGUERITE, *Roman Sarcophagi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978. Pp. 151; 189 ills.

MCCORQUODALE, CHARLES, *The Baroque Painters of Italy*, Oxford and New York, Phaidon, 1979. Pp. 80; 69 ills. $14.95

MACDONALD, WILLIAM L., *Piranesi's Carceri: Sources of Invention*, Northampton, Mass., Smith College, 1979. Pp. 38; 32 ills.

MALMQUIST, TATIANA, *Byzantine 12th Century Frescoes in Kastoria: Agioi Anargyroi and Agios Nikolaos tou Kasnitzi (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Figura, Nova Series*, XVIII), Uppsala, Almquist & Wiskell International, 1979. Pp. 199; 28 ills. S.Kr. 71

MARCUS, GEORGE M., WITH JANET M. IANDOLA, *The Second Empire, 1852-1870: Art in France under Napoleon III*, exh. cat., Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1978. Pp. 464; many ills. $18.95

MARTIN, F. DAVID, AND LEE A. JACOBUS, *The Humanities Through the Arts*, 2nd ed., New York, McGraw-Hill, 1978. Pp. xiii + 478; many ills. $12.95 paper

MATEO GÓMEZ, ISABEL, *Temas Profanos en la Escultura Gótica Española: Las Sillerias de Coro*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, Instituto Diego Velázquez, 1979. Pp. 478; 397 ills.

MEDER, JOSEPH, *The Mastery of Drawing*, 2 vols., trans. and rev. Winslow Ames, New York, Abaris Books, 1978. Vol. I: 541 pp.; Vol. II: 323 pp.; 315+ ills.

MILLON, HENRY A., AND LINDA NOCHLIN, eds., *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics*, Cambridge, Mass., and London, MIT Press, 1978. Pp. x + 382; many ills. $35

MONBEIG-GOGUEL, CATHERINE, AND FRANÇOISE VIATTE, intro., *Repertoire Systematique des Fonds*, I, *La Collection Jabach*, Paris, Direction des Musées de France (Musée du Louvre), 1978. Pp. 36 + unnumbered; some ills.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, ART AND ARCHITECTURE DIVISION, AND LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, *Bibliographic Guide to Art and Architecture: 1978*, 2 vols., Boston, G. K. Hall, 1979. Vol. I: pp. v + 497; Vol. II: pp. 489; no ills. $110

NORDHAGEN, PER JONAS, *S. Maria Antiqua: The Frescoes of the Seventh Century (Institutum Romanum Norvegiae, Acta, ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia*, VIII), Rome, Giorgio Bretschneider, 1978. Pp. 53 + LXVI pl. pp.; 12 text figs.

OBERHUBER, KONRAD, ED., *The Illustrated Bartsch: The Works of Marcantonio Raimondi and His School* (Vol. XXVI, formerly XIV, Pt. 1), New York, Abaris Books, 1978. Pp. 320; 318 ills. $95

OESTERREICHER-MOLLWO, MARIANNE, *Surrealism and Dadaism: Provocative Destruction, the Path Within and the Exacerbation of the Problem of a Reconciliation of Art and Life*, Oxford, Phaidon, 1979. Pp. 104; 74 ills. $17.50

OHLGREN, THOMAS H., comp. and ed., *Illuminated Manuscripts and Books in the Bodleian Library; A Supplemental Index*, New York and London, Garland Publishing, 1978. Pp. xxxii + 583; 56 ills. $60

ORMOND, RICHARD, ed., *National Portrait Gallery: In Colour*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1979. Pp. 128; 320 ills. $20

OTTO, CHRISTIAN F., *Space into Light: The Churches of Balthassar Neumann*, Cambridge, Mass., London, MIT Press, 1979. Pp. 294; 9 + 163 ills. $35

PANAGOPOULOS, BEATA KITSIKI, *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Medieval Greece*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1979. Pp. xx + 194; many ills. $24

PASSERON, RENÉ, *Phaidon Encyclopedia of Surrealism*, New York, Dutton, 1978. Pp. 288; 415 ills. $8.95 paper

PETTENATI, SILVANA, *I Vetri Dorati Graffiti e I Vetri Dipinti*, Turin, Civic Museum of Turin, 1978. Pp. lxiii + 120 + unnumbered pl. pp.; 256 ills.

PIOTROVSKY, BORIS, *Western European Painting in the Hermitage Collection*, New York, Abrams, 1978. Pp. 303; 251 ills. $40

POHRIBNY, ARSEN, *Abstract Painting (Phaidon 20th Century Art Series)*, Oxford, Phaidon, 1979. Pp. 120; 96 ills. $17.50

POPE-HENNESSY, SIR JOHN, contributor, *Masterpieces from the Robert von Hirsch Sale at Sotheby's*, New Jersey, London, Sotheby Parke-Bernet, 1978. Pp. 160; many ills. $12.50 cloth; $8.75 paper

POPE-HENNESSY, SIR JOHN, *The Portrait in the Renaissance (The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, Bollingen Series* XXXV, 12), Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979. Pp. xxxii + 348; 330 ills. $9.95

PRESSLY, NANCY L., *The Fuseli Circle in Rome: Early Romantic Art of the 1770's*, New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, 1979. Pp. xiii + 145; 146 ills.

PREZIOSI, DONALD, *The Semiotics of the Built Environment: An Introduction to Architectonic Analysis (Advances in Semiotics)*, Bloomington, Ind., and London, Indiana University Press, 1979. Pp. x + 116; some ills. $15

REYNOLDS, VALRAE, *Tibet: A Lost World* [works from the Newark Museum Collection], Bloomington, Ind., and London, Indiana University Press in assoc. with the American Federation of Arts, New York, 1978. Pp. 128; 110 ills. $17.50

RICHARD, LIONEL, *Phaidon Encyclopedia of Expressionism*, New York, Dutton, 1978. Pp. 288; 318 ills. $8.95 paper

RIDGWAY, BRUNILDE SISMONDO, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1970. Pp. xviii + 155; 189 ills. $9.50

RISEBERO, BILL, *The Story of Western Architecture*, New York, Scribner's, 1979. Pp. 272; many ills. $12.95

ROBINSON, DUNCAN, *Stanley Spencer: Visions from a Berkshire Village*, Oxford, Phaidon, 1979. Pp. 80; 76 ills. $14.95

ROSENBERG, PIERRE, *Chardin 1699-1779*, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, with Indiana University Press, 1979. Pp. 423; many ills. $35 cloth, $22.50 paper

ROTHSCHILD, MRS. JAMES DE, *The Rothschilds at Waddeson Manor*, New York, Paris, Lausanne, Vendome Press, 1979. Pp. 175; many ills. $20

ROWE, DONALD F., S. J., *The Martin D'Arcy Gallery of Art: The First Ten Years (Notable Acquisitions of Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque Art)*, Chicago, Loyola University of Chicago, 1979. Unnumbered pp.; 121 ills.

RUGGERI, UGO, *Francesco Capella, detto Daggiù: Dipinti e Disegni*, Bergamo, Monumenta Bergomensia, 1977. Pp. 198; 244 ills.

RUSSELL, JOHN, *Francis Bacon*, rev. ed. *(The World of Art Series)*, New York and Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1979. Pp. 192; 112 ills. $12.95 cloth, $7.95 paper

SAFADI, Y. H., *Islamic Calligraphy*, Boulder, Colo., Shambala Publications, 1979. Pp. 144; 200 ills. $8.95 paper

SCHLUNK, HELMUT, AND THEODOR HAUSCHILD, *Hispania Antiqua: Die Denkmäler der frühchristlichen und westgotischen Zeit*, Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern for Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid, 1978. Pp. ix + 406; many ills. DM. 128

SCHULZ, ANNE MARKHAM, *Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino and Venetian Sculpture of the Early Renaissance*, New York, New York University Press for the College Art Association, 1978. Pp. xxiv + 136; 100 ills. $22.50

SCRASE, DAVID, *Drawings and Watercolours by Peter de Wint*, exh. cat., Cambridge and London, Cambridge University Press, 1979. Pp. xxv + 52 + 78 pl. pp.; 125 ills. $27.50 cloth, $6.95 paper

SEAFORD, RICHARD, *Pompeii*, New York, Thames and Hudson, 1979. Pp. 80; 85 ills. $9.95

SÉRULLAZ, MAURICE, *Phaidon Encyclopedia of Impressionism*, New York, Dutton, 1978. Pp. 286; 352 ills. $8.95 paper

SHEON, AARON, *Monticelli: His Contemporaries, His Influence*, Pittsburgh, Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, 1978. Pp. 244; 251 ills.

SIZOV, E. S., *et al.*, *Treasures from the Kremlin*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979. Pp. 224; 206 ills. $28.50

SJÖSTRÖM, INGRID, *Quadratura; Studies in Italian Ceiling Painting*, Stockholm, Almquist & Wiksell International, 1978. Pp. 143; 70 ills. S.Kr. 75

SPEAR, NATHANIEL, JR., *A Treasury of Archaeological Bells*, New York, Hastings House, 1979. Pp. 280; 305 ills. $25

STEVENS, PHILLIPS, JR., *The Images of Esie, Nigeria*, Ibadan University Press and Nigerian Federal Department of Antiquities, 1978. Pp. xiv + 398; 1,581 ills. $65

STEWART, ALISON G., *Unequal Lovers; A Study of Unequal Couples in Northern Art*, New York, Abaris Books, 1979. Pp. 208; 106 ills. $49.50

STRONG, ROY, *The Renaissance Garden in England*, London and New York, Thames and Hudson, 1979. Pp. 240; 144 ills. $24.95

STUDING, RICHARD, AND ELIZABETH KRUZ, *Mannerism in Art, Literature, and Music: A Bibliography (Checklists in the Humanities and Education)*, San Antonio, Trinity University Press, 1979. Pp. xvii + 60; no ills. $7.50

SULLIVAN, MICHAEL, *Symbols of Eternity: The Art of Landscape Painting in China*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1979. Pp. xiii + 205; 115 ills. $18.50

SUMOWSKI, WERNER, *Drawings of the Rembrandt School*, ed. and trans. Walter L. Strauss, New York, Abaris, 1979. Pp. 608; 311 ills.

SUSSMAN, HERBERT L., *Fact into Figure: Typology in Carlyle, Ruskin, and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood*, Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1979. Pp. xix + 158; 40 ills. $11

TASHJIAN, DICKRAN, *William Carlos Williams and the American Scene, 1920-1940*, New York, Whitney Museum of American Art in assoc. with University of California Press, 1978. Pp. 168; 126 ills. $30 cloth, $10.95 paper

TAYLOR, JOSHUA C., *The Fine Arts in America (The Chicago History of American Civilization Series*, ed. Daniel J. Boorstin), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1979. Pp. xvi + 264; many ills. $17.50 cloth

THOMAS, MARCEL, *The Golden Age: Manuscript Painting at the Time of Jean, Duke of Berry*, New York, Braziller, 1979. Pp. 120; 19 black-and-white ills., 40 color pls. $24.95 cloth, $11.95 paper

THORNTON, PETER, *Seventeenth Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1978. Pp. xii + 427; 320 ills. $55

TRENDALL, A. D., AND ALEXANDER CAMBITOGLOU, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, I, Early and Middle Apulian (Oxford Monographs on Archaeology)*, Oxford and New York, Oxford University Press and Clarendon Press, 1978. Pp. liv + 442 + unnumbered pl. pp.; many ills. $65

VERMA, SOM PRAKASH, *Art and Material Culture in the Paintings of Akbar's Court*, New Delhi, Bombay, etc., Vikas Publishing House, distrib. Humanities Press, 1979. Pp. xxxviii + 150; 78 ills. $20

VERMEULE, EMILY, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press, 1979. Pp. xv + 270; many ills. $22.50

VICKERS, MICHAEL, *Greek Vases*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1978, Pp. viii + unnumbered pp.; 76 ills. £1.95

WALLACE, RICHARD W., *The Etchings of Salvator Rosa*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1979. Pp. xxi + 347; 29 + cat. ills. $37.50

WEISBERG, GABRIEL P., *Bonvin (The Life and Work Series)*, Paris, Geoffroy-Dechaume, 1979. Pp. 325; 355 ills. $120

WILSON, KAY, *A History of Textiles*, Boulder, Westview Press, 1979. Pp. xxi + 337; many ills. $25

WINTERNITZ, EMANUEL, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art: Studies in Musical Iconology*, 2nd ed., New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1979. Pp. 253 + 96 pl. pp.; many ills. $24.95 cloth, $8.95 paper

WITTKOWER, RUDOLF, *Idea and Image: Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, New York, Thames and Hudson, 1978. Pp. 255; 272 ills. $29.95

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION

(Act of August 12, 1970, Section 3685, Title 39, United States Code) (1) Title of publication: The Art Bulletin. (2) Date of filing: Sept. 28, 1979. (3) Frequency of issue: quarterly. (4a) No. of issues published annually: (4b) Annual subscription price: through membership; dues vary $17.50-50.00. (5) Location of known office of publication and business office of the publishers: 16 E. 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022. (6) Names and addresses of publisher, editor, and managing editor: publisher, College Art Association of America, 16 E. 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022; Editor, Kathleen Weil-Garris, 16 E. 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022; Managing Editor, Anne H. Hoy, 16 E. 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022. (7) Owner: College Art Association of America, 16 E. 52nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022. (8) Known bondholders, mortgages, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of the total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities: none. (9) The purpose, function, and non-profit status of this organization and the exempt status for Federal income tax purposes have not changed during preceding 12 months. (10) Extent and nature of circulation:

	Average no. copies of each issue during preceding 12 months	Copies of single issue published nearest filing date
a) Total no. copies printed (net press run)	8827	8255
b) Paid circulation		
(1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	none	none
(2) Mail subscriptions	7904	7561
c) Total paid circulation	7904	7561
d) Free distribution (including samples) by mail, carrier, or other means	none	none
e) Total distribution (sum of c and d)	7904	7561
f) Copies not distributed		
(1) Office use, left-over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	923	694
(2) Returns from news agents	none	none
Total (sum of e and f)	8827	8255

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

MINERVA NAVARRETE, *Business Manager*

Index to Volume LXI

ABOU-EL-HAJ, BARBARA, "Consecration and Investiture in the Life of Saint Amand, Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. MS 502," 342-358.

ABRAMS, ANN UHRY, "Politics, Prints, and John Singleton Copley's *Watson and the Shark*." 265-276.

ACKERMAN, JAMES S., review of M. Kubelik, *Die Villa im Veneto: zur typologischen Entwicklung im Quattrocento*, 483-85.

AGULLÓ COBO, MERCEDES, *Noticias sobre pintores madrileños de los siglos XVI y XVII*, reviewed by J. Brown, 496-500.

ANDERSON, JEFFREY C., "The Illustration of Cod. Sinai. Gr. 339," 167-185.

AVRIN, LEILA, review of B. Narkiss and G. Sed-Rajna, eds., *Index of Jewish Art: Iconographical Index of Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, 105-07.

BALTRUŠAITIS, JURGIS, *Anamorphic Art*, reviewed by S. Y. Edgerton, Jr., 131-34.

BANGS, JEREMY D., Letter to the Editor, 505.

BANKS, ADA SHADMI, "Two Letters from Girodet to Flaxman," 100-01.

BARCHAM, WILLIAM, "Giambattista Tiepolo's Ceiling for S. Maria di Nazareth in Venice: Legend, Traditions, and Devotions," 430-447.

BEGLEY, WAYNE, "The Myth of the Taj Mahal and a New Theory of Its Symbolic Meaning," 7-37.

BÉGUIN, SYLVIE, Letter to the Editor, 663.

BERNALES BALLESTEROS, JORGE, *Alonso Cano en Sevilla*, reviewed by J. Brown, 496-500.

BIAŁOSTOCKI, JAN, review of B. Haarløv, *The Half-Open Door, A Common Symbolic Motif Within Roman Sepulchral Sculpture*, 301-02.

BINDMAN, DAVID, *Blake as an Artist*, reviewed by J. Ziff, 326-28.

BORSOOK, EVE, review of N. di Bicci, *Le Ricordanze (10 Marzo 1453-24 Aprile 1475)*, 313-18.

BRANDT, WERNER, Letter to the Editor, 336.

BRENK, BEAT, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, reviewed by M. L. Heuser, 473-77.

BROUDE, NORMA, reviews of *Toskanische Impressionen: Der Beitrag der Macchiaioli zum europaischen Realismus*, exh. cat., *I Macchiaioli nella cultura toscana dell'Ottocento*, exh. cat., 328-332.

BROWN, JONATHAN, reviews of M. A. Mazón de la Torre, *Jusepe Leonardo y su tiempo*, J. Gállego and J. Gudiol, *Zurbarán, 1598-1664*, J. Bernales Ballesteros, *Alonso Cano en Sevilla*, A. Martínez Ripoll, *La iglesia del Colegio de San Buenaventura*, J. Gállego, *El pintor de artesano a artista*, M. Agullo Cobo, *Noticias sobre pintores madrileños de los siglos XVI y XVII*, 496-500.

BUSH, VIRGINIA, *The Colossal Sculpture of the Cinquecento*, reviewed by M. D. Garrard, 485-490.

CAMPBELL, MALCOLM, *Pietro da Cortona at the Pitti Palace: A Study of the Planetary Rooms and Related Projects*, reviewed by C. Dempsey, 141-44.

CARROLL, EUGENE A., review of *The Farnese Hours, The Pierpont Morgan Library*, 136-141.

CAST, DAVID, review of R. M. Steinberg, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola: Florentine Art and Renaissance Historiography*, 134-36.

CAVINESS, MADELINE HARRISON, "Conflicts Between *Regnum* and *Sacerdotium* as Reflected in a Canterbury Psalter of ca. 1215," 38-58.

CIKOVSKY, NICOLAI, JR., "'The Ravages of the Axe': The Meaning of the Tree Stump in Nineteenth-Century American Art," 661-627.

COLLEDGE, MALCOLM A. R., *Parthian Art*, reviewed by T. S. Kawami, 471-73.

COOMARASWAMY, ANANDA K., *Selected Papers, Traditional Art and Symbolism; Selected Papers, Metaphysics*, reviewed by D. R. Kuspit, 501-04.

CORMACK, MALCOLM, review of A. Wilton, *British Watercolours 1750-1850*, 152-54.

CROSBY, SUMNER MCKNIGHT, review of A. Luttrell, ed., *Hal Millieri: A Maltese Casale, Its Churches and Paintings*, 481-82.

CUTLER, ANTHONY, review of I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturhandschriften*, I: *Oxford, Bodleian Library*, Pt. 1, 107-110.

DAVIDSON, BERNICE F., "Pope Paul III's Additions to Raphael's *Logge*: His *Imprese* in the Logge," 385-404.

DEL CHIARO, MARIO A., review of J. Hayes, *Roman Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum*, 104-05.

DEMPSEY, CHARLES, reviews of M. Campbell, *Pietro da Cortona at the Pitti Palace: A Study of the Planetary Rooms and Related Projects*, 141-44; of R. W. Lee, *Names on Trees: Ariosto into Art*, 323-26.

DEMUS, OTTO, review of K. M. Setton, gen. ed., *A History of the Crusades*, IV: *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H. W. Hazard, 636-37.

DENNIS, JAMES M., review of J. Wilmerding, *American Art (The Pelican History of Art)*, 154-57.

DEUCHLER, FLORENS, "*Duccio doctus*: New Readings for the *Maestà*," 541-548.

DIAZ PADRON, MATIAS, *Museo del Prado, Catalogo de Pinturas, I, Escuela Flamenca, Siglo XVII*, reviewed by H. Vlieghe, 651-53.

DI BICCI, NERI, *Le Ricordanze (10 Marzo 1453-24 Aprile 1475)*, reviewed by E. Borsook, 313-18.

DIFEDERICO, FRANK R., *Francesco Trevisani: Eighteenth-Century Painter in Rome*, reviewed by F. H. Dowley, 146-151.

DODDS, JERRILYNN D., "The Paintings in the Sala de Justicia of the Alhambra: Iconography and Iconology," 186-197.

DORIVAL, BERNARD, *Philippe de Champaigne, 1602-1675*, reviewed by A. S. Harris, 319-322.

D'OTRANGE MASTAI, M. L., *Illusion in Art: Trompe l'Oeil; A History of Pictorial Illusion*, reviewed by S. Y. Edgerton, Jr., 131-34.

DOTSON, ESTHER G., "An Augustinian Interpretation of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling, Part 1," 223-256, "Part 11," 405-429.

DOWLEY, FRANCIS H., review of F. R. DiFederico, *Francesco Trevisani: Eighteenth-Century Painter in Rome*, 146-151.

EDELSTEIN, T. J., Letter to the Editor, 509-510.

EDGERTON, SAMUEL Y., JR., reviews of J. Baltrušaitis, *Anamorphic Art*, F. Leeman, *et al.*, *Hidden Images: Games of Perception, Anamorphic Art, Illusion from the Renaissance to the Present*, M. L. d'Otrange Mastai, *Illusion in Art; Trompe l'Oeil; A History of Pictorial Illusion*, M. H. Pirenne, *Optics, Painting, and Photography*, 131-34. Letter to the Editor, 661.

ENGGASS, ROBERT, *Early Eighteenth-Century Sculpture in Rome*, reviewed by M. S. Weil, 145-46.

ETTLINGER, HELEN S., "The Iconography of the Columns in Titian's Pesaro Altarpiece," 59-67; reply to Letter to the Editor, 662.

The Farnese Hours, The Pierpont Morgan Library, reviewed by E. A. Carroll, 136-141.

FELTEN, WASSILIKI, *Attische Unterweltsdarstellungen des VI. und V. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, reviewed by M. H. Jameson, 103-04.

FERGUSON, PETER J., review of L. Grodecki, *Gothic Architecture*, 303-04.

FERMIGIER, ANDRÉ, *Jean-Francois Millet*, reviewed by B. Laughton, 657-660.

GÁLLEGO, JULIÁN, *El pintor de artesano a artista*, reviewed by J. Brown, 496-500.

GÁLLEGO, JULIÁN, and JOSÉ GUDIOL, *Zurbarán, 1598-1664*, reviewed by J. Brown, 496-500.

GARRARD, MARY D., reviews of J. Schuyler, *Florentine Busts: Sculpted Portraiture in the Fifteenth Century*, V. Bush, *The Colossal Sculpture of the Cinquecento*, P. Kinney, *The Early Sculpture of Bartolommeo Ammanati*, 485-490.

GOFFEN, RONA, "*Nostra Conversatio in Caelis Est*: Observations on the *Sacra Conversazione* in the Trecento," 198-222.

GRODECKI, L., *Gothic Architecture*, reviewed by P. J. Ferguson, 303-04.

HAARLØV, BRITT, *The Half-Open Door, A Common Symbolic Motif Within Roman Sepulchral Sculpture*, reviewed by J. Białostocki, 301-02.

HANFMANN, GEORGE M. A., reviews of C. Schwingenstein, *Die Figurenausstattung des griechischen Theatergebäudes*, M. C. Sturgeon, *Corinth*, IX, Pt. II, *Sculpture: The Reliefs from the Theater*, 628-630.

HARRIS. ANN SUTHERLAND, review of B. Dorival, *Philippe de Champaigne, 1602-1675*, 319-322.

HAYES, JOHN, *Roman Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum*, reviewed by M. A. Del Chiaro, 104-05.

HELD, JULIUS S., "Rubens and Aguilonius: New Points of Contact," 257-264.

HEUSER, MARY L., review of B. Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, 473-77.

HUEMER. FRANCES, "A Dionysiac Connection in an Early Rubens," 562-574.

HUNGERFORD, CONSTANCE CAIN, "Meissonier's *Souvenir de guerre civile*," 277-288.

HUTTER, IRMGARD, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturhandschriften*, I: *Oxford, Bodleian Library*, Pt. 1, reviewed by A. Cutler, 107-110.

I Macchiaioli nella cultura toscana dell'Ottocento, exh. cat., reviewed by N. Broude, 328-332.

JÄÄSKINEN, AUNE, *The Icon of the Virgin of Tikhvin: A Study of the Tikhvin Monastery Palladium in the Hodegetria Tradition*, reviewed by A. Weyl Carr, 480-81.

JACOBSEN, MICHAEL A., Letter to the Editor, 661-62.

JACOFF, MICHAEL, review of K. Weitzmann, *et al.*, *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, 631-33.

JAMESON. MICHAEL H., review of W. Felten, *Attische Unterweltsdarstellungen des VI. und V. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, 103-04.

JOHNS, ELIZABETH, "Washington Allston's *Dead Man Revived*," 78-99; reply to Letter to the Editor, 662.

JULLIAN, PHILIPPE, *The Symbolists*, reviewed by A. H. Murray, 332-35.

KAWAMI, TRUDY S., review of M. A. R. Colledge, *Parthian Art*, 471-73.

KEYNES, GEOFFREY, *The Complete Portraiture of William and Catherine Blake*, reviewed by J. Ziff, 326-28.

KINNEY, PETER, *The Early Sculpture of Bartolommeo Ammanati*, reviewed by M. D. Garrard, 485-490.

KITZINGER, ERNST, *Byzantine Art in the Making, Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art, 3rd-7th Century*, reviewed by W. Loerke, 477-79.

KLEIN, PETER K., *Der altere Beatus-Kodex Vitr. 14-1 der Biblioteca Nacional zu Madrid...*, reviewed by J. Williams, 633-36.

KREYTENBERG, GERT, *Der Dom zu Florenz*, reviewed by M. Trachtenberg, 112-131.

KRINSKY, CAROL HERSELLE, review of V. F. Kubly, *The Louisiana State Capitol: Its Art and Architecture*, 660.

KUBELIK, MARTIN, *Die Villa im Veneto: zur typologischen Entwicklung im Quattrocento*, reviewed by J. S. Ackerman, 483-85.

KUBLY, VINCENT F., *The Louisiana Capitol: Its Art and Architecture*, reviewed by C. H. Krinsky, 660.

KUSPIT, DONALD R., reviews of A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Selected Papers, Traditional Art and Symbolism; Selected Papers, Metaphysics*, R. Lipsey, *His Life and Work*, 501-04.

LAUGHTON, BRUCE, review of A. Fermigier, *Jean-Francois Millet*, 657-660.

LAVIN, MARILYN ARONBERG, Letter to the Editor, 661.

LEE, RENSSELAER W., *Names on Trees: Ariosto into Art*, reviewed by C. Dempsey, 323-26.

LEEMAN, FRED, *et al.*, *Hidden Images: Games of Perception, Anamorphic Art, Illusion from the Renaissance to the Present*, reviewed by S. Y. Edgerton, Jr., 131-34.

LINKS, J. G., *Canaletto and His Patrons*, reviewed by F. Vivian, 654-57.

LIPSEY, ROGER, *Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, His Life and Work*, reviewed by D. R. Kuspit, 501-04.

LISCOMBE, R. W., "Richard Payne Knight: Some Unpublished Correspondence," 604-610.

The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci, Commentary by Carlo Pedretti, reviewed by A. Marinoni, 642-650.

LOERKE, WILLIAM, review of E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making, Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art, 3rd-7th Century*, 477-79; correction, 663.

LUTTRELL, ANTHONY, ed., *Hal Millieri: A Maltese Casale, Its Churches and Paintings*, reviewed by S. M. Crosby, 481-82.

MACDOUGALL, ELISABETH B., review of C. W. Westfall, *In This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447-55*, 309-312.

MARINONI, AUGUSTO, review of *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci, Commentary* by Carlo Pedretti, 642-650.

MARTÍNEZ RIPOLL, ANTONIO, *La iglesia del Colegio de San Buenaventura*, reviewed by J. Brown, 496-500.

MARX, PATRICIA, Letter to the Editor, 506-07.

MAZÓN DE LA TORRE, MARIA ANGELES, *Jusepe Leonardo y su tiempo*, reviewed by J. Brown, 496-500.

MCKIM-SMITH, GRIDLEY, "On Velázquez's Working Method," 589-603.

MILLAR, OLIVER, *The Queen's Pictures, The History of the British Royal Collection*, reviewed by C. Wright, 500-01.

MOORE, MARY B., review of P. M. Packard and P. A. Clement, *The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Fascicule 1 (Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, USA*, Fascicule 18*)*, 471-73.

MICHAELS, BARBARA L., "An Introduction to the Dating and Organization of Eugène Atget's Photographs," 460-468.

MULLER, NORMAN E., "Reflections in a Mirror: Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Depiction of the Trinity," 101-02.

MUNMAN, ROBERT, review of D. Pincus, *The Arco Foscari: The Building of a Triumphal Gateway in Fifteenth Century Venice*, 637-642.

MURRAY, ANN H., review of P. Jullian, *The Symbolists*, 332-35.

NARKISS, BEZALEL, and GABRIELLE SED-RAJNA, eds., *Index of Jewish Art: Iconographical Index of Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, reviewed by L. Avrin, 105-07.

NOCHLIN, LINDA, reply to Letter to the Editor, 510.

NYGREN, EDWARD J., "James Ward's Exhibition Pictures of 1838: Controversy in Paint," 448-459.

PACKARD, PAMELA M., and PAUL A. CLEMENT, *The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Fascicule 1 (Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, USA*, Fascicule 18*)*, reviewed by M. B. Moore, 471-73.

PALEY, MORTON D., *William Blake*, reviewed by J. Ziff, 326-28.

PILLSBURY, EDMUND P., review of C. Ragghianti and G. dalli Regoli, *Firenze 1470-1480, Disegni dal modello: Pollaiolo/Leonardo/Botticelli/Filippino*, 482-83.

PINCUS, DEBRA, review of W. Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1450)*, 304-09; *The Arco Foscari: The Building of a Triumphal Gateway in Fifteenth Century Venice*, reviewed by R. Munman, 637-642.

PIRENNE, M. H., *Optics, Painting, and Photography*, reviewed by S. Y. Edgerton, 131-34.

RAGGHIANTI, CARLO, and GIGETTA DALLI REGOLI, *Firenze 1470-1480, Disegi dal modello: Pollaiolo/Leonardo/Botticelli/Filippino*, reviewed by E. P. Pillsbury, 482-83.

ROETHLISBERGER, MARCEL, review of W. Vitzthum, *Drawings by Gaspar van Wittel (1652/53-1736) from Neapolitan Collections*, 144.

ROSENBERG, CHARLES M., "The Iconography of the Sala degli Stucchi in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara," 377-384.

SCHUYLER, JANE, *Florentine Busts: Sculpted Portraiture in the Fifteenth Century*, reviewed by M. D. Garrard, 485-490.

SCHWINGENSTEIN, CHRISTOPH, *Die Figurenausstattung des griechischen Theatergebäudes*, reviewed by G. M. A. Hanfmann, 628-630.

SCILLIA, DIANE, reply to Letter to the Editor, 505-06.

SETTON, KENNETH M., gen. ed., *A History of the Crusades*, IV: *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H. W. Hazard, reviewed by O. Demus, 636-37.

SHERMAN, CLAIRE RICHTER, "A Second Instruction to the Reader from Nicole Oresme, Translator of Aristotle's *Politics* and *Economics*," 468-469.

SMITH, CHRISTINE, Letter to the Editor, 661.

SIMON, ROBERT B., reply to Letter to the Editor, 662.

SPAIN, SUZANNE, "The Promised Blessing": The Iconography of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore," 518-540.

SPEAR, RICHARD E., Letter to the Editor, 662.

SPENCER, JOHN R., "Filarete, the Medallist of the Roman Emperors," 549-561.

STEINBERG, RONALD M., *Fra Girolamo Savonarola: Florentine Art and Renaissance Historiography*, reviewed by D. Cast, 134-36.

STRAUSS, WALTER L., Letter to the Editor, 336.

STURGEON, MARY C., *Corinth*, IX, Pt. II, *Sculpture: The Reliefs from the Theater*, reviewed by G. M. A. Hanfmann, 628-630.

Toskanische Impressionen: Der Beitrag der Macchiaioli zum europäischen Realismus, exh. cat., reviewed by N. Broude, 328-332.

TRACHTENBERG, MARVIN, review of G. Kreytenberg, *Der Dom zu Florenz*, 112-131.

TURNER, JAMES, "The Structure of Henry Hoare's Stourhead," 68-77.

VAN BUREN, ANNE HAGOPIAN, "The Model Roll of the Golden Fleece," 359-376.

VITZTHUM, WALTER, *Drawings by Gaspar van Wittel (1652/53-1736) from Neapolitan Collections*, reviewed by M. Roethlisberger, 144.

VIVIAN, FRANCES, review of J. G. Links, *Canaletto and His Patrons*, 645-57.

VLIEGHE, HANS, review of M. Diaz Padron, *Museo del Prado, Catalogo de Pinturas, I. Escuela Flamenca, Siglo XVII*, 651-53.

VOLK, MARY CRAWFORD, "Addenda: The Madrid Academy," 627.

WEIL, MARK S., review of R. Enggass, *Early Eighteenth-Century Sculpture in Rome*, 145-46.

WEITZMANN, K., *et al.*, *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, reviewed by M. Jacoff, 631-33.

WEST, ALISON, Letter to the Editor, 662.

WESTFALL, CARROLL WILLIAM, *In This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447-55*, reviewed by E. B. MacDougall, 309-312.

WEYL CARR, ANNEMARIE, review of A. Jääskinen, *The Icon of the Virgin of Tikhvin: A Study of the Tikhvin Monastery Palladium in the Hodegetria Tradition*, 480-481.

WILKINSON, CATHERINE, reply to Letter to the Editor, 507-09.

WILLIAMS, JOHN, review of P. K. Klein, *Der ältere Beatus-Kodex Vitr. 14-1 der Biblioteca Nacional zu Madrid, Studien zur Beatus-Illustration und der spanischen Buchmalerei des 10. Jahrhunderts*, 633-36.

WILMERDING, JOHN, *American Art (The Pelican History of Art)*, reviewed by J. M. Dennis, 154-57.

WILTON, ANDREW, *British Watercolours 1750-1850*, reviewed by M. Cormack, 152-54.

WOLTERS, WOLFGANG, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1450)*, reviewed by D. Pincus, 304-09.

WORTHEN, THOMAS, "Poussin's Paintings of Flora," 575-588.

WRIGHT, CHRISTOPHER, review of O. Millar, *The Queen's Pictures, The History of the British Royal Collection*, 500-01.

YARNALL, JAMES L., "Meryon's Mystical Transformations," 289-300.

ZIFF, JERROLD, reviews of D. Bindman, *Blake as an Artist*, M. D. Paley, *William Blake*, G. Keyes, *The Complete Portraiture of William and Catherine Blake*, 326-28.

American

ABRAMS, ANN UHRY, "Politics, Prints, and John Singleton Copley's *Watson and the Shark*," 265-276.

CIKOVSKY, NICOLAI, JR., "'The Ravages of the Axe': The Meaning of the Tree Stump in Nineteenth-Century American Art," 611-626.

DENNIS, JAMES M., review of J. Wilmerding, *American Art (The Pelican History of Art)*, 154-57.

KRINSKY, CAROL HERSELLE, review of V. F. Kubly, *The Louisiana Capitol: Its Art and Architecture*, 660.

Ancient

BIAŁOSTOCKI, JAN, review of B. Haarløv, *The Half-Open Door, A Common Symbolic Motif Within Roman Sepulchral Sculpture*, 301-02.

DEL CHIARO, MARIO A., review of J. Hayes, *Roman Pottery in the Royal Ontario Museum*, 104-05.

HANFMANN, GEORGE M. A., reviews of C. Schwingenstein, *Die Figurenausstattung des griechischen Theatergebäudes*, M. C. Sturgeon, *Corinth*, IX, Pt. II, *Sculpture: The Reliefs from the Theater*, 628-630.

JAMESON, MICHAEL H., review of W. Felten, *Attische Unterweltsdarstellungen des VI. and V. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, 103-04.

KAWAMI, TRUDY S., review of M. A. R. Colledge, *Parthian Art*, 471-73.

MOORE, MARY B., review of P. M. Packard and P. A. Clement, *The Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Fascicule 1 (Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, USA*, Fascicule 18), 471-73.

Eastern

BEGLEY, WAYNE, "The Myth of the Taj Mahal and a New Theory of Its Symbolic Meaning," 7-37.

General

EDGERTON, SAMUEL Y., JR., reviews of J. Baltrušaitis, *Anamorphic Art*, F. Leeman, *et al.*, *Hidden Images: Games of Perception, Anamorphic Art, Illusion from the Renaissance to the Present*, M. L. d'Otrange Mastai, *Illusion in Art; Trompe l'Oeil; A History of Pictorial Illusion*, M. H. Pirenne, *Optics, Painting, and Photography*, 131-34.

KUSPIT, DONALD R., reviews of A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Selected Papers, Traditional Art and Symbolism; Selected Papers, Metaphysics*, R. Lipsey, *His Life and Work*, 501-04.

WRIGHT, CHRISTOPHER, review of O. Millar, *The Queen's Pictures. The History of the British Royal Collection*, 500-01.

Medieval

ABOU-EL-HAJ, BARBARA, "Consecration and Investiture in the Life of Saint Amand, Valenciennes, Bibl. Mun. MS 502," 342-358.

ANDERSON, JEFFREY C., "The Illustration of Cod. Sinai. Gr. 339," 167-185.

AVRIN, LEILA, review of B. Narkiss and G. Sed-Rajna, eds., *Index of Jewish Art: Iconographical Index of Hebrew Illuminated Manuscripts*, 105-07.

CAVINESS, MADELINE HARRISON, "Conflicts Between *Regnum* and *Sacerdotium* as Reflected in a Canterbury Psalter of ca. 1215," 38-58.

CROSBY, SUMNER MCKNIGHT, review of A. Luttrell, ed., *Hal Millieri: A Maltese Casale, Its Churches and Paintings*, 481-82.

CUTLER, ANTHONY, review of I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturhandschriften*, I: *Oxford, Bodleian Library*, Pt. 1, 107-110.

DEMUS, OTTO, review of K. M. Setton, gen. ed., *A History of the Crusades*, IV: *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H. W. Hazard, 636-37.

DEUCHLER, FLORENS, "*Duccio doctus*: New Readings for the *Maestà*," 541-548.

DODDS, JERRILYNN D., "The Paintings in the Sala de Justicia of the Alhambra: Iconography and Iconology," 186-197.

FERGUSON, PETER J., review of L. Grodecki, *Gothic Architecture*, 303-04.

HEUSER, MARY L., review of B. Brenk, *Die frühchristlichen Mosaiken in S. Maria Maggiore zu Rom*, 473-77.

JACOFF, MICHAEL, review of K. Weitzmann, *et al.*, *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art*, 631-33.

LOERKE, WILLIAM, review of E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making, Main Lines of Stylistic Development in Mediterranean Art, 3rd-7th Century*, 477-79.

MULLER, NORMAN E., "Reflections in a Mirror: Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Depiction of the Trinity," 101-02.

SHERMAN, CLAIRE RICHTER, "A Second Instruction to the Reader from Nicole Oresme, Translator of Aristotle's *Politics* and *Economics*," 468-469.

SPAIN, SUZANNE, "The Promised Blessing": The Iconography of the Mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore," 518-540.

TRACHTENBERG, MARVIN, review of G. Kreytenberg, *Der Dom zu Florenz*, 112-131.

VAN BUREN, ANNE HAGOPIAN, "The Model Roll of the Golden Fleece," 359-376.

WEYL CARR, ANNEMARIE, review of A. Jääskinen, *The Icon of the Virgin of Tikhvin: A Study of the Tikhvin Monastery Palladium in the Hodegetria Tradition*, 480-81.

WILLIAMS, JOHN, review of P. K. Klein, *Der ältere Beatus-Kodex Vitr. 14-1 der Biblioteca Nacional zu Madrid. Studien zur Beatus-Illustration und der spanischen Buchmalerei des 10. Jahrhunderts*, 633-36.

Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century

BINDMAN, DAVID, *Blake as an Artist*, reviewed by J. Ziff, 326-28.

BROUDE, NORMA, reviews of *Toskanische Impressionen: Der Beitrag der Macchiaioli zum* exh. cat., *europäischen Realismus*, exh. cat., *I Macchiaioli nella cultura toscana dell'Ottocento*, 328-332.

CORMACK, MALCOLM, review of A. Wilton, *British Watercolours 1750-1850*, 152-54.

HUNGERFORD, CONSTANCE CAIN, "Meissonier's *Souvenir de guerre civile*," 277-288.

JOHNS, ELIZABETH, "Washington Allston's *Dead Man Revived*," 78-99.

LAUGHTON, BRUCE, review of A. Fermigier, *Jean-Francois Millet*, 657-660.

MICHAELS, BARBARA L., "An Introduction to the Dating and Organization of Eugène Atget's Photographs," 460-468.

MURRAY, ANN H., review of P. Jullian, *The Symbolists*, 332-35.

NYGREN, EDWARD J., "James Ward's Exhibition Pictures of 1838: Controversy in Paint," 448-459.

YARNALL, JAMES L., Meryon's Mystical Transformations," 289-300.

Renaissance

ACKERMAN, JAMES S., review of M. Kubelik, *Die Villa im Veneto: zur typologischen Entwicklung im Quattrocento*, 483-85.

BORSOOK, EVE, review of N. di Bicci, *Le Ricordanze (10 Marzo 1453-24 Aprile 1475)*, 313-18.

CARROLL, EUGENE A., review of *The Farnese Hours. The Pierpont Morgan Library*, 136-141.

CAST, DAVID, review of R. M. Steinberg, *Fra Girolamo Savonarola: Florentine Art and Renaissance Historiography*, 134-36.

DAVIDSON, BERNICE F., "Pope Paul III's Additions to Raphael's *Logge*: His *Impresse* in the Logge," 385-404.

DEMPSEY, CHARLES, reviews of M. Campbell, *Pietro da Cortona at the Pitti Palace: A Study of the Planetary Rooms and Related Projects*, 141-44; of R. W. Lee, *Names on Trees: Ariosto into Art*, 323-26.

DOTSON, ESTHER G., "An Augustinian Interpretation of Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling, Part 1," 223-256, "Part 11," 405-429.

ETTLINGER, HELEN S., "The Iconography of the Columns in Titian's Pesaro Altarpiece," 59-67.

GARRARD, MARY D., reviews of J. Schuyler, *Florentine Busts: Sculpted Portraiture in the Fifteenth Century*, V. Bush, *The Colossal Sculpture of the Cinquecento*, P. Kinney, *The Early Sculpture of Bartolommeo Ammanati*, 485-490.

GOFFEN, RONA, "*Nostra Conversatio in Caelis Est*: Observations on the *Sacra Conversazione* in the Trecento," 198-222.

MACDOUGALL, ELISABETH B., review of C. W. Westfall, *In This Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447-55*, 309-312.

MARINONI, AUGUSTO, review of *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci. Commentary* by Carlo Pedretti, 642-650.

MUNMAN, ROBERT, review of D. Pincus, *The Arco Foscari: The Building of a Triumphal Gateway in Fifteenth Century Venice*, 637-642.

PILLSBURY, EDMUND P., review of C. Ragghianti and G. dalli Regoli, *Firenze 1470-1480, Disegni dal modello: Pollaiolo/Leonardo/Botticelli/Filippino*, 482-83.

PINCUS, DEBRA, review of W. Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*, 304-09.

ROSENBERG, CHARLES M., "The Iconography of the Sala degli Stucchi in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara," 377-384.

SPENCER, JOHN R., "Filarete, the Medallist of the Roman Emperors," 549-561.

Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century

BANKS, ADA SHADMI, "Two Letters from Girodet to Flaxman," 100-01.

BARCHAM, WILLIAM, "Giambattista Tiepolo's Ceiling for S. Maria di Nazareth in Venice: Legend, Traditions, and Devotions," 430-447.

BROWN, JONATHAN, reviews of M. A. Mazón de la Torre, *Jusepe Leonardo y su tiempo*, J. Gállego and J. Gudiol, *Zurbarán, 1598-1664*, J. Bernales Ballesteros, *Alonso Cano en Sevilla*, A. Martínez Ripoll, *La iglesia del Colegio de San Buenaventura*, J. Gállego, *El pintor de artesano a artista*, M. Agullo Cobo, *Noticias sobre pintores madrileños de los siglos XVI y XVII*, 496-500.

DOWLEY, FRANCIS H., review of F. R. DiFederico, *Francesco Trevisani: Eighteenth-Century Painter in Rome*, 146-151.

HARRIS, ANN SUTHERLAND, review of B. Dorival, *Philippe de Champaigne, 1602-1675*, 319-322.

HELD, JULIUS S., "Rubens and Aguilonius: New Points of Contact," 257-264.

HEUMER, FRANCES, "A Dionysiac Connection in an Early Rubens," 562-574.

LISCOMBE, R. W., "Richard Payne Knight: Some Unpublished Correspondence," 604-610.

MCKIM-SMITH, GRIDLEY, "On Velázquez's Working Method," 589-603.

ROETHLISBERGER, MARCEL, review of W. Vitzthum, *Drawings by Gaspar van Wittel (1652/53-1736) from Neapolitan Collections*, 144.

TURNER, JAMES, "The Structure of Henry Hoare's Stourhead," 68-77.

VIVIAN, FRANCES, review of J. G. Links, *Canaletto and His Patrons*, 654-57.

VLIEGHE, HANS, review of M. Diaz Padron, *Museo del Prado, Catalogo de Pinturas. I. Escuela Flamenca, Siglo XVII*, 651-53.

VOLK, MARY CRAWFORD, "Addenda: The Madrid Academy," 627.

WEIL, MARK S., review of R. Enggass, *Early Eighteenth-Century Sculpture in Rome*, 145-46.

WORTHEN, THOMAS, "Poussin's Paintings of Flora," 575-588.

ZIFF, JERROLD, reviews of D. Bindman, *Blake as an Artist*, M. D. Paley, *William Blake*, G. Keyes, *The Complete Portraiture of William and Catherine Blake*, 326-28.

Monographs on Archaeology and the Fine Arts

sponsored by the College Art Association of America

The Editor of the Monograph Series is Isabelle Hyman, Department of Fine Arts, Washington Square College, New York University, N.Y. 10003. Manuscripts proposed for consideration for the Monograph Series should make an original contribution to art-historical research and should range in length from 150 to 300 typewritten pages, with not more than 100 illustrations. All periods and areas of art history are eligible.

I *The Flabellum of Tournus*, LORENZ EITNER, 1944, out of print

II *The Sarcophagi of Ravenna*, MARION LAWRENCE, 1945, out of print

III *The State Portrait, Its Origin and Evolution*, MARIANNA JENKINS, 1947, out of print

IV *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C.*, HELENE J. KANTOR, 1947, out of print

V *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, PHYLLIS WILLIAMS LEHMANN, 1953, out of print

VI *The Farwell Collection*, FRANKLIN P. JOHNSON, 1953, out of print

VII *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance*, MIRELLA LEVI D'ANCONA, 1957, out of print

VIII *Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style*, BLANCHE R. BROWN, 1957, out of print

IX *Ionian Trade and Colonization*, CARL ROEBUCK, 1959, out of print

X *Apulian Red-Figured Vase-Painters of the Plain Style*, ALEXANDER CAMBITOGLOU and A. D. TRENDALL, 1961, out of print

XI *The Parma Ildefonsus*, MEYER SCHAPIRO, 1964, out of print

XII *The Church of Santa Trinita in Florence*, HOWARD SAALMAN, 1966, out of print

XIII *The Portal of the Saints at Reims Cathedral: A Study in Mediaeval Iconography*, WILLIAM M. HINKLE, 1965, out of print

XIV *Panel Reliefs of Marcus Aurelius*, INEZ SCOTT RYBERG, 1967, out of print

XV *Dolce's "Aretino" and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento*, MARK W. ROSKILL, 1968, out of print

XVI *The Murals of Eugène Delacroix at Saint-Sulpice*, JACK J. SPECTOR, 1968, $17.50 (members $13.12)

XVII *Bernini and the Crossing of Saint Peter's*, IRVING LAVIN, 1968, out of print

XVIII *Antoine Le Pautre: A French Architect of the Era of Louis XIV*, ROBERT BERGER, 1969, $18.50 (members $13.87)

XIX *The Bigallo: The Oratory and Residence of the Compagnia del Bigallo e della Misericordia in Florence*, HOWARD SAALMAN, 1969, $15.00 (members $11.25)

XX *The Portraits of Charles V of France*, CLAIRE RICHTER SHERMAN, 1969, $17.50 (members $13.12)

XXI *Brancusi's Birds*, ATHENA TACHA SPEAR, 1969, $17.50 (members $13.12)

XXII *A Collection of Sculpture in Classical and Early Christian Antioch*, DERICKSEN BRINKERHOFF, 1969, $17.50 (members $13.12)

XXIII *The Paintings in the "Studiolo" of Isabella d'Este at Mantua*, EGON VERHEYEN, 1971, $17.50 (members $13.12)

XXIV *The Classical Monument: Reflections on the Connection between Art and Morality in Greek and Roman Sculpture*, PHILIPP FEHL, 1971, $17.50 (members $13.12)

XXV *The Architecture of the Monastic Library in Italy, 1300–1600*, JAMES F. O'GORMAN, 1972, $17.50 (members $13.12)

XXVI *Anticlassicism in Greek Sculpture of the Fourth Century B.C.*, BLANCHE R. BROWN, 1973, $18.50 (members $13.87)

XXVII *Visnu's Flaming Wheel: The Iconography of the Sudarsanacakra*, WAYNE E. BEGLEY, 1974, $18.50 (members $13.87)

XXVIII *Leonardo and Central Italian Art, 1515–1550*, KATHLEEN WEIL-GARRIS POSNER, 1974, $18.50 (members $13.87)

XXIX *Circle and Oval in the Square of Saint Peter's: Design and Meaning in Bernini's Plan*, TIMOTHY KAORI KITAO, 1974, $18.50 (members $13.87)

XXX *Romanesque Wooden Doors of Auvergne*, WALTER CAHN, 1975, $18.50 (members $13.87)

XXXI *Caravaggio and His Copyists*, ALFRED MOIR, 1977, $22.50 (members $16.87)

XXXII *La Vie de Nostre Benoit Sauveur Ihesuscrist & La Saincte Vie de Nostre Dame*, MILLARD MEISS and ELIZABETH H. BEATSON, 1977, $22.50 (members $16.87)

XXXIII *Niccolò di Giovanni Fiorentino and Venetian Sculpture of the Early Renaissance*, ANNE MARKHAM SCHULZ, 1978, $22.50 (members $16.87)

XXXIV *Netherlandish Scrolled Gables of the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries*, HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK, 1978, $22.50 (members $16.87)

XXXV *Roman Black-and-White Figural Mosaics*, JOHN R. CLARKE, 1979, $22.50 (members $16.87)

Available volumes may be ordered from New York University Press, 113-15 University Place, New York, N.Y. 10003.